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THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JANUARY, 1844.

A Holy Zeal for Her "little Children" the present Hope of the Church: a Sermon, &c. By JAMES SKINNER, A.M. London: James Burns.

IN every age of the world, and in every state of society, men are beset by the same dangers, and have to contend with the same difficulties. The forms of temptation may indeed be changed, but the end to be effected is the same; and it must be so, because the power of evil is no blind and senseless energy, unconsciously controlled and guided by external circumstances, but a personal agent, acting with deep and settled design, having a definite end, swerving not one moment from the pursuit of it, and bringing to bear on it the might of an Archangel nature,—fallen, indeed, and shorn of the glory of truth, but still powerful, still wise, still stedfast in purpose; a purpose evil now, as once it was good; the end changed, the means analogous, so far as evil can be analogous to good.

The nature, too, on which he works remains unchanged. Man is man still, be his circumstances what they may. Christians of this generation, are, in their essence, much what Christians of the last generation were. Man's tempter need not look about for his weak points: he knows them well already. Many changes, truly, have we seen in the last ten years: everybody is aware of this; little else is talked about. Oh, blind man! oh, easily deceived, and quickly drawn aside from thyself to things around thee! The mass of men are unchanged: all are unchanged in a sense. Still men love to be at ease; they love to have their own way: they shrink from the narrow road: they love not to swim against the stream: and they are in the world still. The world, too, is unchanged: still it acts upon

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the earthly part of those who are in it, and it must be overcome. Nor is that, now, a light and easy task, which was so difficult as to call forth the mighty energy of a regenerate will. That has not become a matter of course, which once required the undivided exertions of a whole life. Ourselves remain the same: in the same world we live, and he who plots against us is the same; though we *can* talk fluently of apostolic succession, and nicely discriminate heresy, and strongly denounce schism, and perceive the beauty of unity, and understand the language of symbols, and take pleasure in Gothic architecture, and rejoice in the solemn unexpectedness of Gregorian tones. Our dangers and difficulties are the same, only more to be dreaded because appearing under a new aspect: we are vulnerable exactly where we always were, but the form of the weapon being changed, we are thrown off our guard.

For this reason we feel ourselves called upon, by our office, as *Christian Remembrancers*, to sound a note of warning against the peculiar dangers to which men are exposed in times like these: not setting up ourselves as above the need of like teaching, but wishing ourselves to learn the lesson of practicalness, whereof we would remind others.

We intend the few remarks which follow on this subject, as an introduction to some thoughts on the influence of Church principles on the education of children.

Now it is plain that the great danger of the semi-puritanical school, from which many have but just escaped, was the substitution of religious feeling for right action and right faith:—trusting to feelings, instead of looking to our Saviour, and cultivating excitement of feeling instead of aiming at strict obedience; and their great error was that they made religion wholly subjective. The Creed had become a lifeless form, because it spoke not of justification in every line: faith was to be exercised upon itself; all other objects were taken away from it. Every thing else but the question, "How is an individual to become interested in the privileges of the Gospel?" was degraded down into the position of a non-essential. Self, self, self, became the all-absorbing object; one's own faith, one's own feelings, one's own comfort, one's own *experience*, were for ever thrust forward upon the mental vision; all things else were unimportant, part of the "endless genealogies," and "questions which minister strife," subjects by all means to be shunned, as inevitably tending to make a person unspiritual. Nay, people trusted to something less substantial than their feelings: they leaned upon the shadow of a shadow—their own perception of their faith, feelings, experience. This was their great ground of comfort, to be conscious of their faith being lively, *i. e.* warm and confident. This led straight to assurance, and all its consequences, bad or good.

Now here were three great dangers: a real turning away from Him whose name was so frequently in their mouths: a false judgment of their own state, depending upon an unconsciously selfish indulgence of natural feelings, instead of fruitfulness in good works; and, lastly, a perpetual verging on heresy, in the great fundamentals of the faith. The articles of the Creed, put as they were in the back-ground, and classed with "non-essentials," *would* occur to notice sometimes, and draw forth passing observations; and truly the fearful positions which we ourselves have heard maintained by well-meaning persons, were such as make us shudder at the recollection of them. We have heard really good persons—persons, too, who would dread of all things most a derogation from the honour of our Saviour,—state as their belief, what, carried out to its necessary consequences, would lead straight to Tritheism (if such a thing may be) or Arianism: they being unconscious all the while of saying anything awful, or indeed important at all one way or other. Why does one hear such things as these? Of course one does not expect every layman (and lay woman) to be conversant with S. Athanasius or S. Cyril; but one does expect, and ought to expect, that every attentive church-goer shall have been taught that ignorant speculations beside the Creed are highly dangerous: one has a right to expect that educated people should have been taught that the Creed has a meaning, and that only heretics presume to disregard or deny it. We are fully persuaded that ninety-nine out of a hundred "orthodox dissenting" teachers (so called) if questioned on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, would utter rank heresy, and stoutly maintain it; and we greatly fear that many clergymen could be found who would only be restrained from a similar course, by a ready and stringent appeal to the Athanasian Creed.*

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* Take the following specimens of the effect of looking upon high doctrines in a merely subjective way. We do not mean to say that Mr. Best intends to be heretical, but surely the reception such language meets in "the religious world," is a very fearful sign of the times:—

"These designations, or characters, [*i. e.* the Holy Names of the Three Persons] are obviously connected with the several offices which are sustained and fulfilled by the several Persons of the Trinity in that arrangement of the scheme of human Redemption which was revealed at the same time. They are intended to give us some important intimations of what each Person is to us, or does for us. They are instructive appellations or titles, not intended to show us any inherent attributes of the Divine Nature—not to point out what God is in His Eternal and Immutable Essence, in which He is incomprehensible and past finding out, [but what if He have revealed Himself?] because there is on earth no likeness to which He can be compared; but they are titles condescendingly and graciously assumed, to give us such knowledge of the relations in which the Triune God stands to us under our dispensation of grace and mercy, as can be conveyed by these earthly similitudes, which God in His wisdom saw to be fittest to set them forth."—*Letters on a Socinian Tract, by Rev. Thomas Best, Perpetual Curate of St. James's, Sheffield, &c.* London, 1840, p. 162.

Again, p. 166: —

"These discriminative appellations of the Persons of the Trinity are characters in which the Triune God has revealed Himself to us, in reference to the Christian Covenant,

Such are some of the dangers of a teaching wholly subjective; dangers known well enough to most of our readers; which, however, it is well to touch upon again, for the sake of those who are still exposed to them.

From this form of evil many have happily escaped. By the providence of God, they have come within the range of sounder teaching, and it has had its effect upon them, of one kind or other, most surely: in many instances, doubtless, a sound and healthy effect—we trust in most: and yet it is capable of being taken up (as was foretold) as a beautiful picture, not practically, and in reality; and then, of course, the effect will be evil, in proportion to the power for good received in vain. This, then, is the danger:—holding the faith in an unreal way: admiring the Catholic system; but living like the world: talking of doctrines; but not carrying them out into practice: luxuriating in the frame-work of the Church, all that meets the eye and ear, all that is valued by a refined taste and cultivated intellect, but forgetting that the patient sufferings of the poor, and the self-denials of the meek-spirited, are the priceless gem (in the sight of angels, and of Him who is the Lord of angels,) for which this fair casket was prepared.

And here we may be allowed to say, that we have observed a very great tendency to this fault in the manner in which many of these subjects have been treated, of late, in the columns of some ecclesiastical newspapers. What can be more irreverent, *e.g.* than the off-hand strictures of some juvenile correspondent on the advertisement of a fashionable robe-maker, in which, and in the defensive reply, the symbols of holiest mysteries of the faith (*as such*) are bandied to and fro, perhaps, in somewhat of an angry spirit, just as question might be made about the fashionable *sitting* of a newly-invented cape, in "Townsend's Book of Fashions and Monthly Magazine?" We do not accuse any of these papers, with which we are acquainted, of positively favouring, or exemplifying, in their responsible articles, the evil of

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and to the offices which the Persons of the Trinity severally sustain in the arrangement of Infinite Wisdom and Grace. *We must not suppose that in the Divine Essence there is any such relation as Father and Son.*" The italics are Mr. Best's own.

And though afterwards he says there is "distinct Personality," as above "Triune," yet "they are so represented in order to show," &c.

At the beginning, too, he constantly qualifies his statements of the Trinity in Unity by some such disparagement of their revealed titles; *e.g.* at p. 32,

"We believe that the one Living and True God subsists in three distinct equal Persons—of one substance, power, and eternity—that one of those Divine Persons took man's nature . . . whereof is one Christ, revealed to us *as the Son of God* [sic] for the reasons which I may hereafter show," the reasons, namely, specified in the former quotations. This would look strange by the side of Bishop Pearson and his authorities; S. Cyril of Jerusalem, for instance, Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστι φύσει, καὶ οὐ θέσει, γεννηθεὶς ἐκ Πατρός.—Catech. xi. § 7.

And S. Athanasius, Ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος μόνης ὁ Πατὴρ κυρίως Πατήρ ἐστι, καὶ ἐπὶ οὑτων καὶ μόνων ἔστηκε τὸ Πατὴρ ἀεὶ Πατὴρ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ Υἱὸς ἀεὶ Υἱὸς εἶναι.—Cont. Arianos, I. 21, p. 426.

which we complain. But we could wish, very seriously, that they would exercise a more severe censorship over the *correspondence* which is made public by their instrumentality. These hasty productions, it may be said, are as light, and fall as harmless, as straws or feathers: but straws and feathers mark which way the wind blows, and the fructifying seeds of many noxious plants are scattered far and wide on wings of lighter materials than straws or feathers.

But this is an evil soon perceived, and for that reason more easily checked or remedied than another and more subtle development of the danger which accompanies the revival of long-dormant principles. It appears as though, not the *visible* framework only of the Catholic Church, and her external decorations, were calculated to please the natural taste; but her whole system, liturgical and doctrinal, being, as it is, the most perfect embodiment of the principle of beauty, is endowed with an attractiveness which draws to herself all that is not absolutely corrupted, of our unearthly nature. Thus arises a danger, great as her Perfection is intellectually satisfying, of admiring, and loving (in a sense) that which is not exercising its due moral and spiritual influence upon the beholder. We know not how any one, once blest with the vision of her celestial glory, naturalized as it were upon earth, can turn away and be satisfied with anything less lovely. It seems impossible. And if this be so, men who remain inwardly unchanged, continuing to glory in that greatness which has subdued their intellect, will be led to act, speak, write, for her after a carnal fashion: to carry on her warfare with unsanctified weapons, and by this means, while the good cause is injured, they are settling themselves down, unsuspectingly, in an evil condition. This conclusion is confirmed by the following remarks of Archdeacon Manning, in one of his most magnificent sermons:—

"There are about us . . . the loud schemings of men who, under the name of the Church, would serve themselves of the Church as a contrivance for civilising mankind: but they are not God's kingdom. There is under the badge of religion, a strife and struggle for mastery, among men who bear the sacred name which the saints first bore at Antioch: but God's kingdom is not in their heady tumult: there are the visible hurryings to and fro of a Jehu-like zeal for the Lord: *and there are the plottings of earthly Christians—for men may plot for Christ's Church as well as against it.* The same earthly and faithless temper of mind which sometimes resists God's will, may also insinuate itself into His service."—*Serm.* xiii.

It seems, then, that as the great error of the defective system, of which we have spoken before, was making religion wholly subjective, so the tendency now to be guarded against by many individuals, is that of making it too exclusively objective. The most fundamental doctrines of our holy Faith, even that of the Ever-blessed Trinity, and the mystery of the Incarnation, *were* brought down to earth, there to be irreverently viewed (not in

their own intrinsic majesty, but) in *relation* to the condition of the individual inquirer: so viewed *only*, and considered quite unimportant, as articles of faith, except in that view. We cannot be too thankful for better teaching and sounder belief on this point: but there does seem to be danger of erring the other way, and of being satisfied to hold doctrines simply, without regard to the personal relation in which the individual stands to them. And it seems to us this error is especially inexcusable in the doctrines of the visible Church, and communion of saints. The articles of the Creed which precede these are revealed subjectively only by a wonderful act of Divine condescension. Their glory were all-perfect if man were not. He may, indeed, rejoice that the Divine Nature in each Person is for him—on his side: but chiefly he must adore the Majesty which is without, beyond, above him: he must look upon the Form of the Perfect Man and see in It the Incarnate God. But (if we may say such things,) the visible texture of the living Church seems to have been woven together, for the very purpose of enclosing within itself the individual being of each immortal Person. It would seem as if her priesthood, her sacraments, her creeds, her liturgy, were no essential part of the spiritual temple, but rather divinely-authorised accessories, valuable according as they are effective in training up her living sons: and if so, not so much to be gazed upon, as acted up to, and used, by each individual in his own case, for the purpose which (as it seems to us) called them into being. We do not say these things are not to be believed: they must, or we could not act upon them: nor that the Catholic Church is not to be *believed in*; nor that She is not endued with a personality. We hold that, by ineffable union with her incarnate Head, she so becomes His Body that His Personality pervades her wholly; and thus she becomes an object of faith, and through her and in her is seen, and believed, and loved, and worshipped He Who is All in all.

Still (we think) it remains true that her earthly constitution is rather to be felt, and dwelt in, and acted in, and loved as it is known subjectively, than looked upon, and admired from without.

In this view, everything that is beautiful, attractive, and lovely in her system, becomes of immense personal importance to each individual among her members. For they all tend, as home comforts, to attach him to his domestic duties; and to encourage and bear him up when his duties become burdensome. This view should be connected with what our Lord and His true shepherds have always taught about the difficulties of the heavenward road; and thus a beautiful concord will appear to exist between the personal condition of an individual Christian, and the state to which he is called as a member of the Christian Fellowship. Tribulation to be endured: difficulties to be contended with: self-discipline to be practised: this is his portion.

He is placed in the midst of a world abounding in things pleasant to the eye, and things to be desired—not that he may enjoy them, but that he may turn away from them, and wait for his portion in an unseen world, when all that he has been led by nature to desire shall have passed away. He is endued with affections capable of being gratified, if not satisfied, with objects immediately presented to them; but not that he may indulge them. On the contrary, he is bid to fix them elsewhere on invisible objects, for which they have no *natural* affinity. And he is to wait (with patience) for a future day, when faith and sight shall coincide. But nothing is more plain than that a future hope is not, by itself, sufficient to uphold most men in a continued course of exertion. This is seen in the every-day business of life. Few leave the station in which they were brought up. Few *endeavour* to rise above it. Not that most men despise wealth, or honour, or station, or power. On the contrary, there are hardly two opinions on these points, when the question is, whether they be desirable for a man's self or no. Every one (speaking in a general way; alas! that it should be so in a christian country,) thinks it would be a fine thing to be rich, or powerful, or honourable: and yet they don't try to become so. Why? Because the hope of a distant good is not sufficient to stir them up to the needful course of exertion. They would rather be at ease, and go plodding on in their accustomed way, than undertake a great work to obtain what they value very highly, if they could have it now. But to live in the meantime on the hope of it:—it is not worth the sacrifice. And they who do become great, and rise above their fellows, are evidently not upheld by the hope of future fame alone, or wealth, or power. They love their very labour. They have fellows in their pursuits, and they progress together, upheld by party feeling, the excitement of business, and the daily little foretastes of what they look forward to as the end. This is eminently the case with persons engaged in literary pursuits. Not only do they take pleasure in their employment, enjoy the society and intercourse of those who are like-minded, and feed in secret upon the consciousness of being (and becoming daily more so,) men of learning, but they have an affection for their very books; enduing them in fancy with a sort of personality, and then loving them. We have heard that Southey, when the powers of his energetic mind were completely broken up, was accustomed to take down, now and then, one of his books, look at it, *kiss it*, and return it to its place. A most remarkable instance this of the incidental, homely, every-day little enjoyment, which had contributed its share of encouragement in a wearisome life of study, outliving its more energetic and obvious coadjutors.

Not a whit different is it with *the* great work of a self-denying Christian. He cannot live on hope alone: he needs a present

earnest of his hope. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, and to cure or alleviate this sickness, some present remedy is required. Frail man cannot be ever on the wing, like that bold raven who went to and fro above the earth, until the waters of the flood were dried up. Like the more timid dove, he requires a present rest for the sole of his foot: and that rest *is* provided for him in the ark of Christ's Church. Shut up, even when the wearying restlessness of the world seems to be rolling over his unprotected soul, within her unseen bounds, he is conscious of a present blessedness. And in this consciousness he rejoices amid toils and troubles, not lazily and apathetically, but laboriously and patiently, because he knows that the blessedness of his condition depends upon his diligence and watchfulness. He is conscious of being one of a family high in their Father's loving favour, and this thought upholds him in a childlike obedience, though it be for the present, and through transitory circumstances, very irksome.

This subjective view of Church-fellowship we think of wonderful importance in the case of children. Indeed, we believe its full practical force can never be wholly realized by any, but those who have been trained from their very childhood to *live in* it—to *live on* it, as the natural atmosphere of their spiritual life. Human hearts are not flexible enough to adapt themselves to a new home, with the fond feeling with which memory clings to the home of childhood. Full-grown imagination cannot throw such a lovely, mellow, glowing, peaceful light, as once beamed on her dwelling, around a second home. Just so no up-grown man or woman, instructed never so well in the theory of Church doctrine, can so realize the Church as the home of a self-denying discipline, as a child can. It is when the heart is tender, and the will flexible, and the affections quick, and faith implicit, that they can be so made consciously one with her, that they never *will* go out from her. And this alone (when it is remembered that hers are the promises,) might be enough to show the great importance of early training in this and kindred truths.

But far more than this: we hold that the doctrine of Church-fellowship is absolutely and primarily necessary to a religious education: that it occupies *the* prominent place among all revealed doctrines, (and we shall soon show that we are not speaking on our own private judgment, or unsupported by authority,) in the training of the infant mind. This we hold to be the first abstract religious truth which a child can realize. It is, we know, (as has been remarked in one of our late numbers,) extremely difficult to get children to realize spiritual truths. In one sense they are more subject to the visible and tangible than grown persons. It is all but impossible for them to lay hold on the unseen. The distant future is unreal mistiness to them. It eludes their grasp, and fades away from their eye. And so of other hidden things;

form but a fleeting image of them all. But, if there is one
which belongs to them especially, (as the fifth command-
of the ten is theirs,) it is that of which we speak—the Fel-
hip of the Saints, the bond of Spiritual Brotherhood. This
ides with all they know, and have realized, of things that
are. This speaks to their experience.

or what do children know? In the abstract nothing: not
themselves. They know themselves only relatively. They
ot contemplate themselves. Good children do not think
t themselves: they do their duty naturally: they are obe-
, kind, affectionate, without knowing it: they act with
rful readiness at the bidding or wish of another, without the
iousness of acting: they live in the consciousness of others.
rs know them by name; they know themselves by name,
because others call them so. This is not their real notion
emselves: leave them alone and they will class themselves
elationship. For instance; we meet a little child in the
of Dorsetshire. We ask, "Who are you, little girl?" the
er comes, "Please, sir, I'm John Smith's little maid." It
t the great point to her that she is, by herself, Emily, or
ie, or Mary, individualized: she is her father's "little maid,"
as such she describes herself. The conscious existence of
children is as members of a family: they know very little of
selves, and still less of the world in which they live; but they
now the mother that bare them, and in her smile they are
y; they do know the father that supports them, and in his
ur they rest satisfied: their brothers and sisters they know,
double all their joys by sharing them with them; and all
little duties are instinct with the life of love from these
e influences: they cannot stand alone, and treat with inde-
lent persons: they cannot make a compact: no, they are
lren first, and then obedient, loving, trustful: first brothers,
kind and unselfish brothers.

uch is their chosen position—chosen for them by unerring
dom; one every way suited, with all-admirable tenderness,
eir infant capacities. What can be more fearful, then, than
the very first step in spiritual knowledge should put them
position contradictory to all the feelings which their (provi-
ial) training has fostered?—if stripped by the unnatural
lty of a cold-hearted system of spiritual brethren, and torn
ruthless presumption from the home of their Heavenly
her, they are told of *conditions* of reconciliation. Thus are
constituted independent insulated individuals; and bid to
e terms for themselves. Unaccustomed and unable to con-
plate self, they are bid to look for the evidence of faith,
if they are supposed to have it. Otherwise they are bid to
ve, and they do not know what it means. It is explained:
only turns ignorance into perplexity. How can it be

otherwise, with such explanations as make faith be both everything and nothing? Then they are told fearful things about their own wickedness (hating good things, *e. g.*) which they know to be false; and thus again are they led to contemplate themselves in search of this monstrous chimera. So it turns out that a good, amiable, sweet, simple-minded child's first directly religious instruction is often its first step towards moral ruin. All the heavenly instincts which constitute childhood a type of christian perfection, are suddenly checked by the rude violence of an uncongenial doctrine. They were being gradually developed under the appointed system of domestic discipline; but just when they should be exalted and purified by being exercised on higher and holier objects, they are suddenly cut across; miserably thrown back and stunted, if not wholly destroyed. If any life is left it must put forth its vigour in collateral branches only: the main shoot is industriously pruned down. Those traits of character which in every-day life imperiously claim admiration and love, are thought to be no index of latent spiritual capabilities; and teachers sigh over the thought of so much amiability and "seeming goodness" being compatible with a state of simple guilt and condemnation, when they have never once endeavoured to develop what they love and cherish, into the divine virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity. If any children happily escape the stunting, deadening effect of such a system, it is because they follow (not wilfully, but by higher guidance) their inward instinct for truth rather than a false outward teaching.

But let a child be *first* instructed in the doctrine of Church Fellowship, and not only will those evil consequences be escaped, but his natural faculties, and especially those which have already been drawn forth by domestic relationship, will be harmoniously developed, and led upward from the known and familiar, to the unseen and awful realities of the spiritual world.

First, let him be conscious of a new relationship, and then he may come to understand to whom he is related. Teach him that he is a child; and then, with the keen spiritual perception of love, he will set himself to learn his Father's mind and will. Teach him freely concerning "the brotherhood,"—the word will fall with no strange inharmonious sound upon his ear; the thought it clothes will come home to his heart as a familiar guest. He will fall naturally into the ways of "the household;" will feel himself to be one of them; will claim his portion in their knowledge, faith, hope; and take his share of their duties of labour and patience. This, it seems to us, is the only order of teaching by which the mind and heart of children can be religiously developed. It is, as we have seen, the order which nature suggests; and, of course, the susceptibility of her suggestions, with which man is endued, sufficiently indi-

cates the duty of following them. But it is, moreover, the order which the Church lays down for her teachers. *She* has put first the doctrines of membership and adoption, and led her learners up, through them, to the higher mysteries of the Faith. She has given a chart for the guidance of Infant Pilgrims along the heavenly road; and, if men would more humbly and quietly ask of her, there would not be so much doubt and perplexity among the diffident, nor such fearful error among the self-confident, about the first beginnings, or after course, of those committed to their care.

It cannot be an unimportant fact, that, in the second (it may be almost called the *first*) answer of the Catechism, children are taught to know themselves as "*members* of Christ, *children* of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven." No sooner has the infant catechumen responded to that name, which indicates him to belong to the christian household, than he is at once led to a full declaration of his membership, its manner, its object, its end. And, what is particularly to our purpose, he is not taught the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and the Communion of Saints, *abstractedly*, as they are put in the creed, but relatively to himself,—"wherein *I* was made a member of Christ, a child of God," &c. He is gently transplanted (if we may be allowed the expression,) into a new home; or rather he is taught that he has another Father, other Brethren, a heavenly, spiritual, home; for neither is he torn away from his former home, nor is that *new* home, to his understanding, really new: he has grown up in it from the day of his spiritual birth, but now first the sweet consciousness of his higher relative condition flows in upon him. He has two homes; and the blessed duties, affections, energies, and hopes of the one are gently and gradually transferred to the other, there to live and grow for ever, when the endearing ties of earthly unities shall be dissolved. Those pure instincts which came from heaven, were not intended to be wholly drawn forth, wearied, exhausted, on the changing objects of a transitory world. They will be satisfied with nothing short of a heavenly end, an Object Immutable, Everlasting. But pure and heavenly they are even when exercised on (appointed) earthly objects. By the temporary discipline of domestic rule, they are being trained for their ultimate and ever-enduring purpose.

Such is the order of the Church's teaching in the Catechism, and so teaching she does but follow the example of our Lord Himself, who has taught us to begin our petitions by a recognition of relationship to "Our Father" in heaven. This holy prayer she bids her little ones first learn; to breathe that tender Name as their first offering to Him that sitteth in Heaven; then to confess their belief in Him as "the Father Almighty;" then to learn their duty to Him.

If parents and teachers would but follow this order, we believe that to convey directly religious instruction to children would not be found nearly so difficult as many persons now imagine it: but then it must be done honestly and fully. There must be no lowering down of the high and confident language of the Catechism to the faithless fears so natural to persons brought up in an almost heretical system. And, again, it must be no mere theory. Children are very quick in discovering any approaches to sham: they are better logicians than men give them credit for; if they see the necessary consequences of formal teaching neglected and despised, they will soon begin to think the premises are some unreal expressions, taught to them, but not true to those who know better. And this will hold, whether the inconsequence is seen in the conduct of others, or felt in the training to which they themselves are subjected: if (*e. g.*) they are treated like irresponsible beings, (not now in a state of salvation from which they may fall by sin,) or as if they were less responsible than grown persons for real exercise of will; as if (*i. e.*)there were any other limit to their responsibility than their more restricted knowledge, and less vivid consciousness of acting. (We use the word in the strict Butlerian sense of an "action.") Once taught that they are children, let them be led to expect that the conduct of children is required of them: and once instructed in the doctrine of "the Brotherhood," let them be taught to love it, and to rejoice in every outward symbol of the unseen Fellowship; to look upon all that binds Christians together, all that unites brother with brother, the living with the dead in Christ, as tokens of a great reality. So will their spiritual knowledge grow with their natural growth; and they shall behold the land that is very far off, not with the dim uncertainty of intellectual conjecture, but by the substantial evidence of a sacramental faith.

On this subject, the author of the pamphlet, whose title stands at the head of this article, has the following remarks in his very interesting Appendix:—

"In the comforts and benefits of the Daily Service, it is believed that, in whatever parishes it has been restored, the 'little children' have been regularly permitted to share. This is an important point. An interest in the service, a part in its celebration, and let us hope, some witness to their pure hearts of God's sanctifying presence;—these are early lessons which will never be lost. They will tell on their character when the artlessness of childhood has passed away.

"And so also with the fasts and festivals of the Church; wherever their due observance is being restored, our 'little children' are happily permitted to share in the privilege and the blessing . . . . The loss of these sacred days to the Church, is a loss to her strength and power. To her 'little children' it is a loss of that first gentle guidance, which trains them, unconsciously, to higher and deeper perceptions of their spiritual being. To children and novices in religion, they minister the first occasions to ask and inquire after God. Whereupon, if there follow but so much piety as hath been mentioned,

let the Church learn to further imbecility with prayer. 'Preserve, Lord, these good and gracious beginnings, that they suddenly dry not up like the morning dew, but may prosper and grow as the trees which rivers of waters keep always flourishing.' Let all men's acclamations be "Grace, grace unto it," as to that first-laid corner-stone in Zerubbabel's building; for who hath despised the day of those things which are small?*'"—*Appendix*, p. 36.

We are sorry to say, that we have cause to know that the matter of fact asserted at the beginning of this extract is not strictly true. There are instances of a restored daily service where the children do not attend. We fear an impression is not uncommon that children would weary of the sameness of a daily service, and that even on Saints'-days regular attendance would be irksome to them. In truth, such a thought is an injustice to them; in this cold, earthly, business-like age they are dealt with unfairly. It is forgotten that the world has not yet laid hold on them; that they have come fresh and pure from the laver of regeneration; and that their unstained minds are capable of receiving a heavenly impression with a gentle readiness of which world-stained hearts have no conception. We know one parish where the children, of their own free-will, assemble every evening, from a widely-scattered village, to join with heart and *voice* in the vesper services; and we are intimately acquainted with the children of another parish, who certainly know not of any enjoyment so great as attendance at the Sunday and other feast-day services of their village church. True it is, in both these instances, they have their vocal share in the services; but should it not be so? Is it *possible* that they should be able even to endure two hours attentive *listening?* No, surely: however willing the spirit might be, the flesh would be weak. But give them so much share in the music and responses as shall avert bodily weariness, and (we speak from experience,) their attention and devout reverence will put to shame the great body of adult worshippers.

Such worship as this, so entered into, must tend to strengthen and deepen their consciousness of spiritual relationship within the Household of faith; and it will train them up to that subjective view of Church Fellowship which will be a ruling principle of their lives. It should be remembered, too, that, for a while, this is the only token that they have of their interest in the mystical fellowship, since they are not permitted to approach the table of the Lord until after confirmation.† If they are not allowed to partake, in the most blessed way, of the Communion of Saints, surely they should not be stinted of such love-tokens, and effectual means of fellowship, as they may share in. This seems to us a very strong additional argument (if such were needed,)

* Hooker Ecc. Pol. v. 71, 2.

† And may not this among others form an argument against the faithless practice in some dioceses, unsanctioned and unauthorized by the Church, of compelling children to defer confirmation till the age of sixteen years.

in favour of the daily service,—both as a means of present blessedness to willing-hearted children, and as the best preparation for their future approach to the Lord's table.

Not to enter upon the question of their exclusion from Communion, which is treated of very instructively in the Appendix to Mr. Skinner's sermon, we gladly help to circulate his practical conclusion, of the great importance of bringing the young of Christ's flock very early to confirmation, and at once from the hands of the Bishop to that holy Ordinance which is the pledge and means of their continuance in the home of their renewed nature:—

"It is a conviction, the solemnity and force of which increases daily, that if our Church is to be saved from desolation, she must 'stir up the gift that is in her;' put forth her own arm and gird up her loins to the battle. O! what an armory is within her, if we were only worthy to go in and clothe ourselves! But of all offerings on her altar, the heart of the young and guileless is the most acceptable, and strongest for mighty deeds; and such offerings must be abundant, if we are resolved to prevail. Let parish priests persevere, therefore, in their efforts to bring their confirmed children to the altar.

"1. That our communions may be more largely attended; for the Master of the Feast desires that His house may be filled.

"2. That one step may be gained towards a more frequent and more unintermitting celebration of the holy mysteries.

"3. That children taught to be obedient to their blessed Lord, and brought up from their infancy to a renewal of them, may have a deep sense of their baptismal bonds.

"4. That the sons and servants of the Church may be brought early under wholesome discipline, and their spiritual rulers have reverence and respect at their hands.

"5. That being brought up from infancy in the *full* communion of the Church, the parents of children may submit their education to the authority and influence of their pastors.

"6. That general Church discipline may be recovered.

"7. That divisions and animosities, and parties may cease."—*Appendix*, p. 47.

But it is rather beyond our purpose to speak of the training which the young should have at the hands of their priests, as a preparation either for Confirmation or Holy Communion. The first lessons of heavenly wisdom should come from the revered lips of a beloved parent. It is the mother's task to teach the little ones of their new birth, and their new home; and they may undertake their task with a cheerful alacrity, because they will find in them already the types and earnests of the Christian graces:—

"Children are chiefly distinguished by a temper of faith. Men doubt what is not the subject of exact knowledge: they require things to be proved: children believe whatever is told them.

"Again: men are suspicious: they fear that people have their own ends to serve, when they seem inclined to do a kindness. Children trust every body: they never suspect evil design when there are kind professions.

"Again: men are anxious about future events: they lay up in store, and

are careful and troubled. Children receive thankfully to-day's supply, and lie down to sleep without a distrustful thought of the morrow.

"Yet further: men depend upon themselves: they are, perhaps, clever in their business, or they have property of their own, and they dislike to be indebted to others—they are of independent spirit. Children trust others for everything: in all their little trials, in all their wants, they look up to those for help who have ever been kind to them.

"To take a last example: men place their happiness in endeavours to better their condition: they despise what they have already, and think if they could only lay hold on what they see before them they should be happy. Children make their pleasures for every hour as it comes, and are content to enjoy the present. All these feelings are characteristic of children: if they have them not, we say they are not like children. Now in all these points, three dispositions appear more or less clearly; some in one, some in another:—Faith—Dependence—Contentment. And all these belong to the Christian character."

If the contrast were carried farther, no doubt the germ of other Christian graces would be discovered in the character of Children, as such; and if so, what more hopeful, what more holy employment can a parent have, than cherishing, guiding, and training upward dispositions already partially developed, to their rightful and only satisfying Object?

Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion. Delivered in Rome, by NICHOLAS WISEMAN, D.D. Second Edition. London: Dolman. 1842. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. 448.

IN our review of these interesting Lectures in our number for August, we advanced no further than the first two, which are devoted to tracing the connexion between Revealed Religion and the Comparative Study of Languages, or Philological Ethnography. The subject of the third and fourth Lectures may not unaptly be styled Physiognomical Ethnography; being the Natural History of the Human Race. Dr. Wiseman's object is to prove, from the science itself, the unity of the human race and its origin from one stock, notwithstanding the great physical differences which distinguish men in the various regions of the globe.

"The Word of God hath always considered mankind as descended from one parent; and the great mystery of redemption rests upon the belief that all men sinned in their common father. Suppose different and unconnected creations of men, and the deep mystery of original sin, and the glorious mystery of redemption, are blotted out from religion's book. Is it not then important to answer their reasoning, who maintain that it is impossible to reduce the many varieties of human families into one species, or to trace them to one common progenitor; who assert that natural history doth show such deeply-entrenched divisions between the physical characteristics of different nations, as that one could never have been derived from the other; and that no conceivable action of causes, either instantaneous or progressive, could have ever altered the European's shape and colour into the negro's, or caused the 'Ethiopian to change his skin', and produce the Asiatic race? And how shall this confutation be obtained? Assuredly by no other means than that I have already suggested to you, and intend often yet to inculcate and exemplify—*by the deeper study of that very science which has engendered the objection*,—by the collection of yet

better evidence than has already been produced,—and by a well-digested classification of phenomena, whence satisfactory conclusions may be drawn."—P. 96.

The more marked divisions of the human race are too broad and deep to escape the notice of even the least observant. The difference, for instance, in features, colour, and hair, between the European and the negro, is instantly obvious. These distinctions were noticed by the ancients. Aristotle speaks of three nations as differing from each other and from the Greek standard, in appearance and manners; namely, the Egyptians, Thracians, and Scythians. We have here, then, a division of mankind into four distinct classes or races; constituting, observes Dr. Wiseman, the very first step in the history of a science every day growing in interest and importance; and therefore worthy of a tolerably minute discussion.

By the Egyptian race of Aristotle, Dr. Wiseman understands the Negro race; and after citing two passages from Aristotle, in which that naturalist confounds the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, he observes,—

"Here then arises a complicated and interesting inquiry; were the ancient Egyptians really so formed upon the Negro type, that the two could be confounded together? The testimony of Aristotle is undoubtedly strong in favour of the affirmative, and becomes doubly so from the agreement of almost all the classics, especially that of the sagacious and accurate Herodotus. For, speaking of the Colchi, he says they are proved to be descendants of the Egyptians, ὅτι μελάγχροές εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριχες, 'because they are black and woolly-headed.' Here, as in the philosopher, we have the two most definite characteristics of the Negro race attributed to the Egyptians."—P. 100.

Now all the monumental remains of the Egyptians are opposed to these statements of Aristotle and Herodotus. These always represent the bodies of the natives painted of a red or tawny colour, with long flowing hair; while the Negroes beside them are painted of a jet-black colour, with frizzled hair, and the well-known peculiar features of the modern negro. Dr. Wiseman proposes the following solution of the difficulty:—

"I should think the best solution is, that Egypt was the country where the Greeks most easily saw the inhabitants of interior Africa, many of whom doubtless flocked thither, and were settled there, or served in the army as tributaries or provincials, as they have done in later times; and thus, they came to be confounded by writers with the country where alone they knew them, and were considered a part of the indigenous population. Some such hypothesis must be adopted to reconcile writers among themselves; for Ammianus Marcellinus writes that the Egyptians were only dark and blackish; '*homines Ægyptii plerumque subfusculi sunt et atrati.*'

"Thus much, however, is perfectly certain, that by the Egyptian variety, which he places first among those of the human species, Aristotle means the black or Negro race."—P. 102.

The next upon Aristotle's list are the Scythians. These, says Dr. Wiseman, could not be tribes belonging to what is called the Mongul race, which now occupies the country included in ancient Scythia,—a tawny or olive-coloured race,—but must have been the Germanic tribes. The Scythia of Herodotus was not, like the Scythia of Ptolemy, confined to Northern Asia, but also included Dacia, Mœsia,

and all the country north of Thrace: and the inhabitants of these regions were unquestionably Germanic. Herodotus has distinguished two races as occupying the wide regions of Asiatic Scythia,—the Germanic, according to the ancient classification; and the Mongul.

"This dispersion of Germanic tribes over the whole of Scythia, appears to me," says Dr. Wiseman, "a very interesting fact; and after having thus endeavoured to trace them by the aid of Greek writers, it was a great satisfaction to me to find the fact confirmed by a lamented orientalist, from sources of a different class. 'How much soever this assertion may appear a paradox,' says Abel-Rémusat, 'I think it will be proved that the family of the Gothic nations once occupied large tracts of Tartary, that some of its branches inhabited Transoxana, and even reached the Altai mountains; and that they were well-known to the people of Eastern Asia, who could not fail to be struck with the singularity of their languages, their light hair, blue eyes, and white complexions; traits particularly remarkable in the midst of men dark-coloured, and with brown eyes, and dark hair, who have in the end occupied their place. When I shall have given the proofs I have collected, it will be seen whether my assertion is too rash.' These proofs he did not, I believe, live to publish; but the learned and sagacious Ritter has most satisfactorily unravelled the complicated history of the population of Central Asia, so entangled by the confusion of names transferred from one nation to another. He considers tribes of the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic race, to have been the first inhabitants of the central plateau of Asia, who are represented by all Chinese writers as having red hair and blue eyes. In the second century before Christ, some remains, which had been driven westward by the Hiong-un, were still in force on the shores of Lake Bhalkush, and the river Hi, under the name of Uisiun or U-siun; but being afterwards weakened, they were driven to the west, in the fourth century, and probably then fell into the stream of northern inundation, then beginning to move towards the south."—P. 106.

The third race enumerated by Aristotle is that of the Thracians. Dr. Wiseman is of opinion that these were the Monguls; and supports this conjecture by a passage from Julius Firmicus,* where that writer says:—"If by the mixed influence of the stars the characters and complexions of men are distributed; and if the course of the heavenly bodies, by a certain kind of artful painting, form the lineaments of mortal bodies; that is, if the Moon makes men white, Mars red, and Saturn black, how comes it that in Ethiopia all are born black, in Germany white, and in Thrace red?" By this it would appear, says Dr. Wiseman, that the copper or olive colour was the characteristic of the Thracian family, and consequently that it corresponded to what we now should call the Mongul race.

But without dwelling longer on this early classification, it will be enough to observe that,—

"For many ages, the same obvious classification of mankind, formed upon the prevalent complexion in different parts of the world, was followed without much discrimination, so that the human race must be considered as divided, like the earth which it inhabited, into three classes or zones; the very white occupying the colder regions, the black possessing the torrid, and the fair the temperate regions."—P. 109.

In the hands of Leibnitz, Linnæus, Buffon, Kant, Hunter, Zimmerman, Meiners, Klügel, and others, this principle grew into

* Astronomicon, lib. i. c. 1. ed. Basil. 1551, p. 3.

systems of various degrees of complexity, occasioned by the discovery of many intermediate shades in the colour of nations. A new basis for this important study was propounded by Governor Pownall,* who suggested that the shape of the skull should be observed, as well as the colour of the skin. But we are indebted to Camper for the first exact rule for making this comparison of the skulls of different nations, so as to arrive at definite and characteristic results. This rule consists, first, in measuring what Camper called "the facial angle." Take a skull in profile, and draw a line from the entrance of the ear to the base of the nostrils. Then draw a second line from the most prominent part of the forehead to the extreme border of the upper jaw, where the teeth are rooted. The intersection of these lines will form an angle, called by Camper the facial angle. This forms, in Camper's system, the specific characteristic of each human family. We shall not follow this system further, since it has been superseded by that of Blumenbach. Dr. Wiseman has concisely described this latter system, illustrating his description by plates. But even without the plates, the following outline is sufficiently intelligible.

"Blumenbach places the skull in its natural position upon a table, and then looks upon it from above and behind, and the relative forms and proportions of the parts thus visible give him what he calls the vertical rule, or *norma verticalis*. Following this, he divides the entire human race into three principal families, with two intermediate ones. The three leading divisions he calls the Caucasian, or central; secondly, the Ethiopian; and thirdly, the Mongul, or two extreme varieties . . . In the Caucasian, or, as others have called it, the Circassian variety, the general form of the skull is more symmetrical, and the zygomatic arches enter into the general outline, and the cheek and jaw bones are concealed entirely by the greater prominence of the forehead. From this type the other two depart in opposite directions, the Negro by its greater length and narrowness, the Mongul by its excessive breadth. In the Negro's skull we may see the remarkable lateral compression of the fore part of the skull, by which the arches aforesaid, though themselves much flattened, yet come to protrude much beyond it; and the lower part of the face comes forward so much beyond the upper, that not only the cheek-bones, but the whole of the jaw, and even the teeth are visible from above. The general surface of the skull is also remarkably elongated and compressed.

"The Mongul cranium is distinguished by the extraordinary breadth of its front, in which the zygomatic arch is completely detached from the general circumference; not so much, as in the Negro, on account of any depression in this arch, as from the enormous lateral prominence of the cheek-bones; which, being at the same time flat, give the peculiar expression of the Mongul face. The forehead, too, is much depressed, and the upper jaw protuberant, so as to be visible when viewed in the vertical direction.

"Between the Caucasian variety and each of the two others, is an intermediate class, possessing to a certain degree, the distinctives of the extremes, and forming a transition from the centre to them. That between the Caucasian and Negro families is the Malay; the link between the former and the Mongul is the American variety."—P. 113.

These families are further distinguished by their complexion, and the colour of their hair and eyes. The Caucasian is white, the Negro

* New Collection of Voyages, Lond. 1767, vol. ii. p. 273.

black, the Mongul olive or yellow, the American copper-coloured, and the Malay tawny.

"The colour of the hair and of the iris follows that of the skin in a sufficiently obvious manner. Even in the fair or Caucasian race, to which we belong, persons with very fair or ruddy complexions have always the hair red, or light-coloured, and the eyes blue or of a light shade; and this has been called the *xanthous* variety of the white race. In persons with a brown skin, the hair is invariably black, and the eye darker, and these are all called the *melanic* variety. This conformity of colour in these different parts was well known to the ancients, who observed it strictly in their personal descriptions. Thus Ausonius, in his Idyll on Bissuta, who belonged to the first class, says of her:

"'——————Germana maneret
Ut facies, oculos cœrula, flava comis.'

"And in another fragment he gives her the corresponding complexion:

"'Puniceas confunde rosas, et lilia misce,
Quisque erit ex illis color aëris ipse sit oris.'

"So Horace describes (*Od.* lib. i. 32) a youth of the second variety,—

"'Et Lycum nigris oculis, nigroque
Crine decorum.'

"From these remarks you will easily understand, that in both the Negro and Mongul races, in which the skin is dark, the hair will be black and the eye dark. The hair, too, besides its colour, has a peculiar character in each race; in the white it is flexible, flowing, moderately thick and soft; in the Negro, very thick-set, strong, short and curly; in the Mongul, stiff, thin, and straight."—P. 114.

From these distinctions in the human race, infidel writers have ventured to assert the derivation of men from stocks originally distinct and independent. Thus, according to M. Bory de Saint-Vincent, referred to by Dr. Wiseman, there are fifteen such stocks. The Adamic family, or descendants of Adam, constitute, he says, only the second division of the Arabic species of man, the *homo Arabicus;* while we, the English, belong to the Teutonic variety of the Germanic race, which is again but the fourth fraction of the *gens braccata*, or small-clothes wearing family of the Japhetic species, the *homo Japheticus*, who is divided into the above mentioned class, and another called the *gens togata* or cloak-wearing family. Dr. Wiseman also refers to Lamarck's brutal theory, that man's bodily organization has sprung from a modification of that of the baboon; and that the spiritual features of the human mind are but superior developments of the faculties of brutes. This disgusting hypothesis has been completely refuted by Mr. Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*. Dr. Wiseman has not here applied his own principle so directly and effectively as he might have done. He ought to have shown more distinctly, that this "slight and ill-supported" assumption, as he justly calls it, of Lamarck, violates the fundamental canons of inductive reasoning. Science itself is sufficient for its own confutation whenever it maintains positions inconsistent with right interpretations of the word of God: and Dr. Wiseman would have arrived at clearer results, considering the imperfect state of this particular science, if he had set himself to show that the theories of the original

plurality of races, or of the derivation of men from monkies by gradual transformation, have not been proved by those who have advanced these propositions; even when tried at the bar of inductive philosophy alone, without removing the cause into any higher spiritual court. He has, however, preferred to show that the science in question affords arguments in favour of the unity of origin of the human race; and our duty, accordingly, is to follow him along that line of argument which he has preferred to trace.

"The great problem to be solved is, how could such varieties as we have seen, have taken their rise in the human species? Was it by a sudden change, which altered some portion of one great family into another; or are we to suppose a gradual *degradation*, as naturalists call it, whereby some nations or families passed gradually through successive shades, from one extreme to the other? And, in either case, which is to be considered the original stock? It must be owned, that the present state of this science does not warrant us in expressly deciding in favour of either hypothesis, nor, consequently, in even discussing the last consequence. But independently of this, it has arrived so far as to leave no reasonable room to doubt the common origin of every race."—P. 122.

The following points, says Dr. Wiseman, embracing all the elements of the proposed problem, have been satisfactorily proved.

"First, that accidental, or, as they are called, sporadic varieties, may arise, in one race, tending to produce in it the characteristics of another. Secondly, that these varieties may be perpetuated. Thirdly, that climate, food, civilization, &c., may strongly influence the production of such varieties, or, at least, render them fixed, characteristic, and perpetual.

"I say that these points, if proved, embrace all the elements of the proposed problem, which is, '*Could* such varieties as we now see in the human race have sprung up from one stock?' For if this is demonstrated, we have removed the grounds whereon the adversaries of revelation deny the unity of origin which it teaches."—P. 123.

Dr. Wiseman first glances at the enormous variety and multiplication of plants; as tending to prove, first, that each species takes its rise from some common centre, whence it has gradually been propagated; and, secondly, that outward circumstances exert a constant and powerful influence, giving birth to almost innumerable varieties.

But the most striking analogies are furnished, as might be supposed, by the animal world: and Dr. Wiseman has adduced several pertinent and interesting illustrations. We have not space for more than three or four of the more striking and conclusive. The skull of the wild boar, as Blumenbach has observed, does not differ less from that of the tame swine, its undoubted descendant, than those of any two human races from one another. Every attempt to produce wool in the West Indies has hitherto failed, because sheep, if transported thither, entirely lose their wool and become covered with hair. The dogs and horses, as Bishop Heber has informed us, which are carried into the hills from India, are soon covered with wool, like the shawl-goats of that climate. What a contrast there is between the slow, massive, long-horned ox, which traverses the streets of Rome, and the small-headed, clean-limbed breed which an English grazier most

prizes. European dogs, says Bosman, soon degenerate to a strange degree on the Gold Coast: their ears grow long and stiff, like a fox's, to the colour of which animal they also incline; so that they grow very ugly in three or four years, and in as many broods their barking turns to a howl or yelp: and these are the characters, says Barbot, of the native dogs. Not only are sporadic or accidental varieties thus produced, but they may be propagated. Dr. Pritchard has brought forward the *ancon*, or otter breed of sheep, as a remarkable example of this fact. It sprang from an accidental deformity in one animal, which communicated its peculiarities so completely to its progeny, that the breed is now completely established; and, being highly valued on account of the shortness of its legs, which does not allow it easily to get through fences, is likely to become perpetual. The enormous Durham ox, again, has been produced by cross breeding, the basis being the kyloe, or small Highland breed.

From these, and similar facts, it appears evident that diversities in the form of the skull, the colour and texture of the hair, and the general form of the body, do affect animals of the same stock; and that these diversities, though often springing from some accidental circumstances, are capable of becoming fixed and characteristic. May we not then, asks Dr. Wiseman, consider it as highly probable, that in the human species, the same causes may similarly operate, and produce no less lasting effects? In answer to this inquiry, Dr. Wiseman brings forward examples of the sporadic tendency to produce in one human family the characteristics of another.

"For example, red hair is considered to be almost exclusively confined to the Caucasian family; yet individuals exist in almost every known variety with this peculiarity. Charleroix observed it among the Esquimaux, Sonnerat among the Papuans, Wallis among the Tahitans, and Lopes among the Negroes. This is no more surprising than that amongst ourselves individuals should be found with frizzled hair; and, I think, those who have paid attention to such things, will have often observed in such persons a tendency towards some other characteristics of the Ethiopian family, as a dark complexion and thick lips."—P. 129.

Dr. Wiseman further brings forward the case of the *porcupine man*, whose strange peculiarities, greater than any of those which distinguish the several families of the human race, were transmitted through three generations. Another variety, and not an unusual one, is that of the *Sedigiti*, as they were called by the ancient Romans; that is, persons possessing supernumerary fingers. This peculiarity has run in the same family for four generations.

"Thus, far, then we have proved, both from analogy and from direct examples: first, that there is a perpetual tendency, I might say a striving, in nature, to raise up in our species varieties, often of a very extraordinary character, sometimes approximating in a marked manner to the peculiar and specific distinctives of a race different to that in which they arise; and, secondly, that these peculiarities may be communicated through successive generations, from father to son. A strong presumptive evidence is thus obtained, that the different families or races among men, may owe their origin to some similar occurrence; to the casual rise of a variety which, under the influence of

favourable circumstances—the isolation, for instance, of the family in which it began, and its consequent intermarriages,—became fixed and indelible in succeeding generations."—P. 132.

Still the great question remains—Have we any instance of whole nations having been so changed? Dr. Wiseman closes with this question in his fourth Lecture; and sets himself to prove that a transition must, some time or other, have taken place in entire nations, from one family to another. For this purpose he calls in the assistance of the comparative study of languages. No one, he observes, can doubt that nations speaking languages with a strong affinity between them, must originally have been somehow united.

"If two nations speak, and have spoken, as far as history can reach, dialects of the same tongue, we must conclude them to have had a common origin; unless one of them, at least, can be shown to have changed its language, an hypothesis always requiring the strongest evidence. For, experience proves the extraordinary tenacity with which even small communities keep hold of their original language. The *Sette Comuni*, a small German colony, established beyond the reach of historical documents, in the north of Italy; the Greeks of Piana dei Greci, near Palermo; the Flemish clothiers in Wales, settled there for many centuries; all retain dialects, more or less impure, of their mother tongue, and afford some of the many proofs which might be brought how difficult it is to root out any language.

"Having thus established one fixed and unalterable element, it affords a certain test whether the other has remained unchanged; or, to speak more plainly, if identity of speech infallibly proves two nations to have been originally one, and yet they differ from one another in physical characteristics to such an extent as to be now classified in different races, these characteristics are thereby proved liable to change, for one of the two nations must have lost its original type. Now, I think it can be proved, that the boundaries of the two-fold classification of men, according to language, and according to form and feature, no longer coincide; and as they must have once run together, and as that of language has remained unvaried, we must conclude that the other has undergone a change. Nay, I think we shall be able to go even farther; for while no instance has yet been brought, nor ever will, nor can be, of any people, either by gradual transition, or by voluntary impulse, transferring its language from one family to another, we may perhaps surprise nature in her other order of classification, at the moment of effecting a transition from one family to another, by discovering examples of an intermediate state between any two, or of the processes whereby it has sometimes been produced."—P. 139.

Dr. Wiseman adduces in proof of his position the connexion between the Hungarian and the Finnish, Lapponian, and Esthonian languages; which also embraces the Tchermisses, Votiaks, Ostiaks, (As-jacks,) and Permians, tribes now inhabiting the banks of the Oby, and even more eastern parts of Siberia. Now, while all these tribes are proved by the affinity of their languages to belong to one family, their physical traits are singularly distinct. While several of these Uralian or Tschudish tribes, as the Laplanders, Tchermisses, Woguls, and Hungarians, have black hair and brown eyes; others, as the Finns, Permians, and As-jacks, have red hair and blue eyes. Again, the languages of the Tartars (or rather Tatars) and Monguls, are placed by all the best ethnographers in the same family. But the physical characteristics of the two people are broadly different.

The prevalence, yet again, of a language, essentially the same, from India to Iceland, proves that the intermediate nations have a common origin; yet the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula differ from us, in colour and shape, so materially as to be classified in another race.

Dr. Wiseman then proceeds to show, by a collection of facts, that a change of the colour of the skin from white to black is possible, and that it may become permanent by descent. These facts do not appear to us to warrant so decided a conclusion as Dr. Wiseman's main proposition requires him to draw from them; but they are sufficient to show that in the present imperfect state of physiology, those who pursue it are not warranted in denying on physiological grounds the unity of origin of the human race. But let our lecturer speak for himself. He thus gathers up all the evidence he has collected, and recapitulates the connexions of the different races, and the insensible shades whereby they seem to blend one into another.

"The white race, which I consider as the central one, connects itself with the Mongul through the Finns and Asjacks, who have its complexion, hair and iris; likewise through the Tatars, who insensibly pass through the Kirghis and Yakuts into the Mongul race; and, thirdly, through the Hindoos, who communicate with us through the Sanskrit language. With the Negro race it is connected through the Abyssinians, who have a Semitic language and European features, and through the Arabs of Suakin, who resemble the Noulas; then come the natives of Mahass, then the Foulahs and Mandingos, and so forward to the Congoese, the complete Negroes, and the Hottentots. These last, again, are closely allied to the mountaineers of Madagascar, they to those of Cochin-China, the Moluccas, and Philippine Islands; in all which are a race of black woolly-headed mountaineers, differing in language from the other natives. These again join the New Hollanders, and the natives of New Caledonia, and the New Hebrides, who are farther connected by similarity of customs, religion, and partly by physical traits, with the New Zealanders, and other natives of Polynesia, and so in fading tints, till we almost return to the Asiatic families.

"The population of these islands deserves a more particular attention. I have observed, that through the innumerable islands of Polynesia, there are two distinct tribes or families. Forster, in fact, proves this point incontestably. While the inhabitants of Tahiti, and New Zealand, the Marquesas, Friendly and Society Islands, speak but dialects of the same language, as is proved by his comparative tables, those of the New Hebrides, especially Malicollo, New Caledonia, and Tanna, speak barbarous dialects, quite distinct, and, to all appearance, unconnected. Their physical characteristics are likewise very different; approaching to the Negroes of the more western islands.

"But what I wish principally to remark is, how the tribes belonging to the first race, the unity of which no one will deny, have varied, on one side, in form and complexion, to such an immense extent; and how those of the other have likewise departed so much from their original type, that the two have blended together, so as to be hardly distinguishable, except by their languages. 'Each of the above two races,' says Dr. Forster, 'is again divided into several varieties, which form the gradations towards the other race; so that we find some of the first race almost as black and slender as some of the second; and in this second race are some strong athletic figures, which might almost vie with the first.' . . .

"Dr. Pritchard reasons very forcibly upon this gradation within the race or family. 'If,' says he, 'we view these races (the Papuan and Polynesian) together, they appear to furnish sufficient proof, that the utmost physical diversities presented by the human frame in different nations, may and do arise

from a uniform stock. They enable us to produce actual facts as examples of this deviation. We cannot, indeed, go back all the steps at once, but we can go the whole of the way by degrees. If a few of the fairest New Hollanders were separated from the community, and placed on an island by themselves, they would form a race of lighter colour than the New Zealanders. Under favourable circumstances, would not this stock deviate into still lighter shades, as the race of New Zealand, or its kindred in the Society Isles, has done? . . .

"The existence of such gradations, almost from one extreme to the other in the same race, is not peculiar to these tribes. The Malays exhibit a similar variety . . . The difficulty of accounting for such diversities is rather favourable than opposed to the consequences we have been drawing: for, the fact being thus established, that in a race acknowledged to be one, such varieties have sprung up; the difficulties of tracing them to a uniform cause, show that there are agencies we have not yet discovered; or a complication of causes whose elements we have not yet mixed in the prescribed proportions, so as to understand its action."—Pp. 158—161.

And after observing that the same series of modifications exists in the family to which we ourselves belong; that the varieties therein, when once produced, are indelible; and that the subdivisions, however blended by every civil and moral union, will continue, like the united waters of the Rhone and Saone, to flow together in one stream, but with distinguishable currents; Dr. Wiseman concludes that—

"Even the smallest varieties, once produced, are never again obliterated; and yet not, therefore, are they marks of independent origin. Even families may transmit them; and the Imperial house of Hapsburg has its characteristic feature. And whence arises this indelibility on natural processes, of varieties by natural processes introduced? This should seem to be one of the mysteries of nature; that we may on anything compel her to place her signet, but we know not how again to force it off. Man, like the magician's half-skilled scholar, so beautifully described by the German poet, possesses often the spell whereby to compel her to work, but has not yet learnt that which may oblige her to desist."—P. 162.

Dr. Wiseman's fifth and sixth Lectures consist of an application of his argument to the Natural Sciences; from which, however, he has selected two only, Medicine and Geology. The first of these is somewhat artificially brought in; and Dr. Wiseman's method of treating the awful mystery of our Saviour's death, for the purpose of proving its reality from medical considerations, is so very painful, that we will not even glance at it further than to enter our most earnest protest against all such irreverent investigations. With regard to his observations on Geology, he has not kept pace with the advance of that science, nor availed himself of the recent lights which have been thrown upon the interesting question of the aspect of geological discoveries and theories toward current interpretations of the Book of Genesis. Having treated of this subject already, we will not pursue it further on the present occasion.

On the relation of the natural sciences in general to the subject of his Lectures, Dr. Wiseman observes,—

"It would of course be impossible to bring every branch of the natural sciences so completely into contact with sacred studies, as these whereof we

have treated, nor can it be necessary to do so. For there is one way in which they all can be made subservient to the interests of religion, by viewing them as the appointed channels by which a true perception and estimate of the Divine perfections are meant to pass into the understanding; as the glass wherein the embodied forms of every great and beautiful attribute of the Supreme Being may best be contemplated; and as the impression upon the mind of the great Seal of creation, whereon has been engraven, by an Almighty hand, mystical characters of deepest wisdom, omnipotent spells of productive power, and emblems most expressive of an all-embracing, all-preserving love. And even as the engraver, when he hath cut some way into his gem, doth make proof thereof upon the tender wax; and if he find not the image perfect, is not thereby disheartened, so long as it presents each time a progressive approach to its intended type, but returns again and again unto his peaceful task; so, if we find not, that, at once, we bear upon ourselves the clear and deep impress of this glorious signet, we must not fear to proceed with our labours, but go on, ever striving to approach nearer and nearer the attainment of a perfect representation. A few years will probably bring forward new arguments for the great facts whereof we have treated, which will render all that you have heard but of small value. Those that come after us will, peradventure, smile at the small comprehension granted to our age, of nature and her operations;—we must be content, amidst our imperfect knowledge, with having striven after that which is more full.

"For, if the works of God are the true, though faint image of Himself, they must, in some way, partake of His immensity; and as the contemplation of His own unshadowed beauty will be the unsating, everlasting food of unembodied spirits, so may we say, that a similar proportion hath been observed between the examination of His image reflected on His works, and the faculties of our present condition; inasmuch as therein is matter for meditation ever deeper, for discovery ever ampler, for admiration ever holier. And so God, not being able to give to the beauties of His work that infinity which is reserved to the attributes they exhibit, has bestowed upon them that quality which best supplies and represents it; for, by making our knowledge of them progressive, He has made them inexhaustible."—P. 241.

In the succeeding Lectures, Dr. Wiseman has collected a number of examples from Early History, Archæology, and Oriental Literature, of objections drawn from these subjects, and urged against the correctness in some particular of Holy Scripture; and has shown how completely these objections have in every instance recoiled upon those by whom they have been urged. In the twelfth and last Lecture, he describes the character of the confirmatory evidence which has been obtained through the entire course, as arising from the variety of tests to which the truth of religion has been submitted. This review, which also serves to show the general drift of those Lectures to which we have merely referred, is too long to be extracted entire; and we must be content to exhibit the general results which Dr. Wiseman has arrived at, in a more compendious form, partly in his language, partly in our own.

The general purpose of these Lectures has been to mark the relation between the evidences of Christianity and other pursuits; and to trace the influence which the necessary progress of these must have upon the illustration of the former. The object and tendency of the investigation has been to examine the different phases which revealed religion presents, from the reflected light of so many various

pursuits; to see what are its aspects under the influence of such diversified powers, and thus ascertain how far it is capable of resisting the most complicated assay, and defying the most obstinate and unfriendly examination. No book has in this respect so completely laid itself open, if untrue or incorrect, to detection and exposure, as the Bible.

"In it we have recorded the earliest and the latest physical revolutions of our globe; the dispersion of the human race; the succession of monarchs in all surrounding countries, from the time of Sesostris to the Syrian kings; the habits and manners and languages of various nations; the great religious traditions of the human race; and the recital of many marvellous and miraculous events, not to be found in the annals of any other people.

"Had the tests whereby all these different ingredients were to be one day tried, existed when they were compounded together, some pains might have been taken to secure them against their action. But against the future, no skill, no ingenuity, could afford protection. Had the name of a single Egyptian Pharaoh been invented to suit convenience, as we see done by other oriental historians, the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, after 3000 years, would not have been one of the chances of detection against which the historian would have guarded. Had the history of creation, or of the deluge, been a fabulous or poetical fiction, the toilsome journeys of the geologist among Alpine valleys, or the discovery of hyænas' caves in an unknown island, would not be the confirmations of his theory on which its inventor would have ever reckoned. A fragment of Berosus comes to light, and it proves what seemed before to be incredible, to be perfectly true. A medal is found, and it completes the reconciliation of apparent contradictions. *Every science, every pursuit, as it makes a step in its own natural onward progress, increaess the mass of our confirmatory evidence.*"—P. 423.

And thus we are led to regard religion as the queen of truth: the light that scatters doubt and misconception; the link that binds together the visible and invisible worlds; the harmony of the universe; the resolution of every problem; the resting-place of the soul when wearied by its impotent excursions into the regions of speculation. It appears as the olive, the emblem of peace, described by Sophocles, (*Œdip. Col.* 694)—a plant not set by human hands, but of spontaneous and necessary growth in the great order of creative wisdom; fearful to its enemies, and so firmly grounded, that none, in ancient or later times, has been able to uproot it.

Φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον, αὐτόποιον
Ἐγχέων φόβημα δαΐων·
Τὸ μέν τις οὔτε νέος οὔτε γήρᾳ
Σημαίνων ἁλιώσει χερὶ πέρσας.

History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortez. *By* WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. 3 vols. London: Bentley. 1843.

The Despatches of Hernando Cortez, translated into English, from the original Spanish, by G. FOLSOM. Wiley and Putnam.

NOTHING is more easy than to depreciate the services of Cortes and his companions in the conquest of Mexico. The genius and heroism of the conquerors may be rendered apparently doubtful by the critic, by dwelling upon the acknowledged superiority of European civilization, contrasting the inequality of the Indian maquatihl, with its edges of flint, to the Toledan blade of the Spanish cavalier, or the unerring matchlock of the foot-soldier; by enlarging on the terror experienced by the Indians at the wondrous hippocentaur, the Spanish knight, whom they deemed a part of his horse, or worship the steed as the avatar of the war-god, and to compare the mail of the Christian with the plaited cotton of the disciple of Huitzilopotchli. Grant, then, all these qualifying circumstances, make the most of the assistance rendered by the brave natives of Tlascala, the hereditary enemies of the Aztec,—give all the weight that is due to the reverence with which the white men were received by the Indian, as those descendants of the God who were to return from beyond the ocean to rule again in Anahuac,—and the expedition of Cortez still remains a wonder. With little more than five hundred Europeans, with but a few light guns, and sixteen mounted cavaliers, Cortez commenced the conquest of a country that numbered its warriors by hundreds of thousands. Without an Indian to aid him, with his men clothed, not in mail, but quilted cotton, he encountered on the plains of Ceutha the thousands of the warriors of the Tabascan nation. Cramped and crowded in upon on every side by the crowds of dusky warriors, the artillery of the Christians was of little avail, and the tide of battle was gradually circling round and sweeping backwards the small band of adventurers, when the meagre cavalry of Cortez broke in upon the flank of the Indians. The victory was instant,—the Tabascans were soon changed from bitter enemies to friendly allies. With about four hundred foot and fifteen horse, half-a-dozen light guns, and thirteen hundred Indian warriors, Cortez marched from the capital of his Totomac friends to engage the heroic Tlascalans—the republicans who had so long and so successfully warred with the numerous forces of the Aztec emperor. The Tlascalans were no puny warriors to be frightened by horse, or fire from the cannon's mouth. In the very first skirmish they strove to tear the lances from the grasp of the cavaliers, and to drag them from their horses; to them the accustomed terror of the mounted soldier seemed unknown; they might indeed be astounded at the report of fire-arms,

and at the secret destruction wrought by this Christian weapon, but they were not intimidated. In the first great battle with the invader, they fought hand to hand with the horsemen, and bore with unflinching bravery the fire of the matchlocks; and when at length eight of their principal chiefs had fallen, the Tlascalans drew off from the field of battle, a defeated but not routed body,—as a well-disciplined army, not as a panic-struck mob of barbarians. Great, of a truth, was the assistance rendered to Cortez by these brave republicans in the wars which he waged against the Aztec empire; but how severe were the battles by which he compelled these warriors to become his friends! Bear in mind the horrors of the Noche Triste, and the maniacal attempts of the Aztecs to storm the palace camp of the Spaniards. Some hundreds of Christians fell in those conflicts,—but a trifle in modern warfare, but an almost unbearable loss when amounting to half the invader's force, and that too in a foreign land, far, far away from his resources. Again, how dreadful was the siege and storm of Mexico when defended by Guatemozin; the long causeways broken up into dikes and canals; the water swarming with Indian canoes, whence the dusky warriors leaped fearlessly on the causeways, and strove to draw their enemies into the waters of the lake, regardless alike of wounds and death; the gradual destruction of the buildings, each day's progress marked by the smoking ruins of the city and the festering corses of Christian and Indian! How closely allied are history and romance!

We wish not, however, to dwell on the military horrors of the conquest, content rather to realize to the minds of our readers the difficulties overcome by Cortez, by following Mr. Prescott in his learned and interesting disquisitions on the state of civilization of the nations of Anahuac; for we feel that by the discovery of every new symptom of civilization among the inhabitants of Mexico, we go further in enhancing the difficulty overcome by the Spaniards, than in multiplying or recounting the numbers of their armies or the prowess of their warriors.

About the middle of the seventh century a nation came from out the north, and entered the land of Anahuac, establishing their capital at Tula, to the north of the valley of Mexico. Whence they came from, and whither, after a residence of four centuries, they disappeared to, is a mystery; they came and went silently, and passed from out the land in secret, leaving the mighty cities they had raised a prey to the next horde of barbarians. It has oft been conjectured that in the ruins of Palenque, and the deserted cities of Yucatan, we look upon the works of the shadowy Toltecs. The Chichemecs, their successors in the valley of Mexico, soon fell before the new flood of invaders of higher civilization, yet in all probability of the same race as the Toltecs, who, as Aztecs or Mexicans, and Acolhuans or Tezcucans, founded the monarchies of the two great cities of the great lake of the valley of Anahuac. The Tezcucans were comparatively mild in their religion and manners, until corrupted by the

habits of the fierce and rude Aztecs. They gradually amalgamated with the relics of Chinchemecs, and brought them to the standard of their own civilization; and as their numbers increased, their empire was extended over the ruder tribes of the north, and their capital demonstrated in its populousness and its elegance, the progress of the nation towards civilization.

The fate of the Aztecs was not so happy as that of the Tezcucans. Impelled by their natural ferocity, and opposed by the neighbouring tribes on account of their cruelties, the Aztecs wandered for many years around the valley of Mexico, ere they established themselves in any permanent residence. At length, in the year 1325, as they approached the south-western shore of the lake, they beheld a royal eagle of extraordinary size and beauty, settled on the stem of a prickly pear, that sprang out from a rock encompassed by the waters of the lake. In its beak it bore a serpent, and basked with its opened wings in the rays of the rising sun. The omen was accepted, and the first pile of the new city was soon driven into the low marsh that bordered on the lake. In light houses of reeds and wood, they lived on the waters of the lake, and brought a precarious subsistence from the fish that swam beneath their dwellings, the wild fowl that resorted to the marshes, and such vegetables as they could raise on the little gardens that floated round the new city. From the omen of the rock and the cactus, they called this nest of reed-huts Tenochtitlan; as dedicated to their war-god Mexitli, the new city was known as Mexico. The progress of the young monarchy was at first slow; internal dissensions caused a separation from their small party, and thus divided, it was long before the Aztecs could secure to themselves possessions on the mainland. Gradually they increased in numbers and in power, and their name became terrible among their neighbours. The subversion of the kingdom of Tezcuco, by the Tepanecs, was the beginning of their greatness. The Aztecs lent their aid to the dethroned prince, and the Tepanecs were defeated, their country seized and given to the Aztecs as their reward, and a triple alliance entered into between the restored crown of Tezcuco, the emperor of the Aztec, and the small state of Thlacopac, that bordered on the great lake to the north of Mexico. The allies worked well together, and the progress of the three states was proportioned to their unanimity in council and in action. The capital gave evidence of the prosperity of the nation, the houses of reeds and wood gave place to palaces of stone, and causeways measuring miles in length connected the island city with the shores of the lake. Old feuds were healed, population increased, year after year new provinces were added to the united empire, and when the Spaniards landed at Vera Cruz the Aztec dominion reached from sea to sea. From a wandering tribe, fighting for life amid numerous other tribes of cognate races, the Aztecs were become a great and terrible nation. From a village of reed huts, Tenochtitlan was a city of palaces, of which the conqueror could thus write in his despatches to his master,

but a few months before he levelled it with the ground. We cite from Mr. Folsom's translation of the despatches :—

"The great city of Temixtitan [Mexico] is situated in this salt lake, and from the main land to the denser parts of it, by whichever route one chooses to enter, the distance is two leagues. There are four avenues, or entrances to the city, all of which are formed by artificial causeways, two spears' length in width. The city is as large as Seville or Cordova; its streets, I speak of the principal ones, are very wide and straight; some of these, and all the inferior ones, are half land and half water, and are navigated by canoes. * * * * The city has many public squares, in which are situated the markets and other places for buying and selling. There is one square twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded by porticoes, where there are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessaries of life, as, for instance, articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are also exposed for sale wrought and unwrought stone, bricks burnt and unburnt, timber hewn and unhewn, of different sorts. * * * * Every kind of merchandise is sold in a particular street or quarter assigned to it exclusively, and thus the best order is preserved. They sell everything by number or measure; at least so far we have not observed them to sell anything by weight. There is a building in the great square that is used as an audience house, where ten or twelve persons, who are magistrates, sit and decide all controversies that arise in the market, and order delinquents to be punished. In the same square there are other persons who go constantly about among the people, observing what is sold, and the measure used in selling; and they have been seen to break measures that were not true. This great city contains a large number of temples, or houses for their idols, very handsome edifices, which are situated in the different districts and the suburbs; in the principal ones religious persons of each particular sect are constantly residing, for whose use, besides the houses containing the idols, there are other convenient habitations. All these persons dress in black, and never cut or comb their hair from the time they enter the priesthood until they leave it; and all the sons of the principal inhabitants, both nobles and respectable citizens, are placed in the temples and wear the same dress from the age of seven or eight years until they are taken out to be married; which occurs more frequently with the first-born, who inherit estates, than with the others. The priests are debarred from female society, nor is any woman permitted to enter the religious houses. They also abstain from eating certain kinds of food, more at some seasons of the year than others. Among these temples there is one which far surpasses all the rest, whose grandeur of architectural details no human tongue is able to describe; for within its precincts, surrounded by a lofty wall, there is room enough for a town of five hundred families. Around the interior of this enclosure there are handsome edifices, containing large halls and corridors, in which the religious persons attached to the temple reside. There are full forty towers, which are lofty and well-built, the largest of which has fifty steps leading to its main body, and is higher than the tower of the principal church at Seville. The stone and wood of which they are constructed are so well wrought in every part, that nothing could be better done, for the interior of the chapels containing the idols consists of curious imagery, wrought in stone, with plaster ceilings, and wood-work carved in relief, and painted with figures of monsters and other objects. All these towers are the burial-places of the nobles, and every chapel in them is dedicated to a particular idol, to which they pay their devotions."

No wonder that the mind of Cortez misgave him, when, from the city of Iztalapan, he gazed upon the royal city, but a few miles distant, and looked across the blue waters of the lake,

" Where Azthan stood upon the further shore;
Amid the shade of trees its dwellings rose,
Their level roofs with turrets set around,
And battlements all burnished white, which shone
Like silver in the sunshine; I beheld
The imperial city, her far circling walls,
Her garden, groves, and stately palaces,
Her temples mountain size, her thousand roofs."

Government of the Aztecs was an Elective Monarchy from embers of one family. Prowess in war was the main requisite, ie priestly office was no disqualification, however it might ice the four noble Electors in whom the selection of a sove- rested.

e new monarch was installed in his regal dignity with much parade of s ceremony; but not until, by a victorious campaign, he had obtained a nt number of captives to grace his triumphal entry into the capital, and ish victims for the dark and bloody rites which stained the Aztec super- Amidst this pomp of human sacrifice he was crowned. The crown, ling a mitre in its form, and curiously ornamented with gold gems and s, was placed on his head by the Lord of Tezcuco, the most powerful of al allies. The Aztec princes, especially towards the close of the dynasty, a barbaric pomp, truly oriental. Their spacious palaces were provided alls for the different councils, who aided the monarch in the transaction ness. The chief of these was a sort of privy council, composed in part, ly, of the four Electors chosen by the nobles after the accession, whose when vacant by death, were immediately supplied as before. It was iness of this body, so far as can be gathered from the very loose accounts f it, to advise the king, in respect to the government of the provinces, inistration of the revenues, and, indeed, on all great matters of public ."—*Prescott, Conq. Mex.* pp. 22, 23.

e body guard of the King comprised the first nobles of his and many among this powerful class, which held the most tant offices in the capital and in the provinces, could trace their it to the founders of the monarchy. Setting aside the exagge- accounts of Torquemada and Herrera, and taking with somewhat discount the thirty great chiefs, each numbering an hundred nd warriors in his train, it is clear that there was a numerous owerful Aztec nobility, many of whom, if not all, lived and as independent princes, regarding the Emperor as rather *primus pares*, than as actually supreme over their order. In the by which this noble class held its estates, we recognise the es of the feudal system, though falling far short of the harmo- system by which feudal service was regulated in Europe.

eir estates," says Mr. Prescott, "appear to have been held by various , and to have been subject to different restrictions. Some of them by their own good swords, or received as the recompense of public s, were held without any limitation, except that the possessors should not of them to a plebeian. Others were entailed on the eldest male heirs, default of such, reverted to the crown. Most of them seem to have urdened with the obligation of military service. The principal chiefs of o, according to the chronicler, were expressly obliged to support their with their armed vassals, to attend his courts, and aid him in the council. nstead of these services, were to provide for the repairs of his buildings,

and to keep the royal demesnes in order, with an annual offering, by way of homage, of fruits and flowers. It was usual, if we are to believe historians, for a new king, on his accession, to confirm the investiture of estates derived from the crown."—*Conquest of Mexico*, p. 25.

In both Mexico and Tezcuco, the legislative power was rested in the monarch, not so, however, the judicial; each town or district had its resident judge, appointed for life, from whose judgment, as well in civil or criminal cases, there was no appeal, even to the King. Below him again, were three inferior judges of concurrent jurisdiction, subject to appeal to the one high judge of the province, whilst below these were a kind of local magistracy elected by the people themselves, whose power was confined to smaller and less important cases. Here, too, was the Anglo-Saxon tithing or hundred system, relieved from the penalty of mutual responsibility. So many families were subject to the surveillance of one among them, appointed to watch over their lives and to report on their conduct to the higher authorities. In Tezcuco the judicial system was more refined; besides the gradations already mentioned, all the judges, great as well as small, held a meeting in the capital, every eighty days, forming a court of error from inferior authorities, as well as council to the King, who sat as their president, and having original jurisdiction in such cases as from their importance might be referred to them.

With judges maintained in independence for life, forbidden, under the most awful penalties, to be guilty of collusion with any suitor, with all the proper apparel to command respect, and apparatus to enforce order, the case came before the judges without the ingenious ornaments or apologies of counsel, and the oath of the accused was not excluded its influence, *pro tanto*, in the decision on the case. The great step had been gained in fencing round the judicial authority with the sanction of the law, and rendering the interference of the monarch in the judges' courts an act of unconstitutional tyranny. Their penal code took its colour from their religion; death was the general punishment, even for the murder of a slave; for the Aztec, though he tolerated slavery, and hesitated not to sacrifice to his gods the slaves he had taken in battle, regarded the murderer of the slave, as he would the slayer of one of his own proud race. Death was awarded to the adulterer, the unjust guardian, the man who removed another's landmarks, who tampered with the established measures, who wasted his means in riotous living. To the young who lapsed into intemperance was awarded death, to the elder, loss of rank and of property. Marriage was honourable among them, guarded by religious rites, and legal defences. One court alone confined its attention to that subject, and it was only after long and patient hearing that those who had been united before their gods could be separated by the sentence of this court. Their slavery could not have been other than of the mildest form, when we know that freemen, rather than endure poverty, would sell themselves into bondage. The services to be enacted were strictly defined by law,

and the slave could acquire property equally with his master, and have his slaves to perform his labour; nor was the sanctity of his family to be violated with impunity, or his children born to servitude. The Aztec revenue was raised by a tax on agricultural and manufacturing produce as well as from the crown lands, the fiscal system was most complete, and the portal communication by couriers carried news from one to two hundred miles within the day. The Aztec, fierce and fond of blood as he was, was not unmindful of the sick and the wounded. It was reserved to Christianity to teach the whole world their duty in providing for the sick and needy, and affording some alleviation of the chastisements which the Almighty awards to us in this world of trial. The Aztec was ignorant of Christianity, but not so of one of its beneficial fruits. Every chief city boasted of its hospital for the sick, its permanent refuge for the disabled soldier, where, as the native chronicler records, "they did not protract the cure in order to increase their pay."

The Aztec was a warrior by birth. Everything in the constitution of his country tended to foster the desire of military prowess. The crown was awarded to prowess in battle; the great god of his people was the war god, who would bear away the soul of the soldier that fell in battle to the mansions of the Sun. The declaration of war came rather from the god than the emperor—was a crusade rather than a campaign. Beautiful was the warrior's dress as he marched to battle. The silver helmet, with its *panache* of bright feathers; the white cotton vest, or the cuirass of three plates of gold or silver, and the surcoat of gorgeous feather-work,—

> "The feathery breastplates, of more gorgeous hue
> Than the gay plumage of the mountain cock,
> Than the pheasant's glittering pride,"—

rendered the battle array of the Mexicans as imposing in panoply, as it was powerful in numbers. Their tactics were far from *scientific*. Songs, war-cries, brisk charges, ambuscades, and all the sudden attacks and retreats of guerilla warfare, were their usual resources. "It was a beautiful sight," says one of the Spanish writers, "to see them set out on their march, all moving forward so gaily, and in such admirable order." They sought rather to make prisoners than to slay, for the god honoured him the most who brought most victims to his altar, and the voice of the people ratified the dictum of the god's priest.

Religion was so closely interwoven with the public and private life of the Aztec, that, however unwilling to pause on the honours of the Aztec worship, we must perforce devote a few lines to that system, which never failed in uniting against the conquerors the spirit of the nation, amid the greatest sufferings, the severest reverses. The very incongruous mixture of the bloody ritual of the Mexican Mars with the mild worship of the Air god, seems to render it probable that the latter deity was a relic of the mythology of the Toltecs, the former the natural god of the ferocious tribe that came into their seats. As the Aztec nation rose to the supremacy, the worship of their god

became dominant; the Air god was reported to have fled from the land to his home across the great sea, to return at some future period and reclaim his lost supremacy. When the Spaniards first appeared, with light complexions and flowing hair, as the Air god was figured, the Indians believed the prophecy was completed, and were prepared to accept the rule of the White gods. But the White god of old was a god of mercy, and the cruelties of these new White gods soon proved to the Aztecs that the Spaniards were no sons of Quetzalcoatl.

The pious missionaries, who recognised in the virgin mother of the Mexican Mars the counterpart of the Virgo Deipara, identified the Apostle Thomas with the meek and benevolent Quetzalcoatl. The halcyon days which are assigned to his duration on earth, when it teemed with fruits without the labour of culture, and the ear of corn formed a sufficient burden for a strong man, and the mild form of religion which he inculcated, might, with but little exaggeration, be regarded as the confused tradition of the teaching of Christianity, and the social benefits consequent on its introduction. Nor was this conjecture lessened when the cross was found among their sacred emblems—when, in more than one of their forms of prayer, Christian morality was found almost in the words of the Gospels, and the lips and bosom of the new-born infant were washed and sprinkled with consecrated water, whilst the priest prayed that "the Lord would permit those holy drops to wash away the sin that was given to it before the foundation of the world; so that the child might be born anew." To this deity, or rather to the teacher, who, for his good acts and better words was raised into a god by his grateful followers, we may attribute all those evidences of higher civilization we have already spoken of, as well as the refined character of the future state believed in by the Aztecs, where the absence of physical suffering in the punishments of the wicked, and of martial sports and sensual gratifications in the heaven of the warriors, is contrary to the habits and thoughts of the ferocious Aztec.

"The sacerdotal order," says Mr. Prescott, "was very numerous; as may be inferred from the statement, that five thousand priests were, in some way or other, attached to the principal temple in the capital. The various ranks and functions of this multitudinous body were discriminated with great exactness. Those best instructed in music took the management of the choirs; others arranged the festivals according to the calendar. Some superintended the education of youth; and others had charge of the hieroglyphical paintings, and oral traditions; whilst the dismal rites of sacrifice were reserved for the chief dignitaries of the order. At the head of the establishment were two high priests, elected from the order, as it would seem, by the king and principal nobles, with reference to birth, but solely for their qualifications, as shown by their previous conduct in a subordinate station. They were equal in dignity, and inferior only to the sovereign, who rarely acted without their advice in weighty matters of public concern. The priests were each devoted to the service of some particular deity, and had quarters provided within the spacious precincts of their temple—at least, while engaged in immediate attendance there; for they were allowed to marry, and have families of their own. In this monastic residence they lived in all the stern severity of conventual discipline. Thrice during the day, and once at night, they were called to prayers. They were frequent in their

ablutions and vigils, and mortified the flesh by fasting and cruel penance; drawing blood from their bodies by flagellation, or by piercing them with the thorns of the aloe. The great cities were divided into districts, placed under the charge of a sort of parochial clergy, who regulated every act of religion within their precincts. It is remarkable, that they administered the rites of absolution and confession. The secrets of the confessional were held inviolable, and penances were imposed of much the same kind as those enjoined by the Roman Catholic Church. There were two remarkable peculiarities in the Aztec ceremony. The first was, that as the repetition of an offence, once atoned for, was deemed inexpiable, confession was made but once during a man's life, and was usually deferred to a late period of it, when the penitent unburdened his conscience, and settled at once the long arrears of iniquity. Another peculiarity was, that priestly absolution was received in place of the legal punishment of offences, and authorized an acquittal in case of arrest. Long after the Conquest, the simple natives, when they came under the arm of the law, sought to escape by producing the certificate of confession."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 60—62.

The ceremonies of absolution, and the words used by the priest, present a strange medley of semi-Christianity and heathenism. God is addressed as conscious of the secrets of the heart, and besought to "let his forgiveness and favour descend like the pure waters of heaven, to wash away the stain from the penitent's soul." The son of the confessing person is assigned, "not to his free will, but to the influence of the sign under which he was born." Minute ceremonies and severe penances are enjoined, and a slave for sacrifice is demanded as absolutely necessary; whilst, at the same time, he is exhorted to clothe the naked, and feed the hungry, even to his own privation, "because their flesh is like his, and they are men like him." It must have required all the powers of the priesthood, through the means of the schools over which they were supreme, and in which they were the only authorized teachers, to reconcile so incoherent a system of faith and practice to the minds of the people. They had, indeed, young and plastic minds to work upon, and power to enforce obedience; for terror, not emulation or love, was the main spring of Mexican education.

Turn we now from the dark mysteries of the religion of the Aztec —from its burdensome ceremonial, its bloody sacrifices, its cannibalism of its victims, to the great struggle of the nation to emerge from its natural barbarism, and by cultivating the seeds which the more refined and milder Toltecs left behind them, to assume a positive rank in the scale of civilization. No one can read of the religion of the Aztec, and not perceive its near relation to that of the ancient Egyptians; the resemblance is even more striking as we open up the scientific knowledge.

The nearest approach of hieroglyphical writing to the alphabet, is the system of phonetic representation, in which signs represent sounds of either entire words, or parts of them; the farthest off is the series of the picture-writing of actual events. The Mexicans were conversant with the latter form; the Egyptians most given to the former kind of hieroglyphical writing. The Aztec relied more on the figurative than either the symbolical or phonetic variety of hieroglyphics; at least, this is Mr. Prescott's opinion.

"In casting the eye over a Mexican MS., or map, as it is called, one is struck with the grotesque characters it exhibits of the human figure; monstrous overgrown heads on misshapen bodies, which are themselves hard and angular in their outlines, and without the least skill in composition. On closer inspection, however, it is obvious that it is not so much a rude attempt to delineate nature, as a conventional symbol to express the idea in the most clear and forcible manner, in the same manner as the pieces on the chess-board of similar value, while they correspond with one another in form, bear little resemblance, usually, to the objects they represent. Those parts of the figure are most distinctly traced that are most important. So also the colouring, instead of the delicate gradations of nature, exhibits only gaudy and violent contrasts, such as may produce the most vivid impression; 'for even colours,' as Gama observes, 'speak in the Aztec hieroglyphics.' But in the execution of all this the Mexicans were much inferior to the Egyptians. The drawings of the latter, indeed, are exceedingly defective, when criticised by the rules of art; for they were as ignorant of perspective as the Chinese, and only exhibited the head in profile, with the eye in the centre, and with total absence of expression. But they handled the pencil more gracefully than the Aztecs, were more true to the natural forms of objects, and, above all, showed great superiority in abridging the original figure by giving only the outline, or some characteristic or essential feature. This simplified the process, and facilitated the communication of thought. An Egyptian text has almost the appearance of alphabetical writing, in its regular lines of minute figures: a Mexican text looks usually like a collection of pictures, each one forming the subject of a separate study. This is particularly the case with the delineations of mythology, in which the story is told by a conglomeration of symbols, that may remind one more of the mysterious anaglyphs sculptured on the temples of the Egyptians, than of their written records."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 84, 85.

With all due deference to the learned author of the Conquest of Mexico, we cannot but think that he underrates the hieroglyphical skill of the Aztecs, in assigning to them the lowest scale among the nations who were conscious of representative records. When we remember the acknowledged accuracy with which they represented to Montezuma the white strangers, who had arrived on his shores, astonishing even the Spaniards themselves, not only by the accuracy of the delineation of their general appearance, but by their attempts —and successful attempts—at individual portraiture, we must assign to them, at least, a very high scale in mere picture-painting. But why must we confine their knowledge to mere picture-painting, this lowest kind of writing? Had they not symbols for such things as were difficult of such representation? The years, the seasons, the elements, had their appropriate symbols, too often arbitrary in the individual writer, as Mr. Prescott says, but still sufficiently alike to admit of general interpretation. The tongue always represented speech; the print of a foot, motion. Again, there was an approach to phonetic signs;—we admit but an approach, confined chiefly to proper names. But when we disparage the Mexican for not carrying out his knowledge of hieroglyphical writing, and superseding the vague and rude picture by the phonetic sign, we should remember that the kingdom of the Aztec lasted but a few centuries, and yet showed signs of progress in this, as in every other science, and that the Egyptian monuments show no greater infusion of phonetic

characters, we allow no mean proof of scientific progress during nearly two thousand years. But it is said the Egyptians had been familiar with hieroglyphics from their infancy, and the rude paintings suited the illiterate. The same excuse may be assigned for the Aztec. With the example of the wondrous nation of Egypt, we need not deem it strange that the Mexican failed in breaking down the thin boundary between the lowest and highest series of writing.

Again, consider how few specimens are now existing of Mexican manuscripts. The conquerors rivalled the wantonness of Omar in the destruction they wrought on the records of the Mexicans. The first prelate of Mexico piled the picture paintings of the Aztecs, as many as he could gather together from every side of the great square of Tezcuco, and set fire to this "mountain heap" of national archives. The civil rulers rivalled the ecclesiastical in their ravages. The governor of Mexico, Zavala, sold the documents of the Mexican archives to the apothecaries to wrap drugs in, and to the pyrotechnists to form into rocket-cases. And even of the few MSS. now remaining, the Borgian, having escaped the search of the conquerors, and the bigotry of the Roman priests in later days, fell into the hands of the children of the servants of the Guistiniani family, in whose possession it was, and only escaped calcination from the thickness of the doeskin on which the figures were emblazoned.

Besides the great destruction and consequent scarcity of Mexican MSS., there are many reasons which combined to render the interpretation and deciphering of them even more obscure and difficult than of the hieroglyphics of Egypt. It was not until some years after the conquest, that some few Spanish antiquaries endeavoured to rescue from destruction, and bring to light, the few MSS. still remaining in the country; and when they, in their desire of interpreting these picture paintings, applied to the natives for assistance, they found they had to contend as well with the old feeling of devotion to their departed faith and kingdom, which prompted them to conceal their distaste of disclosing the secrets of the Aztec nations to their conquerors; as with that newer feeling imported and encouraged by the more bigoted and illiterate of the missionaries, that these were works of the evil one, superstition, as well as fear of punishment, restrained them from admitting any knowledge. Some few of the MSS. have a native interpretation written with them, but how this can be depended on is difficult to be decided. We are clearly too ignorant of the system of Mexican picture painting, to give more than very general dicta on the subject. The Mexican Calendar presents so many difficulties in the way of a clear explanation, that we shall merely refer to Mr. Prescott's chapter on the subject, almost prepared, when we read and re-read his account, to agree with Father Sahagun in its unhallowedness, "as founded neither on natural reason, nor on the influence of the planets, nor on the true course of the year; but plainly the work of necromancy, and the fruit of the compact with the devil;" the approved

method among the early writers of characterising the mysteries of the faith and knowledge of the Aztec.

Astrology is too natural to the uneducated mind, especially when the science of astronomy is gradually developing its wonders, not to find a chief place among the Mexican sciences. There is so much beauty in the belief in astral influences, that were it possible to separate it from the fatalism to which it leads, we might even now regard it with respect. Coleridge in his translation of Wallenstein, has seized its fairest point:—

> "It is a gentle and affectionate thought,
> That, in immeasurable heights above us,
> At our first birth, the wreath of love was woven,
> With sparkling stars for flowers."

The Aztec, however, was no mean astronomer—it was the highest of his sciences, as far as we can now judge, and there are fewer relics of astronomical instruments, than even of picture paintings. The great Mexican Calendar-stone alone remained a witness to their scientific attainments as astronomers. The want of stones for a furnace prevented the preservation of some further fragments at Chapoltepec, and deprived Gama of the means of elucidating somewhat more on the subject; it was no mean attainment in this science that enabled their priests to adjust their festivals by the movements of the planets, and fix the length of the year with marvellous accuracy, an accuracy to be attained only by patient and long investigations. We will not here delay to meditate on the origin of this knowledge. This is our author's description of the great festival of the renewal of the world's term of life; the birth of the new cycle.

"I shall conclude the account of Mexican science with that of a remarkable festival, celebrated by the natives at the termination of the great cycle of fifty-two years. We have seen, in the preceding chapter, their tradition of the destruction of the world at four successive epochs. They looked forward confidently to another such catastrophe to take place, like the preceding, at the close of a cycle, when the sun was to be effaced from the heavens, the human race from the earth, and when the darkness of chaos was to settle on the habitable globe. The cycle would end in the latter part of December, and, as the dreary season of the winter solstice approached, and the diminished light of day gave melancholy presage of its speedy extinction, their apprehensions increased; and, on the arrival of the five unlucky days which closed the year, they abandoned themselves to despair. They broke in pieces the little images of their household gods, in whom they no longer trusted. The holy fires were suffered to go out in the temples, and none were lighted in their own dwellings. Their furniture and domestic utensils were destroyed; their garments torn in pieces; and every thing was thrown in disorder, for the coming of the evil genii, who were to descend on the desolate earth.

"On the evening of the last day, a procession of priests, assuming the dress and ornaments of their gods, moved from the capital to a lofty mountain about two leagues distant. They carried with them a noble recluse, the flower of their captives, and an apparatus for kindling the *new fire*, the success of which was an augury of the renewal of the cycle. On reaching the summit of the mountain, the procession paused till midnight; when, as the constellation of the Pleiades approached the Zenith, the *new fire* was kindled by the friction of the sticks placed on the wounded breast of the native. The flame was soon

communicated to a funeral pile, on which the body of the slaughtered captive was thrown. As the light streamed up towards heaven, shouts of joy and triumph burst forth from the countless myriads who covered the hills, the terraces of the temples, and the housetops, with eyes anxiously bent on the mount of sacrifice. Couriers, with torches lighted at the blazing beacon, rapidly bore them over every part of the country; and the cheering element was seen brightening on altar and hearth-stone, for the circuit of many a league long before the sun, rising on its accustomed track, gave assurance that a new cycle had commenced its march, and that the laws of nature were not to be reverses for the Aztecs."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 113, 114.

And now, when, to adopt the words of Southey in his Madoc, the blaze had sprung up from its living altar to herald the sun of the new century, and the fire was restored to temple and house, then began the Aztec carnival, then the people put on their gayest apparel, and the houses were restored to their gay appearance, and the people danced and sang before their idols, whilst the priest gathered in the costly offerings of a nation grateful for a renewal of their existence. Like the *ludi seculares* of the Romans, no man could hope to see the close of the cycle but once, to bear but once his part in those games, "quos nec spectasset quisquam, nec spectaturus esset."

Agriculture was greatly patronized among the Mexicans; the soldier and the high noble were alone exempt from the labours of husbandry, and the weaker sex bore their part in the lighter labours of the field alone; the Aztec, if he traced his race to the Egyptian, had thrown off the effeminacy of his forefathers, preferring the labours of the field, to the driving of the shuttle, and marking his distinctness from the more northern tribes in his own continent, in not only relieving the Mexican female from severe labour, but in raising her to the rank of a companion, a sharer in all his joys, in all his miseries. In his intercourse with his wife and family, the fierce Aztec establishes his claim to a high rank in civilization; the obligations of the marriage vow were made under the sanction of religion, and observed under the fear of temporal and eternal punishments; modesty was inculcated as the virtue of the female, implicit reverence for her husband as the best ornament of the wife. The science of working in the precious metals was carried to a great height among the Aztecs; and though furnished with tools of soft bronze alone, yet by the aid of the dust of flint stones, they rendered their tools sufficiently hard and sharp to work not only metals, but precious stones. They were but rude sculptors, but compensated for beauty and of design and execution in the number and size of the statues they carved. Mexico was crowded with statues—according to Clavigero, these relics formed the quarries for the great stones required for the foundations of the new city, when it rose from its ruins under Cortez. The cathedral in the *Plaza Mayor* stands on sculptured stones, and hardly a cellar is dug, or a foundation excavated within this, the Aztec forum, without disclosing some fragment of Mexican sculpture. The hand of the destroyer, and the exhortations of the bigot, have swept these records away. Up to the middle of the

last century, the great bas-reliefs of the unfortunate Montezuma and his sire, cut in the solid rock, stood among the groves of Chapoltepec; they are gone, broken and defaced by the order of the government of the time.

Such was the Aztec in his religion, his polity, and his manners. Towards the eastern end of the great lake, lay the kingdom of Tezcuco, the firm ally of the Mexican, superior in every respect to the other races of Anahuac. The Acolhuans and Tezcucans were of the same great family as the Aztecs; but, either from the greater mingling of their race with that of the Toltecs, or from the severe lessons which misfortune and subjection to the cruel Tepanecs taught them, the Tezcucans surpassed the Mexicans in intellectural culture and social civilization, as much as they rivalled them in power; and were then inferior in military ferocity. The Tezcucans had settled little more than a century in their new abode, when the Tepnecs came up against them, slew the king of the nation, drove his young heir into exile, and subjected the people to a bitter tyranny. For a time the young prince sought refuge among a few powerful friends from the power of the conquerors; he was, however, soon seized, his life indeed spared, through the intercession of the Aztec monarch, and cast into a dungeon; an old servant effected the rescue of his prince at the expense of his own life; and Nezahualcoyotl at length found refuge in Mexico, there to pursue, for eight years, his necessary studies. On the death of the tyrant, the prince hastened to tender his obedience to his successor. The refusal of his small presents, and the warnings of his friends, admonished the prince to fly from the power of King Maxtla. He retired to Tezcuco. The tyrant sought to entrap him at a banquet, and failed; then he threw off his disguise, sent his soldiers after the young prince, and set a price upon his head. Troops of armed men traversed the country in search of him; and a heap of merchandise or aloe stalks were not unfrequently the only safeguard to the prince, as the soldiers searched the place of his temporary refuge. His people were true to their prince, and despised the bribes of the tyrant.

"Here (near Tlascala,) he led a wretched, wandering life, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, hiding himself in deep thickets and caverns, and stealing only at night, to satisfy the cravings of appetite; while he was kept in constant alarm by the activity of his pursuers, always hovering on his track. On one occasion, he sought refuge from them among a small party of soldiers, who proved friendly to him, and concealed him in a large drum, around which they were dancing. At another time he was just able to move the crest of a hill, as his enemies were climbing it on the other side, when he fell in with a girl who was reaping *chian*, a Mexican plant, the seed of which was much used in the drinks of the country. He persuaded her to cover him up with the stalks she had been cutting; when his pursuers came up, and inquired if she had seen the fugitive, the girl coolly answered, "She had," and pointed out a path as the one he had taken. Notwithstanding the high reward offered, Nezahualcoyatl seems to have incurred no danger from treachery; such was the general attachment felt to himself and his house. "Would you deliver up the prince, if he came in your way?" he inquired of a young peasant, who was unacquainted

with his person. "Not I" replied the other; "What, not for a fair lady's hand, and a rich dowry besides?" rejoined the prince; at which the other only shook his head and laughed. On more than one occasion, his faithful people submitted to torture, and even to lose their lives, rather than disclose the place of his retreat."—*Prescott*, Vol. i. pp. 149, 150.

Few among the great nobles of the nation adhered to the fortunes of their prince, and the sufferings of such as accompanied him in his wanderings, only added to his distress; at last relief came. The neighbouring nations began to fear the power of the Tepanecs, and long for the mild rule of the Tezcucan princes. The allies joined their forces, and the prince at the head of his new friends drove out the conquerors, and recovered his kingdom, and his people their liberty. Then came the triple alliance of Mexico, Tezcuco, and the little state of the Tlacopan, on the extreme western shores of the lake; an alliance, remarkable from the different resources and power of the contracting parties, from the fidelity with which its terms were observed, and the entire absence of disputes as to the respective portions of such territories as the three powers conquered together, to be assigned to the three victorious allies. The restored prince brought with him a general amnesty to those of his people who had bowed to the usurper during his misfortunes; his object was not to revenge himself on his people, but to restore them to their own estate; and no part of the government of his kingdom was omitted in the new code of laws he composed for its regulation. We have already noticed the leading features of the Tezcucan government. We need here merely allude to the share given to the people, along with the nobles and professional dignitaries, in the judicial tribunals, and the great council of advice, where the chiefs of the fourteen great orders sat to counsel their prince in the government of his kingdom; his greatest work was the Academy of Tezcuco.

"Lastly," says Mr. Prescott, "there was an extraordinary tribunal, called the Council of Music; but which, differing from the import of its name, was devoted to the encouragement of science and art; works on astronomy, chronology, history, or any other science, were required to be submitted to its judgment, before they could be made public. This censorial power was of some moment, at least, with regard to the historical department, where the wilful perversion of the truth was made a capital offence to the bloody code of Nezahualcoyotl. Yet a Tezcucan author must have been a bungler, who could not elude a conviction under the cloudy veil of hieroglyphics. This body, which was drawn from the least instructed persons in the kingdom, with little regard to rank, had supervision of all the productions of art, and of the nicer fabrics; it decided on the qualifications of the professors in the various branches of science, on the fidelity of their instructions to their pupils, the deficiency of which was severely punished, and it instituted examinations of these latter. In short, it was a general board of education for the country; on stated days, historical compositions and poems, treating of moral or traditional topics, were recited before it by their authors. Seats were provided for the three crowned heads of the empire, who deliberated, with the other members, on the respective merits of the pieces, and distributed prizes of value to the successful competitors."—*Conquest of Mexico*, Vol. i. p. 154.

It is curious to remark how the Tezcucan legislator seems to have adapted the extended sense of the word music, so prevalent among the Greek philosophers, and not to have conformed to the mere artistic combination of sound and rythym, which it now means. It is marvellous to find the taste for a purely literary luxury so early developed among the Southern Indians; and see the revenues of the country contributing, not merely to the sensual gratification of architecture, or skill in handwork, or pride of dress, but to what argued the existence of a taste in the nation itself. Those who so readily postpone every useful discovery, until after the Baconian development of practical induction, may hardly credit how much they owe to the men of old, and even to those whom they characterise as savages; we have quite enough of our own to allow a little to our predecessors. Among the bards who bowed to the decision of this Academy of the Athens of Anahuac, was the royal legislator himself. His descendant, the historian Ixtlilxochitl rendered one of his ancestor's poems into Castilian, of which we draw the following English version, from the appendix to Mr. Prescott's book. Thus, then, sang the royal poet of Tezcuco, before the foot of the white man had trod on the soil of the new world.

1.

Now would I sing, since time and place
  Are mine, and oh! with thee,
May this my song obtain the grace,
  My purpose claims for me.
I wake these notes on song intent,
But call it rather a lament;
Do thou, beloved, now delight,
In these my flowers, pure and bright,
  Rejoicing with thy friend;
Now let us banish pain and fear,
For, if our joys are measured here,
  Life's sadness hath its end.

2.

And I will strike, to aid my voice,
  The deep, sonorous chord;
Thou dancing, in these flowers rejoice,
  And feast Earth's mighty Lord.
Seize we the glories of to-day,
For mortal life fleets fast away;—
In Octlehacan, all thine own,
Thy hand hath placed the noble throne,
  Which thou hast richly drest;
From thence I argue, that thy sway
Shall be augmented day by day,
  In rising greatness blest.

3.

Wise Oyotzin! prudent king!
  Unrivalled prince, and great,
Enjoy the fragrant flowers that spring
  Around thy kingly state.

A day will come, which shall destroy
Thy present bliss,—thy present joy,—
When fate, the sceptre of command,
Shall wrench from out thy royal hand,—
  Thy moon diminished rise;
And as thy pride and strength are quenched,
From thy adherents shall be wrenched
  All that they love or prize.

4.

When sorrows shall my truth attest,
  And this thy throne decline,—
The birds of thy ancestral nest,—
  The princes of thy line,—
The mighty of thy race, shall see
The bitter ills of poverty.
And then shall memory recall
Thy envied greatness, and on all
  Thy brilliant triumphs dwell;
And when they think on bygone years,
Compared with present shame, their tears
  Shall to an ocean swell.

5.

And those, who, though a royal band,
  Serve thee for crown, or plume,
Remote from Culhuacan's land
  Shall find the exile's doom.
Deprived of thee,—their rank forgot,
Misfortune shall o'erwhelm their lot;
Then Fame shall grudgingly withhold
Her meed to greatness, which of old
  Blazons and crowns displayed;
The people will retain alone
Remembrance of the triple throne
  Which thus our land obeyed.

6.

Brave Montezcuma's Indian land
  Was Mexico the great,
And Nezahualcoyotl's hand
  Blessed Culhuacan's state.
Whilst Toloquil his portion drew
In Acutlapan, strong, and true;
But no oblivion can I fear
Of good by thee accomplished here,
  Whilst high upon thy throne;
That station, which, to match thy birth,
Was given by the Lord of earth,
  Maker of good alone.

7.

Then Nezahualcoyotl,—now,
  In what thou hast delight,
And weave around thy noble brow
  Life's garden blossoms bright;
List to my lyre and my lay,
Which aim to please thee, and obey.

Day after day, as the king meditated in the groves of Tezcotintzo, on his immortal destiny, he became more and more a follower of the unknown God, and when at length he died, full of age and honours; and on his death-bed gave the royal robes to his youthful heir, and sage counsel for his future guidance, he besought him not to neglect the worship of the "unknown God," and bewailed how that his own sins had prevented him from knowing the great and true God. "He was wise, valiant, and liberal," says the historian, his descendant; "he had few failings himself, and rigorously punished them in others. He believed in one God only, the Maker of heaven and earth, by whom we have our being, who never revealed himself to us in human form, nor in any other; with whom the souls of the virtuous are to dwell after death, while the wicked will suffer pains unspeakable." When the Spaniards entered the land, the golden age of Tezcuco was matter of history, for, though during the reign of the young prince, the worship of the unknown God had not been abolished, yet he yearned after the bloody rites of Huitzilopotchli and the sacrifices that accompanied his burial were the heralds of the return of the superstitions and rites of the Aztecs.

The greatest contrast to the Tezcucans were the natives of the little republic of Tlascala, the fiercest enemies of the Mexican alliance, and the only tribe that had successfully resisted the armies of the "triple throne." When the Spaniards first entered their lands the Tlascalans were their most dangerous and unceasing enemies, but when the bond of union was once between them for the destruction of the empire of their ancient enemy, they never swerved from the standard of Cortez, and contributed, through their bravery, to the subjugation of the Mexicans, as much as their unextinguishable hatred of the Aztec added to the honour of every battle, "for they rage like wild beasts, sparing none." Of the city of Tlascala, Cortez gives the following description in his despatches—a description nowhere to be realized by the traveller.

"This city is so extensive and so well worthy of admiration, that although I omit much that I could say of it, I feel assured that the little I shall say will be scarcely credited, since it is larger than Granada, and much stronger, and contains as many fine houses and a much larger population than that city did at the time of its capture; and is much better supplied with the products of the earth, such as corn, and with fowls and game, fish from the rivers, various kinds of vegetables, and other excellent articles of food. There is in the city a market, in which every day thirty thousand people are engaged in buying and selling, besides many other merchants who are scattered about the city. The market contains a great variety of articles, both of food and clothing, and all kinds of shoes for the feet; jewels of gold and silver, and precious stones, and ornaments of feathers, all as well arranged as they can possibly be found in any public squares or markets in the world. There is much earthenware of every style and a good quality, equal to the best of Spanish manufacture. Wood, coal, edible, and medicinal plants, are sold in great quantities. There are houses where they wash and shave the head as barbers, and also for baths. Finally, there is found among them a well-regulated police; the people are rational and well-disposed, and altogether greatly superior to the most civilized African nation."

he land of bread," for such was the meaning of Tlascala, was
ly state of Anahuac in which the government was not a pure
ism. Of the same great family as the Aztecs, the Tlascalans
l the great plateau about the end of the twelfth century, and
on the western borders of the lake of Tezcuco. A quarrel
he neighbouring tribes brought on a war in which the Tlasca-
ıd to sustain the united strength of a powerful coalition. The
fell to the weaker party; but prudence dictated to the Tlas-
the necessity of retiring from the neighbourhood of such
ul enemies, while they could so do with honour and in safety.
separated into three bodies, and commenced their migrations.
ortion passed to the southward, by the ancient city of Cholula,
ught refuge in the warm and fruitful valleys, which were sur-
d by bold and defensible mountains, where the Spaniards found
n their arrival in America. Here the Tlascalans defied even
nies of the "triple crown;" but the contest was unceasing,
ough aided by the fierce Stomies, they must eventually have
bed to the power of Montezuma had they not allied themselves
he white men, after they had tested their prowess, and felt
uperiority. The government of the Tlascalans, denominated
historians, and even by Mr. Prescott, republican, was a federal
racy of four states. Each state had its chief and its own
, who ruled within their own territories, and possessing a co-
te authority in the great council of the nation, in all matters
ing the interests of the whole state. The four chiefs were
primi inter paces, and sat with their own nobles in their own
ls, and with the united body in that part of the nation.
th the high nobles, were different degrees of dignitaries, each
g of his superior by a rude feudal tenure, maintaining his state
ce, and following his banner in war. Beneath these, were the
, with as little, perhaps a less, share in the government than
n the despotic state of Mexico, where the lower magistrates
lected by the people, and carefully distinguished by a peculiar
rom the aristocrats. Here, too, was a rude order of knight-
the reward of military prowess, wisdom in council, and success
de; for, high as the Tlascalans estimated military prowess,
ıonoured the counsellor for his wisdom, and the merchant for
alth and support he provided for the state. Like their lan-
, the Tlascalans were a bold and rough people, and in the
little addicted to the treachery of their enemies, the Aztecs.
different from the brave and hardy Tlascalans were the inha-
s of the Mecca of Anahuac, the Cholulans. The inhabitants of
Holy City" were the great commercialists of the valley of
o. They excelled in working of metals, and the weaving of
from the fibres of aloe. Their feather work was unrivalled;
e pottery of Cholula might be matched with that of Florence.
habits tended not to raise up either a brave or hardy race of
whilst the sacredness attached to their city defended them from

the attacks of their neighbours, when their cunning was unable to compete with the courage of their enemies. Cholula dated back to the races that preceded the Aztec tribes,—it was found a great city by them on their incursion, and the lofty pyramid of the "Air god" was standing when the Mexicans entered the valley. In Cholula, the fires of sacrifice never failed, and the blood of the victim was continuously poured out upon her Altars. Hither flocked the devotees from every part of Anahuac, and when from the neighbouring heights they looked upon the great pyramid of Quetzalcoatl, with its eternal fires, apparently in mid-air, the worshipper bowed the knee in fervent prayer, as the crusader when he first gazed on the towers of Salem. Here the Air god had paused on his journey to the coast, and for twenty years taught the Toltecs his benevolent creed. The remembrance of him was still existing, but the worship paid to him was altered; the Aztec gods had raised their temples on every side of him, and blood flowed as freely on his altar as on those of his numerous rivals.

"The Cholulans," says Cortez, in his despatches, "are better clothed than the Tlascalans in some respects, as the superior classes of citizens all wear cloaks over their other dress; similar in shape, material, and bordering, to those of Africa, but unlike them in being provided with pockets. Since the late troubles they have been and continue true and obedient vassals of your majesty, performing whatever is required of them in your royal name, and I believe they will remain so hereafter. This state is very fertile under cultivation, as there is much land, most of which is well watered; and the exterior of the city is more beautiful than any in Spain, as it contains many towers, and is situated on a plain. And I assure your majesty, that I have counted from a mosque or temple four hundred mosques and as many towers, all of which are of mosques in this city. This city is more suitable for the Spaniards to inhabit than any of the towns we have yet seen, as it has unoccupied lands and water for cattle, which none of the others have that we have seen; and the multitude of people who dwell in the other places is so great, that there is not a hand's-breadth of land which is not cultivated."

When we consider the state of civilization in Mexico, as we have endeavoured to sketch it, however conscious we may be of the almost impossibility of working out satisfactorily the great problem of its origin, we cannot repress the desire of making some few researches on the origin of the tribes in America. Most strange have been the speculations of the highest minds on this question. Acosta leads the band who trust to the junction of the continents at the pole, as the bridge over which man passed from one continent to the other; Count Carli would revive again the Atlantis of Plato, the floating island now submerged, that stretched from Africa to the New World; others trust to boats and rafts; whilst Torquemada cuts the Gordian knot, by summoning angels to his aid, assigning to them the management of the ark, and the proper distribution of its living inmates, on the cessation of the deluge. We have already seen the "Air god" assigned to St. Thomas, on the credit of a portion of his name meaning a twin (Didymus); but M'Culloch (the American) gives him to Noah, and Lord Kingsborough, as sharp at a Hebrew root as a dog at a

truffle, discovers the Pentateuch in the Teoamoxtli, the divine book of the Tezcucan doctor.*

Certain it is, that when the conquerors landed in America, they discovered a numerous, powerful, and civilized people, and did not find a single animal they were acquainted with in the old world. The solution of this problem is totally different to that connected with the human species. In America, as late investigations have shown, the similarity betweewn the conformations of the Indians of the New World with at least one, if not more, of the races of the old. This point we cannot take up; it will be sufficient to allude to the certainty of the fact, and to its existence in many other islands, especially in New Holland, and to remind our readers that St. Augustine long since believed that "as by God's word the earth brought forth the living creature after its kind" at the creation, so a like creation took place after the deluge in islands and continents too remote to be reached by the inhabitants of the ark.

Now, the real difficulty as to the colonization of America, is not how mankind passed over from one continent to the other, but whence they came from. The distance to which voyages were prosecuted in very early times, and the leagues that the canoe of the savage has floated, are at hand to solve the difficulty of communication; but their origin remains untouched. There were two races in the New World, with a common complexion, and common physical organization; the one savages, the other semi-civilized. Whence came this refinement? A refinement bearing evident marks of Eastern origin, among a people whose language was so dissimilar. The belief in a certain number of cycles, or ages of the world, as well as in the tradition of a deluge, are so widely spread among western, as well as eastern nations, to admit of any argument from a similar belief among the Aztecs, though the almost accurate resemblance in particulars between the traditions of Tezpi, his ark filled with animals and birds resting at the foot of a great mountain, and the sending forth of the vulture and the humming bird, seem to warrant those who have assigned a Mosaic origin to these traditions.† Now in all these traditions, as well as in those relating to a race of giants who sought to escape the deluge by raising a lofty pyramid, and were, they and their tower, blasted byightning, we must bear in mind that we have the sole accounts of them from Christian writers too anxious to prove the identity of the Aztec superstitions with a debased form of Christianity, to ensure the accuracy of their descriptions, and not to warrant us in believing that they wrote and saw through glasses of a very Christian colour. Still when we read these traditions, and remember the name by which the first woman was hailed among, "the mother of women," by "whom sin came into the world," "who bequeathed the sufferings

* *Teo*, says Lord Kingsborough, means "divine," *amotl*, "paper," and *moxtli* appears to be "Moses."

† In a previous paper on Norman's Ruined Cities of Yucatan, we extracted at length the Mexican legend of the deluge of Tezpi.—Vol. V. p. 758. *Christian Remembrancer.*

of child-birth to women as the tribute of death," "the serpent woman," we feel the difficulty, (after every allowance for predisposition in the historians,) of rejecting the old opinion of the connexion between the people of Palestine and the Mexicans. And surely there is no reason, because the early Spanish missionaries, struck with the presence of the cross as an emblem of worship, with the consecrated image of the deity made of flour and blood, which the priests eat with "signs of sorrow, and humiliation, declaring that they were eating the flesh of their god;" when they found the rites of baptism and confession, they drove their theory of resemblance further and more particularly than it warrants, surely there is no reason why the general theory of Asiatic origin should be abandoned; an origin quite sufficient to account for such distorted traditions of Mosaic facts, as we meet with, as well from the place of the original of the human race, as from the various captivities of God's people among eastern nations. We need not argue with Torquemada, that the migration of the Aztecs from Aztlan to Anahuac was typical of the Jewish Exodus; or believe, with Herrera, that the devil chose to imitate so accurately in everything the departure of the Israelites and their subsequent wanderings, that the places where the Mexicans halted on their march can be identified with those in the journey of the Israelites. The Spanish fathers discovered in the Mexican hieroglyphics, the passion of the Saviour, the Virgin and her attendant angels; whilst the noble lord who has devoted so much time and money to Mexican antiquities, sees in the name of the chief "Mexi," the leader of the Aztec emigrants, the word "Messiah." Without requiring the aid of an apostolic teacher, or the machinations of the devil, to account for these semblances that certainly did exist between the Mexican traditions and the records of holy writ, we cannot but admit that these coincidences are an argument—*quantum valeat*—in favour of a communication between the East and the American Indians. Add to these the resemblance between the Aztec priesthood and that of the great Tartar family, with their similar rites of penance and confession; the analogy between the bridal ceremony of the Hindoo and that of the Mexican, the burial of the dead, the human sacrifices, of the Mongolian races, and the barbaric state of the court of Montezuma, such as that of the Grand Khan as he is described by Marco Polo.

"A proof of a higher kind," says Mr. Prescott, "is found in the analogies of science. We have seen the peculiar chronological system of the Aztecs; their method of distributing the years into cycles, and of reckoning by means of periodical series, instead of numbers. A similar process was used by the various Asiatic nations of the Mogul family, from India to Japan. Their cycles indeed consisted of sixty, instead of fifty-two years; and for the terms of their periodical series they employed the names of the elements, and the signs of the zodiac; of which latter the Mexicans, probably, had no knowledge. But the principle was precisely the same. A correspondence quite as extraordinary is found between the hieroglyphics used by the Aztecs for the signs of the days, and those zodiacal signs which the Eastern nations employed as one of the terms of their series. The symbols in the Mongolian calendar are borrowed from animals. Four of the twelve are the same as the Aztec. Three others

are as nearly the same as the different species of animals in the two hemispheres will allow. The remaining five refer to no creature then found in Anahuac."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. iii. p. 345.

The lunar calendar of the Hindoos, according to Humboldt, who has set these scientific analogies in the strongest light, presents an equally wonderful correspondence; the signs of the serpent, the cane, the razor, the path of the sun, the dog's tail, and the house, are the same in both series, and seem equally arbitrarily selected by both nations. We extracted Mr. Prescott's description of the close of the cycle, and the ceremonies that hailed the rising of the sun. It is curious to learn that, according to Tatius, the Egyptians put on mourning as the sun descended towards Capricorn, but, as the days lengthened, robed themselves with white, crowned their heads with flowers, and held a jubilee like that of the Aztecs. The traditions of the Mexicans seem to favour the theory of an Asiatic origin, in so far as they point to the same spot as the original home of their tribes, as those of Asia, both are believed to have come from the north, and the hieroglyphic maps of the Mexicans, as well as their national traditions, point to the populous north as the prolific hive of their race. Here they placed their ancient Aztlan, and Huehuetapallan, the abodes of their great gods, the Valhalla of their hero deities. The argument from similarity of conformation of features is thus stated by Mr. Prescott:—

"The conclusions suggested by the intellectual and moral analogies with eastern Asia derive considerable support from those of a physical character. The aborigines of the Western World were distinguished by certain peculiarities of organisation, which have led physiologists to regard them as a separate race. These peculiarities are shown in their reddish complexion, approaching a cinnamon colour; their straight, black, and exceedingly glossy hair; their beard thin, and usually eradicated; their high cheek-bones; eyes directed obliquely towards the temples, and narrow foreheads falling backwards, with a greater inclination than those of any other race except the African. From this general standard, however, there are deviations, in the same manner, if not to the same extent, as in other quarters of the globe, though these deviations do not seem to be influenced by the same laws of local position. Anatomists also have discerned in crania disinterred from the mounds, and in those of the inhabitants of the high plains of the Cordilleras, an obvious difference from those of more barbarous tribes. This is seen especially in the ampler forehead, intimating a decided intellectual superiority. These characteristics are found to bear a close resemblance to those of the Mongolian family, and especially to the people of eastern Tartary; so that, notwithstanding certain differences recognised by physiologists, the skulls of the two races could not be readily distinguished from one another by a common observer. No inference can be surely drawn, however, without a wide range of comparison. That hitherto made has been chiefly founded on specimens from barbarous tribes. Perhaps a closer comparison with the more civilized may supply still stronger evidence of affinity."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. iii. pp. 353, 354.

We attach far less value to the craniological argument than Mr. Prescott does, from the difficulty acknowledged by every investigator of obtaining true Mexican specimens, or of being able to discriminate between the races to which they may have belonged; add to this, the admission that there are acknowledged differences between the specimens obtained, and those of the Eastern Tartars, with whicl

they have been compared; still it is a small grain in the heap of evidence. Another grain is the argument from the architectural remains still existing—not, indeed, in the Mexican territory proper; but among the thick woods and rank verdure of Central America, in the ruined cities of Uxmal, or Palenque. The wanderings of the conquerors did not lead them into these remote places; and, therefore, time and neglect have been the only destroyers; but when the Spaniard came, how little remains of what he found! The same bigotry which waged war against the books of "picture-writing," as the works of a most ingenious devil, assailed every Indian building that partook of a religious character. Palaces became the quarries for modern houses, and now scarcely a vestige remains of the stately edifices that once swarmed with life. But the edifices in Central America were erected by cognate races to the Aztecs, if not by some of their wandering tribes; so that somewhat of an argument may be drawn from them. The result may be thus stated:—

"But what are the nations of the old continent, whose style of architecture bears most resemblance to that of the remarkable monuments of Chiapa and Yucatan? The points of resemblance will, probably, be found neither numerous nor decisive. There is, indeed, some analogy, both to the Egyptian and the Asiatic style of architecture in the pyramidal terrace-formed bases on which the buildings repose, resembling also the Toltec and Mexican *Teocalli*. A similar care, also, is observed in the people of both hemispheres to adjust the position of their buildings by the cardinal points. The walls in both are covered by figures and hieroglyphics, which, on the American, as on the Egyptian, may be designed, perhaps, to record the laws and historical annals of the nation. These figures, as well as buildings, themselves appear to have been stained with various dies, principally vermillion, a favourite colour with the Egyptians also, who painted their colossal statue and temples of granite. Notwithstanding these points of similarity, the Palenque architecture has little to remind us of the Egyptian, or the Oriental. It is, indeed, more conformable in the perpendicular elevation of the walls, the moderate size of the stones, and the general arrangement of the parts, to the European. It must be admitted, however, to have a character of originality peculiar to itself."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol iii. p. 359.

Now, does this come to anything? We fear not. The presence of paint in architecture seems to have been universal from north to south, from east to west. The pyramid of America is, in many respects, unlike that of Egypt: indeed, in Mexico, it assumed, if the Spaniards were correct in their accounts, the form of the retiring stones of the temple of Belus, as described by Herodotus. Hieroglyphics, certainly, are present on the buildings of Central America, as well as on those of Egypt: in both, the representations of the human figure are equally absurd, in our eyes, unless intentionally and metaphorically so; but in the one, they are raised in relief, in the other, engraved in the stone. To what age are we to refer these remains, which were in ruins when the Spaniards entered the land? It seems equally difficult to assign to them thousands of years on the credit of the calculated age of the trees which stand among their ruins, or to give them to the race that immediately preceded the Aztecs, when the brief and casual notices of them by the Spaniards are borne in mind. But how much easier is it to pull

lown theory, than to supply its place! Everywhere we can see liscrepancies in the Asiatic theory,—everywhere we can stumble over difficulties; and yet, with all its faults, we find it difficult to combat he very strong and strange coincidences that meet us at every point, nd which force us to entertain the notion of American civilization eing dependant on that of the East; and to argue that the discrepancies are only such as carry back to remote ages the era of communication between the east and the west—perhaps to the times when the latter races first poured out from the populous north, assigning such differences as are too stubborn to come under this theory, to peculiar and indigenous civilization.

With help of Mr. Prescott, we have gone through the civilization of America, and have seldom found reason to disagree with his conclusions. The author of the lives of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic, requires no praise from us, other than the assurance that his Conquest of Mexico may not fear to range with its elder brother. Of Mr. Folsom, and his translations of the despatches of Cortez, we may, perhaps, speak at another time. Should we ever undertake the subject of the character of Cortez, his despatches are more valuable for this point, than as historical records, as he seldom objects to disguise the truth, if it interferes with his objects.

[Should the orthography of these detestable Mexican surnames be incorrect, the absence of the writer of the above paper must be pleaded: we are not aware that it is the duty of the Editor of the "Christian Remembrancer" to be acquainted with these transatlantic labials and linguals.]

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1. *The Authority and Use of the Scottish Communion Office Vindicated. By the Rev.* P. CHEYNE, *Incumbent of St. John's Chapel, Aberdeen.* Aberdeen: Brown. London: Burns. Oxford: Parker.
2. *A Pastoral Letter, addressed to his Congregation, on the Opening of the New Church of St. James, Cruden. By the Rev.* J. B. PRATT, M.A. London: Rivingtons; Burns. Oxford: Parker.
3. *A Dissuasive from Schism, addressed to the Lay Members of the Scottish Episcopal Church within the Diocese of Edinburgh. By* C. H. TERROT, D.D. Bishop. Edinburgh: Grant.

IN our last number* we illustrated two points, bearing, with no slight weight, on the subject of the Scottish Communion Office,—

* We have to apologize for several errors of the press in our last article on this subject, which lateness in receiving the MS. prevented us from correcting.

Page 645, line 23, for *their* read *the.*
— 645, — 32, for *Her* read *His.*
— 646, the foot note should be omitted.
— 652, line 3, for *re-episcopal* read *episcopal.*
— 655, — 28, for *if it were*, read *it, were they.*
— 659, — 37, [*introits?*] to be omitted.
— 661, — 10, for *affirmative* read *affirmation.*

the independence, both in ritual and discipline, which the Church of Scotland has ever maintained, by virtue of her Catholic privileges, and the sympathy through which, in times past, the Church of England has been identified with her, in their common struggles for the truth. It is no unimportant vantage ground, under present circumstances, for the Scottish Office to occupy, subordinate though it be to the fundamental basis which it claims,—that it is a fair expression of pure Anglican doctrine. It is, of course, more—it is Catholic; but, considering the quarter from which it has been attacked, and the importance, beyond calculation, which it has earned as a witness to those truths among ourselves, which a miserable compromise had rendered somewhat ambiguous in the expression, it becomes a matter of obvious moment to insist upon past tokens of sisterhood and friendship, which are too apt to be overlooked or disregarded. The historical references which we have given, therefore, may not be without their use.

We have observed, that the English Service-book was the only formal Liturgy ever used in Scotland from the "Reformation" to the time of Charles the First. This circumstance was matter of necessity, not of choice. The religious rebellion which had devastated the country rendered the compilation of a national Liturgy as yet impossible, and no other had any authoritative ecclesiastical sanction. The use of the English Service-book was, therefore, a pure accident. But, during this period—from 1548 to 1637—there were no less than four English Books, differing in some considerable respects from each other;—these were, Edward's First Book in 1549; Edward's Second Book in 1552; Elizabeth's Book in 1559; and James the First's Book in 1603. Whether all these editions of the Liturgy were ever in turn adopted in Scotland, we cannot say; this much is clear,—one had quite as much authority in the Scottish Church as another, and it is quite as probable that James's Book may have been used from 1603, as it is certain that Edward's Second Book was ordered in 1557. But the only questions of any importance, in our present inquiry, are, in which of these Service-books are we entitled to look for the purest Anglicanism,* and then, to which of them did the Scottish Church attach herself, when she was at length privileged to draw up a Liturgy of her own? The points are soon decided by mere historical facts. James's Book had no authority save his own; neither Convocation nor Parliament had any share in its establishment. Nevertheless, it was an advance in Catholicity on its predecessor. It shook off some of the most galling fetters which a foreign interference had imposed, and it breathed a purer spirit. Bishop Overall's noble testimony

* By "Anglicanism" we must be distinctly understood to mean, the Church of England's sense of Catholic truth.

to the Anglican faith in the "real presence," as expressed in the Church Catechism, was first exhibited in this Book, as well as other cheering symptoms of returning orthodoxy.

Elizabeth's Book, less Anglican than that of James, was yet more so than Edward's Second. But no act of Convocation seems to have ratified it with an ecclesiastical authority. The Queen and Council, aided by the Parliament, and opposed by the Spiritual Peers, gave it all the sanction which it ever possessed.

Edward's Book of 1552 was a work simply intruded upon the Church of England by foreign Puritans. In its distinctive character, it was thoroughly and essentially un-Anglican. Cranmer had no strength of mind to resist their influence or destroy their arguments, and Calvin, Bucer, and Martyr had it all their own way. One of these zealous but unscrupulous men (Martyr) had the audacity "to give God thanks for making himself and Bucer instrumental in putting the Bishops in mind of the exceptionable places in the Common Prayer."* Irrespective entirely, therefore, of the opinions to which it has been made to yield, it has no pretensions externally to our national deference and respect as English Churchmen. It is a specimen of mere unmixed Protestantism, properly so called, conceived and delivered by foreign Presbyterians. It had, moreover, no other authority than a regal or Parliamentary sanction; it was neither made nor confirmed by the Church in Convocation.

In the First Book of Edward we find—herself being witness—the truest expression of the mind of the Anglican Church. The Committee of Divines which formed it were commissioned not only by the King, but by the Convocation also, and their proceedings were confirmed no less by the Church than by the Parliament. The King, in his answer to the Devonshire rebels, affirmed of the Eucharist, that in this Book "it was brought even to the very use as Christ left it, and as the Apostles used it, and as the Holy Fathers delivered it."† The statute which established it declares that it was "finished by the aid of the Holy Ghost," ‡ and the very act which repealed it calls it "a very godly order, agreeable to the word of God and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people, desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm."§ It is a blessing for which we cannot be too thankful to God, that, with the foreign innovations, from which we are in part still doomed to suffer, we have this recorded commentary and protest, uttered from beneath the millstone which our Church was too weak to throw off,—"such doubts as have been raised in the use and exercise of [this Liturgy] *proceeded rather from the curiosity of the Minister, and* MISTAKERS, *than from any other worthy cause.*"

* Epist. ad Bucerum, p. 81.
† Foxe's Acts and Monuments, ii. 667.
‡ 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 1.
§ 5 and 6 Ed. VI. cap. 1.

Nor does it involve us in any disparagement of our present Liturgy, as left to us by the divines of 1661, to affirm of Edward's First Book, that it contains a full and free expression of pure Anglican doctrine. This is a matter of fact, not of opinion. Doctrines may become facts, and are provable by the same process. It is, now, a matter of fact that such and such doctrines are professed in the Church of England, just as it is a matter of fact that such and such books are received in the canon of the Holy Scriptures. There is no disloyalty, therefore, in measuring our present Liturgy by the standard of our First reformed Book, and in candidly confessing that so far forth as it is still foreign, it is still un-Anglican. To whatever extent this may be proved,—and it chiefly holds good, as respects expression,—there are considerations peculiar to our history, which amply suffice to reconcile us to it, and to bespeak for its deficiencies our dutiful patience and submission. "There are," as Mr. Bulley has wisely remarked, "seasons of difficulty which justify reserve on questions in reference to which a more distinct enunciation of Catholic truths might, perhaps, have been looked for; and, certainly, the epoch of the Restoration was of that description. The Church was indeed sufficiently countenanced by the powers that be, to enable her resolutely to assert her own; but still, like the Church of old, "with one of her hands she wrought, and with the other hand held a weapon;" and she was far too wise to yield up even the outworks of her strongholds, but she was also too prudent to throw out fresh causes of provocation and strife." * But, from the days of Queen Elizabeth, the course with respect to our Liturgy has been one of self-recovery; each review has added something to the movement upwards; the tendency has obviously been out of the Zuinglianism of 1552, towards the Anglicanism of 1549. We are not concerned, therefore, with the charge of disloyalty and undutifulness. Let them see to it who construe our Church's statements through foreign media; who avowedly prefer Bucer, and Martyr, and Calvin, to Laud, and Cosin, and Sanderson; who are so in love with German Protestantism, that they cannot endure English Catholicism.

It is a matter of fact, that the first national Reformed Liturgy in Scotland was formed on an Anglican model. We need not recur to its painful and short-lived history, with which we have at present less concern than with the internal features of its character, and the circumstances of its compilation. But here we possess a valuable testimony, providentially secured for the Church in those troublous times,—a testimony to our own distinctive orthodoxy, which we will never surrender. It is this:—The expressions of Catholic truth, of which three foreign Protestants

* Bulley's "Tabular View," p. xxvii.

had robbed the Church of England, were restored to our sister and neighbour, the Church of Scotland, by three English Bishops. It was the protest of England against Geneva,—of Laud, Juxon, and Wren, against Calvin, Bucer, and Martyr; it was the indignant assertion of pure Anglican doctrine against foreign scepticism, and the committal of it to our Scottish sister's keeping, until it should please God to give us back our own.

But, reserving our illustrations of this most important fact for the present, let us proceed with the history of Scottish offices.

The Church and Service-book of Scotland were laid low together. Indeed, he must be a great stranger to the history of those times, who does not see that the clamour against the latter was but a pretext for the destruction of the former. From this period (1641) to the Revolution, we hear little or nothing of the Service-book. During the Commonwealth, it is well known that the Book of Common Prayer was superseded by the "Directory;" of the formation of which we have this significant memorial, that it was under deliberation, whether the Creed and Ten Commandments should be retained in it; which, being put to the question, it was carried in the negative, and they were rejected.* At the Restoration, Episcopacy was recovered in Scotland, but no attempt was made for the Liturgy; and the Bishops, by the constitution, had no power to interfere. Beyond the apostolic commission, therefore, the Church had scarcely a note of Catholicism to distinguish her from the sects around her. Doubtless, in many instances, the Apostles' Creed retained its place; and the form of a Liturgy was adopted, so far as circumstances would permit; but in no case were any formularies used—on their only valuable basis—as the Church's voice, and by her command. Individuals conducted the service of the sanctuary as each thought best—or, perhaps, as the state of each congregation required, or rather seemed to require; and as many persons were suffered to exercise an uncommissioned ministry under no bond of authority but the mere civil oath of canonical obedience, there is little wonder that the old Confession of Faith, and the Westminster form, were both preserved in use, and that many uncatholic practices obtained general sanction. It would seem, however, that, at ordinations, and in some private instances, the English Liturgy had been employed: "there never was the solemn consecration of a Bishop, or so much as the ordination of one single Presbyter, in our Church, after the restoration of Episcopacy, but in and by the use of the same [English] Liturgy; and some families of the best quality used it by the advice of their Bishops."†

* See Clarendon, ii. viii. 452.

† Answers to the Queries upon the Address of the Episcopal Clergy, by M. P. Mulleton. Printed Edition, 1713, p. 8.

Since making this statement, on the authority quoted, we have seen a letter from Bishop Keith, [given in Lawson, p. 278,] in which is the following:—"I had almost

Thus things stood at the Revolution in 1688, when a radical change, effected by desperate and unprincipled means, and bringing with it sore and searching trials, placed the Church of Scotland in a new position. Since the Restoration, her constitution had been so adulterated by the admixture of worldly and political principles, that but few traces of her distinctive character were left. She had lost her spiritual independence, and all her notes of Catholicism in ritual and in discipline, had fallen a sacrifice to the demands of civil expediency. She was now free. God knows her spiritual privileges were stifled and oppressed by the iron hand of persecution, but persecution could not destroy them, and the most overwhelming severity at the hands of an open enemy, is a less grievous calamity than the tyranny and cruelty of a selfish "protector." From the moment, therefore, that political affairs assumed the decidedly hostile position to the Church, which in Scotland the Bishops courted rather than consent to yield their principles of faith and honour,—the shackles fell from off her limbs. A scourge of bitter cords, indeed, supplied their place,—as an instrument of torture in the enemy's hand,—but the inward conviction of spiritual freedom, which her forfeiture of civil patronage had only made more secure, consoled her in affliction, and lent to her sorrows a soothing spirit of faith, and hope, and patience, which a wretched political economy could neither give nor take away.

The Scottish Church, now freed from the fetters of a capricious regal authority, had it in her power to conduct her own affairs upon the sole footing of primitive and original independence. Among other things, she began to provide for the use of a Liturgy in public worship,—so far, that is, as with safety she could have any public worship at all. And here an evil precedent was admitted (as unavoidable then, it is feared, as it has been unfortunate since) which permitted the use of two Service-books in the same Church. This license was, in itself, neither contrary to primitive practice, nor inconsistent with Catholic unity; but, considering the peculiar circumstances of the Service-books in question, that they are not so much two full impressions as two developments—one in advance of the other—of the one Catholic faith; that, moreover, one had been the national Scottish use, and the other — the national English Liturgy—still in a stage of recovery, it is ever to be deeply lamented, that the Church of Scotland ceded, at any hazard, the privilege of exclusively using her own. But of this license more must not be made than is just. It was evidently, and so far

forgot to set you at rights in a point of fact. All the ordinations of our Scottish Clergymen have not been performed by the English ordinal, since the Restoration of Charles II. For I have in my possession just now, an original act of ordination, performed at Edinburgh, 1680, *Secundum morem et ritum Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, which act I intend to put into the Royal Register of this kingdom."

unavoidably, a measure to which the Bishops were driven. The English Book was that to which they had easiest access; of their own, there were but few copies extant, and the outcry against it still echoed in their ears; they were watched sedulously by their enemies, and every fresh pretext for persecution was eagerly embraced and unscrupulously used; it was very nearly, therefore, a choice between the English Book and none. There were, moreover, amongst the Bishops themselves, internal divisions of a painful nature,—the frequent result of calamities operating variously upon different tempers;—doubts and difficulties oppressed them on all sides; personal jealousies and high political feelings began to manifest themselves contemporaneously with an extreme, and, in some cases, an unscrupulous zeal for the maintenance of the Apostolic order; and, as men of weaker minds and less reverential tempers were advanced to the Episcopate, party spirit gained influence, and under many a profession of conscientious objections to primitive customs, lurked selfish and unworthy designs. We need not allude farther to what was called the "College scheme,"—the government of the Church by Bishops at large elected by their own body,—than is necessary for our present purpose. Let us just observe, by the way, that as to the legitimate acquisition of spiritual Episcopal jurisdiction, two things recognised in the Catholic Church are necessary—appointment by provincial Bishops, and election by the Clergy and people,—and as the Scottish Collegiate Bishops held office by virtue of neither,—[true and valid Bishops as they were],—the Church of Scotland, as respects Episcopal jurisdiction, from the death of the last ante-revolution Bishop (Rose of Edinburgh) to the year 1731, was simply vacant. For Bishops, in a collegiate capacity, to govern a whole nation as one diocese, there is no precedent in the history of the Church from the age of the Apostles. We read, it is true, of Athanasius and Eusebius of Samosata ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons at large, but it was when the Church was overrun with the Arian heresy. And this is the proper footing on which to defend the same proceeding in Scotland; that country was overrun with heresy and schism; the Church was harassed and distressed, and there was danger lest the Apostolic commission should die out, with the hazardous and precarious lives of the then persecuted Prelates: but they had no right to assume what their letters of consecration, in the first instance, expressly disclaimed—Episcopal jurisdiction: they never had any, until 1731, when the Clergy and people of each diocese proceeded to a formal election, and gave them that pastoral relation to which they had hitherto no title or claim.*

But to return to the Liturgy;—that the trials and temptations

* The Church at Aberdeen, which never was without a regular Ordinary, must be excepted from these remarks, which affect most other dioceses. Bishop Gadderar, of Aberdeen, was all along a Diocesan Bishop. He never submitted to "the College," nor approved of their *proceedings*. "*The College*" was latterly the organ of a

from without and within,—the difficulty of procuring copies of their own, and the old feeling against it, in many cases still unsubdued,—the difference of opinion on many points of detail, and the fear of occasioning a wider breach, were pleas of much urgency for countenancing the admission of the English Book, which had fewer expressed prejudices in its disfavour, cannot be denied. Still, the Scottish Book was not forgotten; it was always regarded as of primary value; it was that to which the Church clung as her own especial ritual, and for which no other could be a lasting substitute, whatever associate the necessity of the times might assign to bear it company. As early as 1713, the Earl of Winton had caused an edition of Charles the First's Book to be struck off; but it is quite uncertain how far beyond his own chapel at Tranent the benefits of it prevailed. This, however, may be proved, that where, in the ordinary Daily Service, the English Liturgy was used,—and this, almost universally, was the extent of its adoption,—in the administration of the blessed Eucharist the Scottish form was brought in to supply its defects. "Above two-thirds of our Clergy," a writer early in the last century affirms, "have always administered the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by the Scottish Office only; and by far the greatest part of those who do not take themselves to it solely, yet have been in use of consecrating and generally distributing by it. So that the practice, for nearly three-fourths of the time of prescription with us, has been notoriously in favour of our own Communion Office." Nothing could be more objectionable, in respect of order, than this custom of amalgamating the two Books,—a very natural result, however, of an indefinite license, and one which has always, more or less, prevailed in Scotland to this day. We repeat, therefore, that it was a grievous calamity, the effects of which will last in the Scottish Church beyond the limits of human calculation, that any discretionary power in so grave a matter as the use of her national Liturgy, should have been entrusted to her priests.

But let it never be forgotten on what footing the English Service-book was permitted in the Scottish Church, not as intended to supersede her own Office, much less to counteract or oppose it. It was received at first on grounds of pure necessity, and afterwards retained as a witness to those grand principles of unity which distinguish the two British branches of Christ's Catholic Church. Bishop Raitt has solemnly declared himself on this point:—"None of us have ever discharged the use of the English Liturgy, nor can any of the few who administer the Eucharist by it only, say that they have met with any censure or reprimand for so doing, or been otherwise treated by us than as brethren. With respect to using our own Liturgy, I and all

purely political scheme; the parties associated in it were the veriest Erastians; they kept up a regular communication with the Chevalier St. George, and imagined that no bishop could be made without his consent.

my brethren declare ourselves to be of the same mind with the blessed Martyr, King Charles I., and with those great lights of the Church, the Bishops of Scotland and England in his time, who reckoned the authorizing the use of the Scottish Liturgy here to be the establishing and keeping uniformity with the Church of England, and no way a violation of it, with any pure part of the Catholic Church on earth. We insist (as our predecessors did, with approbation) upon our freedom and independency as a national Church, to use our own Liturgy so well approven of, and the only authorized one amongst us; and do declare, that the fault will lie at their door, and not at ours, who shall break communion with us on that account."* Bishop Keith, in the following year, drew up a similar document, the second paragraph of which is as follows:—"We declare that we are in full communion with the Church of England, as a sister Church, and are ready to give outward evidence hereof, on all occasions, like as we expect the same compliance from the members of that Church, when occasion shall offer. May the Church of England long preserve the just esteem and veneration it has gained in the Christian world! May this esteem be always on the increase; and may the gates of hell never be able to prevail either against it or against this Church; and may both Churches ever continue to cultivate union and harmony together, to the credit of our holy religion, and the promoting of true piety and virtue!"† We have said that it is quite uncertain to what extent the use of the original Liturgy of Charles I., as set forth in 1637, prevailed in Scotland after the Revolution. It is very probable, from Bishop Falconer's own practice, and his large influence with the Clergy, that it was much less circumscribed than is generally supposed. It might have been well for the Church, if none other had been either used or sanctioned. As early, however, as 1718, Bishop Collier and others published, at London, a "New Communion Office, taken partly from Primitive Liturgies, and partly from the First English Reformed Common Prayer-book; together with Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick." Released, as the English Nonjuring Catholics felt themselves, from political subjugation, it was most natural they should desire to establish, for their own use, as pure and as primitive a ritual as could be devised. In this they received large assistance from the Scottish Bishops, Gadderar and Campbell, but chiefly from Dr. Rattray, (afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld,) who was employed as a sort of mediator between the two contending parties, of which Dr. Hickes and Mr. Spinckes were respectively the leaders. There can be no question—although Mr. Cheyne takes no notice

* This declaration was made by James Raitt, Bishop of Brechin, in his own name, and in the name of Robert Keith, Bishop of Fife, and Primus; R. M. White, Bishop of Dunblane, William Falconer, Bishop of Edinburgh, and John Alexander, Bishop of Dunkeld, assembled in Synod on the 20th August, 1743.

† See Lawson's History, p. 279.

of it—that this Office of the English Nonjurors was circulated and used in Scotland, and that to the revisions of Charles the First's Book, which were made from 1735 to 1764, it largely contributed. When Gadderar came to Scotland, he brought a supply of it with him, and not only adopted it himself, but desired to introduce it into general use. And this it was that drew from the "College" the formula of 1723, whereby they prohibited the introduction of the "usages," but retained the authority of the Scottish Liturgy. In other words, they permitted the Office of 1637, or any reprint of it, but condemned the Office of 1718.

The "usages" objected to were not the commemoration of the Faithful Dead, the Invocation, or the Oblation; for these great doctrinal parts of the ritual were found in the old Service-book, but they were the Mixture in the Eucharist, Total Immersion at Baptism, Chrism at Confirmation, and Unction at the Visitation of the Sick, all of which were expressly enjoined in the Book of 1718, and in no other later Office of which we know. Gadderar was content to cede the "usages," for peace-sake, so long as no compromise of the doctrinal parts of the ceremonial was required from him; and in the following year (1724) the College, in addition to their former expressions in favour of the old Office, gave him permission to use the mixture privately, if he pleased! But the College had no authority over Bishop Gadderar beyond what he was pleased to yield. He had a perfect right to legislate for his own Diocese in the matter of a ritual; and this right he did not scruple to exercise. The order of the old Scottish Liturgy was, in some respects, uncatholic, and he had a desire to alter it. The English Book of 1718 was regarded as a good standard of imitation, and seems to have been adopted accordingly. We have now before us a copy of "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other parts of Divine Service, for the use of the Church of Scotland, with a Paraphrase of the Psalms in Metre by King James VI., from the copy printed at Edinburgh, 1637," issued in the year 1712. The copy to which we refer has been in the possession of a distinguished Scottish Nonjuror, and is marked privately throughout, not only according to the order of the Communion Office of 1718, but it contains, in MS., all the Prayers and Rubrics of that Office, requisite for the administration of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Visitation of the Sick, according to the "usages" already mentioned. It is much more than probable, therefore, that the Office of Bishop Gadderar was, in the main, the Office of Collier, published in 1718.

Hitherto the old Scottish Liturgy of 1637 seems to have prevailed, as the only printed form, but accommodated to the primitive order of celebration (as expressed in the ancient Offices, and upheld thus early in Scotland) by private marks, made, with the authority of the Bishop, by both priests and people.

In the year 1735, however, an "impression" was made of this "marked" Office, under what has been called a false title, the history and cause of which we shall leave Mr. Cheyne to tell:—

"There is, it must be admitted, an appearance of disingenuousness in the title of this Office. It seems to profess to be what strictly speaking it is not—the Office authorized by Charles I. But certainly no deception was intended, as none could possibly have been successful for any length of time. The note on the title-page gave warning that there was, at least, an alteration of arrangement. This title-page has its history.

"The Rev. Andrew Gerard, who was Bishop of Aberdeen from 1747 to 1767, writing to Bishop Alexander in 1744, with reference apparently to this accusation of Dundass, gives the following account of the first publication of the Office in question. 'Bishop Gadderar, on his coming to Aberdeen, caused some hundred copies of that Office (the Scottish of 1637), as it was first published, to be printed for this diocese, and though no manner of alteration was made in those copies, yet he still used it, as did his clergy by his advice and the apparent reasonableness of the thing, in that order of the parts in which the Office complained of appears. All the clergy marking that order on the back of the title-page, with a pen, for their own direction, as did several of the laity their own copies; but those who could not write, and others of the laity, whose memories were not so prompt as to follow and readily join in performing the Office, being thus at a loss, two young merchants, hoping to make a penny by the ready sale of them, caused the new impression to be cast off for the benefit and ease of the laity, and gave it the title it has without consulting with any clergyman in the thing; so that it was a good while ere we knew by whose procurement it was done. But the benefit of it being apparent, the copies were all bought up, and more called for, so that this country is now full of them. The blundering redundance in the prayer of Oblation, shows that the clergy had no hand in the matter, and the addition in a different character to the first title-page, shows that there is a transposition of the parts, and that these young men had no intention to palm a falsehood on the world. This impression was after Bishop Gadderar's death.'

"The 'impression' referred to was evidently that of 1735, which mentions no place or printer's name, but corresponds to the description given by Bishop Gerard, and to the date which he assigns—'After Bishop Gadderar's death.' That eminent Bishop died in 1733, and it is not likely that there would have been an edition of the Office in the intervening year, followed by another in 1735."—*Cheyne*, pp. 26, 27.

As time advanced, bringing fresh prospects of peace and tranquillity in its train, the Scottish Office, as now re-modelled, gained ground rapidly, and was establishing itself everywhere north of the Forth, in the possession of a prescriptive authority. The demand for copies of it increased, and the craving for some synodical expression in its favour, and for its firmer establishment, became general. Bishop Dunbar, the then Primus, addressed his brethren on the bench, in 1743, to ascertain their sentiments on this subject:—"I know not if it will be convenient, at this time, to enjoin the use of the Scottish Communion Office, though it ought to be recommended. One, more primitive and excellent, which cost Dr. Rattray* much labour,

* The work here referred to is that very learned compilation entitled "The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem," &c. &c., published the year after Bishop Rattray's death, by Bettenham, London. The learned Bishop died on the Feast of the Ascension, 1743. His work is very valuable, and very scarce. Will no one undertake to edit a new edition?

and which he has left in a very fair manuscript, may one day be published, and received with universal admiration." Accordingly, a synod of Bishops was held at Edinburgh in this year, a Code of Canons was enacted, and an express "recommendation, in the strongest terms, of the use of the Scottish Liturgy, in the administration of the Holy Communion," was issued to the Clergy. Soon after this, the English Service-book received its first direct authoritative sanction in Scotland. A declaration was signed by all the Bishops, declaring themselves to be "in full communion with the Church of England, as a sister Church, and allowing the use of the English Liturgy to such of their Presbyters as chose to minister by it."

In 1755 another revision of the Scottish Office took place. The Church had gone through many bitter and searching trials since the promulgation of the last edition. A series of tyrannical edicts and barbarous inflictions of civil penalties, such as disgrace the annals of a Christian country, and will for ever tarnish the reign of George II., had well-nigh suppressed the Church by the violence of mere political animosity. From 1746 to the accession of George III. was the reign of a dark and unclean spirit—proud, persecuting, selfish, intolerant, and intolerable. The world, with all the mean and worthless elements of a plotting, jealous expediency, was at work, and the kingdom of Christ seemed withdrawn from mortal eyes, because of the dark and gloomy cloud wherewith its enemies had veiled it, and the iron arm of oppression, which had crushed its ministering servants. That a new edition of the Liturgy should be necessary, on the arrival of brighter days, need excite no surprise. Of the former issue few, doubtless, remained. The new Book was entitled, "The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the Ministration of that Holy Sacrament. Authorized by King Charles I. anno 1636;" and its variations were very few. The words of Institution were brought in before the Invocation, and the Offertory preceded the Exhortation; but directions were given to begin the Office with the latter, and of the former to read the passage from 1 Chron. xxix. when presenting the Elements and alms on the altar. The Roman form, "may be to us," not the Oriental, "may become," was adopted, and the modern addition was made, "So that we, receiving them according to thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of the same His most blessed body and blood."

We now come to the last revision of the Scottish Book, which brings us to the form in which it exists at present. This took place in 1765, or, as Mr. Cheyne affirms, in 1764:—

"The date assigned to the revision is wrong. It should have been 1764. I have now before me an edition of 'The Communion Office, for the use of the *Church of* Scotland, as far as concerneth the ministration of that Holy Sacra-

Edinburgh: Printed for Drummond, at Ossian's Head, 1764.' It
ids in every particular to the Office now in use, which identifies it
revised edition mentioned by Skinner, and fixes the date of the
at least not later than that year. A second edition (Leith: Printed
by Alex. Robertson, 1765) followed next year, brought out under the
n of Bishop Forbes, as the former had been under that of Bishop
r. The publication of two editions in such rapid succession, shows
revised Office must have passed into immediate and general use,
g a simultaneous act of authority on the part of the Bishops, at least
ally, which implies again that the review had been a deliberately
d act. The only allusion to previous consultation among the Bishops,
s fallen in my way, occurs in a private letter from the Rev. George
Bishop of Brechin, 1778) to Bishop Alexander, dated 23d Feb., 1763,
he says, 'Bishop Gerard bids me tell you that, with regard to what
F[alconer?] proposes about altering or amending the Communion
he is not fond of any further alterations, as we have everything
, and our enemies are so apt to make a bad use of anything of this
He said a good deal on this head too long for me to write, but con-
with the Latin observation, "*Incertis de salute pro gloria minime
m.*"' Now, this extract shows that the revision was no ill-con-
act, that it did not proceed without being discussed, and was not so
unobserved by enemies as some would have it supposed."—*Cheyne*, p. 22.

alterations in this Office are very "minute," but not so
portant," we think, as Mr. Cheyne has stated. The
ation of the primitive words in the Invocation, and the
ion of the clause "So that we, &c." have contributed to
his Office to the highest standard of the early Liturgies.
Lord spoke His blessed words without any manner of
tion, "This is My Body," and the Catholic Church,
where the Canon of the Mass has prevailed, has invariably
that the consecrated bread and cup may be made that
and Blood, which our Lord called them, without limita-
restraint.

1811 a general Ecclesiastical Synod ratified and confirmed
thoritative use of this Office; a second, in 1828, did like-
and a third was summoned, and met in 1838, the enactments
ich form the present code of discipline in the Scottish
h. Among them is the following extract from Canon XXI.
reas it is acknowledged by the Twentieth and Thirty-
of the Thirty nine Articles, that not only the Church in
l, but every particular or National Church, hath authority
ain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church

but also at the opening of all General Synods." We here annex a tabular view of the Scottish Offices, as respects the order of service, showing how very slight the later variations have been. By way of test *for the three most important points*, we place first, the order of—

The Roman, Milanese, and African Liturgies.	and	*The Oriental, Egyptian, Ethiopian, Gallican, Ephesian, & Mozarabic Liturgies.*
4. Consecration Prayer.		5. Words of Institution.
5. Words of Institution.		6. Oblation.
6. Oblation.		4. Consecration Prayer.

SCOTTISH OFFICES.

Use of 1637.	"*Marked*" *Use of* 1637.	*Use of* 1743.	*Use of* 1755.	*Use of* 1764.
2. Offertory.	Same order as use of 1764.	1. Exhortation.	Same as use of 1764.	1. Exhortation.
7. Prayer for the Church.		2. Offertory.		2. Offertory.
1. Exhortation.		3. Sursum Corda.	2. Offertory.	3. Sursum Corda.
9. Invitory.		6. Prayer of Consecration.	1. Exhortation.	4. Words of Institution.
10. Confession.		4. Words of Institution.	But directed to be used as	5. Oblation.
11. Absolution.		5. Oblation.	1. Exhortation.	6. Consecration Prayer.
12. Comfortable Words.		The rest same as 1764.	2. Offertory.	7. Prayer for the Church.
3. Sursum Corda.				8. Lord's Prayer.
6. Consecration Prayer.				9. Invitory.
4. Words of Institution.				10. Confession.
5. Oblation.				11. Absolution.
8. Lord's Prayer.				12. Comfortable Words.
13. Prayer of Humble access.				13. Prayer of Humble access.
14. Communion.				14. Communion.

We now turn to the circumstances which have demanded a statement of the preceding facts.

An agitation, as ill-timed and perilous as can well be conceived, in the midst of trials and difficulties which can only be met on the highest ground of the Church's internal resources, her gifts of discipline and a pure faith—an agitation, we say, has been attempted to be "got up," against the Scottish Eucharistic Office, on the twofold plea, alike miserable and weak; 1st. That it is heterodox and unauthoritative; and 2dly, That if neither heterodox nor unauthoritative, it is inconvenient.

Of the two, the latter pretext is the most powerless; it is almost beneath notice; and but for the attention which the personal respect due to some of its abettors may, perhaps, gain for it, it would be simply contemptible. The memorialists of Glasgow, and Ross and Moray, to whom it belongs, have surely forgotten, that, whatever unhappy concessions in times past, a wicked and persecuting state policy may have extorted from the Church; whatever compromise of her high independence, for the sake of peace and rest from persecution, she may have consented to make, in the days of her prostration, the season has gone by when such demands were proposed, or such compliances were necessary. We are, by this time, sick of "expediencies," and a dear-bought lesson has convinced us that, short of the high and manly and straight-forward line of truth and duty, there is no

safe path for us to tread. The "movement" in the Church has taught us little, if it has not opened up this much-forgotten principle of Catholic practice, and impressed it with a deep and unfading reality on our hearts and minds,—that Christ's Church, in her faith, and her ritual, and her discipline, is a kingdom distinct from, independent of, and above the world, with standards and tests of truth unmoved and immoveable by earthly weights and measures.

But this conviction, in all its solemn gravity, has arisen, with fresh and awakened energy, in the minds of men; it is making its way, like the flow of a mighty tide, into the hidden places of the Church's empire, and great results are proving its presence. No longer are we content with the shelter of an "Establishment;" mere Protestantism does not satisfy us. Our eyes are raised to the first principle of an apostolic commission; the Church of the State is lost in the Church of Christendom, and Catholic affirmatives supply the place of bare Protestant negations. Men, haply, are not less restless and unquiet; but the spirit that moves them works not with that downward impetus which, not long ago, seemed to be hurrying us into the cheerless wastes of Socinian infidelity, through the comfortable and self-satisfying pastures of Erastian indifference: we are being borne upward; we are making haste to forget ourselves, and our own ease, and our own convenience; we are learning to study; and study is eliciting truth; and truth is bringing forth a sense of our needs; and our needs are sending us to our prayers. We are all craving something which we seem, somehow, to have lost; and the sense of this loss is opening our hearts, and enlarging our affections, and increasing our love and reverence, and veneration for those blessings which we still retain. Our holy mother, the Church, is showing us her gifts, and the more we are listening to her, and witnessing her treasures, the closer we are learning to cling to her side; our courage for her is waxing stronger, our devotion is growing warmer; we begin to be jealous for her honour and integrity, and withal indignant, lest in the hour of trial we should be thought unworthy to fight for her, suffer for her, die for her.

And is this the time to make such an appeal as the Glasgow Petition; an appeal from the Clergy against their Church, not because she is unfaithful and heretical; but because her more primitive and catholic ritual exposes them to personal inconvenience and distress; because it is more expedient, and lucrative, and comfortable, and, it may be, aristocratic, to be in all respects like their neighbour, the "English Establishment," than to stand out, pointed at, and vilified, and misrepresented;—self-denying witnesses to the purity of their own primitive ritual! We know not whether to bewail most the unhappy exhibition of a time-serving spirit, acting (as it would seem, avowedly) against their own convictions of (per se) truth, or the unconscious isola-

tion from that higher and better atmosphere of thinking and judging around them, which the memorializing Clergy have manifested. If they had objected to the doctrine of the Office, there would have been a tangible and defensible ground of appeal against it, however, in their case, unjustifiable; but to object, that it is inconvenient, and likely to give increased offence, or diminish the numbers of their congregation, (a pounds shilling and pence consideration,) is so unworthy and lamentable a plea, that it is only equalled by the self-confidence and insensibility to passing events which could venture to risk such an appeal on the judgment of their Bishop and the Church.

We have no wish to point out individuals, or to do other than lament, in earnest sorrow, that such a line should have been taken; but we must acquit the indigenous clergy of Scotland from any participation in its guilt. The Glasgow Memorial was the movement of a few priests of English or Irish ordination, some of them but recently admitted to holy orders; and all of them affording much cause to fear, that though *in* the Scottish Church, they were never *of* it. For the proceedings in Ross and Moray, so far as they are publicly announced, two gentlemen are responsible, one a priest from England, of very extreme views, the other a convert from Presbyterianism, of little more than five years' standing, who may be good, and pious, and earnest individuals, but by no means qualified to impugn the orthodoxy of the Church in which they minister, or to assign the terms on which the divisions within her fold shall be healed.

But another class of objectors are they with whom, if it is more difficult to treat as brethren, it is much plainer and easier to deal as adversaries. We must be allowed to think that they have been at least open and distinct in their ultimate measures, and that, being, without question, the original movers in the agitation, they have, in one sense, a claim on our respect, which their less intrepid followers have failed to establish. Their position has given them this advantage; they are already without the walls of the city; and it is ever easier, because safer, to keep up the attack from without, than to commence it from within. It is difficult—with most men it is impossible—to carry on war in the disguise of a friend, and yet succeed in the effort to seem honest. We do not urge any inference from this difficulty, as implicating parties of whom we have spoken; we simply assert the fact, and maintain that, whilst it is much more single-minded to declare, without reserve, and on its own merits, an enmity which we cannot conceal, than to colour it over with specious pleas of frendship, behind which threats may be detected, the false appearances can never be maintained for long,—an open rupture must come at last.

We are convinced, therefore, that a sore trial of her faith and firmness is in store for the Scottish Church; these "memorials" are harbingers of a season of probation; in our days the ground

of "expediency" is ridiculous, if it were not worse; it cannot be sustained; and as it falls, the real position of those who have taken it will be assumed; they will range themselves with all the others who attack the faith *ab extra*, and the question will be for the Church, not, whether other rites and ceremonies and forms may as well consist with her purity, as the "inconvenient" ones which she possesses of her own; but, whether she has inherent strength and courage enough to maintain the high and honourable post which God has assigned her, as an independent witness to the Catholic faith. Thank God, there is no position from which her enemies may seek to trouble and vex her, on which, if true to herself, she cannot afford to meet them; and we are very slow to believe, that any of her sons are cold-hearted enough to shrink from the contest, if it must needs be endured.

It is a most painful and humiliating fact—over which we, in England, have need to mourn in earnest—that as yet the evils in existence, and in prospect, for the Scottish Church, have proceeded from the lamentable deficiencies in our own practical system, which permits men to go forth, bearing our commission, appealing to our authority, claiming our protection, and yet denying our standards, and contravening the Catholic spirit of our constitution. This is, in part, the result of disciplinal inertness, acting on the privilege of broad and comprehensive formularies; it is impossible but that some degree of irregularity must, in consequence, widely prevail; it is the just cost at which we enjoy our latitude; and while we are permitted—within the same limits—to neutralize the lower by the higher tone, the Protestant negations by the Catholic positions of our Church, we have no right to complain. But, broad as it is, there are bounds even to our license; and the distressing reflection is, that many who have gone from us to our Scottish sister, freed from their subjection to English diocesan authority, have set these bounds at defiance; and, regardless not only of the spirit, but the actual letter of the Prayer-book, have set themselves to defend a heresy in justification of a previous schism!

We have no intention to enter into controversy with these gentlemen; they have placed themselves in such a position that it is impossible for us, consistently with our Christian dignity, to notice them as individuals, did the awful subject itself, and the unhappy spirit in which they have approached it, permit us, on other grounds, to run hastily into a discussion. We are sorry, not more for the miserable man himself, than for the Bishop who is responsible for his parish, that a Mr. Craig (a curate in the Diocese of Peterborough, who has forced himself, uninvited, into the controversy) should have outdone the schismatics themselves in the manifestation of ignorance and irreverence, (we wish we could not say blasphemy) which his pamphlet bears His ignorance may be his misfortune, not his fault, and we can only pity the bad taste and feeling which could induce him to

inflict it on the public; but his irreverence must be the unhappy result of unbelief, and is a fitting subject for our prayers on his behalf.

With regard to the (so called) arguments of these writers, professing, as they do, to be suggestions of the Anglican faith, in opposition to the Scottish ritual, they may mislead simple-minded people, who have imbibed the mistaken, though not unnatural, notion, that to be Anglican is a better test of purity, than to be Catholic. We have merely to observe, however, and that advisedly, that their professions of Anglicanism are simply fallacious. We cannot recognise them, in any sense, as speaking for the Church of England. They are in the *ab extra* position of independent teachers; maintaining their own systems, against the Church, and only availing themselves of her mild and moderate temper, to give themselves a weight and importance which they cannot create. Their position is identical with that of the Schwenckfeldians in the sixteenth, and the whole body of Puritans in the seventeenth centuries. On the great testing questions of the Sacraments and the Apostolic Commission, it is distinctly antagonistic to the Holy Catholic faith. The historical references which we have before given serve to confirm this statement; we shall strengthen it farther by an induction of testimonies.

The (so called) peculiarities of the Scottish Office, which are said to make it heterodox and un-Anglican, are—1. Its doctrine of a sacrifice; 2. Its prayer of consecration. There are other points subordinate to these, but we need not enter upon them at present.

1. Its doctrine of a sacrifice conveyed in the two-fold oblation. This is not the place for us to enlarge, as we might, upon the scriptural evidence for this mysterious truth. All worship ever was, and ever will be performed, as a sacrifice; and the Christian dispensation only differs in this respect from the Jewish, that the bloody prospective sacrifices are taken away, and the unbloody retrospective sacrifice instituted in their stead. The Priest after the order of Melchisedec has come, and all sacrifices, except that of bread and wine, which Melchisedec brought forth to Abraham, have ceased. But the sacrifice remains; else St. Paul's comparison of the Eucharist with the sacrificial feasts of the Gentiles would be unmeaning, We are said to be partakers of the table of the Lord, in respect of the bread and wine, and to eat of the altar, in respect of the oblation.* That the oblation should be twofold, is in no way contrary to Holy Scripture; the first being the offering of unconsecrated bread and wine to

* 1 Cor x. 20, 21; Heb. xiii. 10. The objection to using altars, if good and solid, holds equally against tables. Mr. Holloway has carefully shown that the heathens had their sacred tables, in imitation of the "Holy Table" in the Mosaic tabernacle, and that this observance was common and general. Hence, as Archbishop Potter observes, we may learn why such veneration was paid to tables among the heathen, and why eating at one table was a sign of friendship.

God, in acknowledgment of His sovereignty and bounty; and the second, the proper Eucharistic oblation, the offering of the sacramental Body and Blood of our Lord in memory of His sacrifice and passion. And this is done, because it is not enough to "show forth our Saviour's death," unless we "show" it in the manner which He commanded. Our Lord offered a sacrifice at the institution, and commanded His disciples to do* what He had done; if, therefore, we only report the oblatory part, without performing it, we cannot be said to do what our blessed Lord commanded us. And the same may be affirmed,

2. Of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, conveyed in the Prayer of Consecration. Our blessed Lord, at the institution of the Holy Communion, blessed the Bread and the Cup,—εὐλόγησας καὶ εὐχαρίστησας† and "blessing in the language of Scripture‡ means *praying for a blessing;* but, the blessings of God the Father are conveyed by the Holy Spirit; to "bless" the Elements, therefore, is to pray for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them. Again, St. Paul, speaking of praying in an unknown tongue, puts the question, "Else, when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen, at thy giving of thanks—ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ."§ This passage Hammond, following the Fathers, interprets of the blessed Eucharist; "blessing with the Spirit," therefore, and St. Paul's other expression—"the cup of blessing,"‖—applicable to this Holy Sacrament, can have but one plain meaning,—praying for a blessing to be conveyed by the Spirit. The result of our Lord's "blessing" was the solemn and mysterious assurance—"This is my Body," "this is my Blood"—not, *to you*,—but, without restriction or addition. The Scottish Office is, therefore, more scriptural in its Prayer of Consecration, because it prays simply that the elements may "become" what our blessed Lord at first made them. All the rest is an act of pure, humble, self-forgetting faith.

But it is not intended that we should deduce from Holy Scripture the express words and ceremonies by which even the most sacred parts of our worship shall be conducted; and Scripture being thus silent on details, the consentient testimony of the Church Catholic is our only guide to the mind of Scripture, as it was understood by those who lived in apostolic times. Now, St. Basil has assured us, that most of the mystic, or sacra-

* The word ποιεῖν here used signifies "to offer a sacrifice," in the LXX. See Exod. xxix. 36, 38, 39; and x. 25; Lev. vi. 22; ix. 7, 16; xiv. 19, 30; xvii. 8, 9; xxiii. 12; 1 Kings viii. 64; 2 Kings x. 24, 25; and so it is used by the early Fathers. Clem. Rom. Ep. i. 40. Just. Martyr, Dial. pp. 219, 215.

† Matt. xxvi.; Mark xiv.; Luke xxi.; 1 Cor. xi.

‡ Numb. vi. 24; 1 Sam. ix. 13;* Joel ii. 14; Mal. ii. 1—3.

§ 1 Cor. xiv. 16. Hammond in loc. ‖ 1 Cor. x. 16.

* Samuel's offering sacrifice is called his blessing it, and thences Sacrifice are called Blessings.

mental worship, was handed down by tradition, which, therefore, is the only real standard of appeal in our present inquiry. To this test the Scottish Office must be brought,—no other can supply its place: to be Anglican is not its ambition; it aims at being Catholic, and aims not in vain.

All the liturgies of Christendom (except the later Roman and the English) conspire to confirm its purity of expression, and its accuracy of arrangement. In their Invocation and Oblation they are identical. The Liturgy of St. James, for the Greeks; of St. Mark, for the Church of Alexandria; the Liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions; of St. Gregory Nazianzen; of St. Basil; the Syriac Anaphora; the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom; the Liturgy of St. Cyril of Alexandria; and other numerous liturgies which Dr. Brett has not collated. Renaudot, in his Collection (vol. ii. pp. 32—619) mentions no less than thirty-three, which expressly, and in full terms, contain the solemn portions of the service, for which the Scottish Office is now on its defence. We shall only add, on this head, that the learned Dr. Grabe has carefully supplied a catena of Fathers, who, with one consent, bear testimony on the same awful subject,—Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ephrem Syrus, Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssen, Ambrose, and Optatus. Whatever else the Scottish Office may be, therefore, he is a bold man who dares to say it is not Catholic.

But we are ready to show, also, that it is both Anglican and Anti-Roman. We are free to confess, that it is more Anglican than our own, in the proportion by which it more closely resembles our first reformed Liturgy, and has escaped the unfortunate concessions, which were made in words, if not in things, to foreign "Reformers." The best Anglicans, however, have always lamented our departure from that distinct and dogmatic assertion of the truth, which the Scottish ritual conveys,—the surest preservative against Rome on the one hand, and Geneva on the other. They have not been dissatisfied that, in the course of God's providence, a less explicit Office has been committed to them, because their own First Book of Edward—always recognised on the score of its purity—still exists as a source of appeal; but they have never failed to protest against the Zuinglianism, which erects Bucer and Martyr into expositors of our Service-book, and to approve the Catholicism which makes the Scottish Office a witness to the higher ground of our own. We have only room for a very small selection of testimonies of a more particular character. But for a confirmation of the general doctrines, as set forth in the Scottish Office, we refer, besides Edward's First Book, and the Homilies and Canons of the English Church, to Bishops Ridley, Montague, Bilson, Overall, Morton, Andrewes, Sutton, White, Laud, Bramhall, Cosins, Sparrow, Fell, Taylor, Ken, Hackett, Beveridge, Bull, Hickes, Wake, Sharp, Wilson, and Philpotts,—to Hooker,

Donne, Jackson, Mede, Herbert, Hammond, Thorndike, L'Estrange, Comber, Johnson, Scandret, Leslie, Brett, Wheatly, and Grabe; the declared sentiments of whom will be found in the Appendix to Dr. Pusey's celebrated Sermon. Among direct witnesses to the Scottish Liturgy, we may call

Archbishop Laud:—

"When the Commissioners urged, the Scottish Book had inverted the order of the Communion in the English Liturgy, the Archbishop, amongst other things, replies, 'That the Scottish Liturgy, in this respect, comes nearer the Primitive Church than the English, and for that reason ought to have the preference, and for this he appeals to the judgment of the learned. From hence he infers a great deal of will and weakness in those who call this a new Communion, only because some of the prayers are removed from their former situation.'"*

Bishop Horsley:—

"I have no scruple in declaring to you, what, some years since, I declared to Bishop Drummond, that I think the Scottish Office more conformable to the primitive models, and, in my private judgment, more edifying than that which we now use; insomuch that, were I at liberty to follow my own private judgment, I would myself use the Scotch Office in preference. The alterations which were made in the Communion Service, and stood in the First Book of Edward VI., to humour the Calvinists, were, in my opinion, much for the worse." †

Archdeacon Daubeny:—

"The [Episcopal] Church in Scotland keeps close to the original pattern of the Primitive Church, and with the Church of England, considering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be a feast upon a sacrifice, to constitute it such, makes that which is feasted upon, first, a sacrifice, by having it offered up by a priest." ‡

He who passed such an encomium upon the Church herself, cannot be supposed to have overlooked her Liturgy; let us, therefore, hear

Bishop Horne:—

"He had such an opinion of this Church, as to think, that if the Great Apostle of the Gentiles were upon earth, and it were put to his choice with what denomination of Christians he would communicate, the preference would probably be given to the Episcopalians of Scotland, as most like to the people he had been used to." §

But the fairest way is to take the specific doctrines of the Office, and show that they may be confirmed by a catena of Anglicans. Let a few suffice.

1. For the sacrifice in the Eucharist.

Homily concerning Prayer and Sacraments, and Bp. Jewel.

"A constitution of Justinian, wherein the Eucharist is called the Holy Oblation, is cited with approbation; and in the same Homily is recommended Justin Martyr's description of the Eucharistic solemnity, 'We offer our Lord's cup mixt with wine:' upon which Jewel, who had a hand in the Second Book of Homilies, observes, 'St. Cyprian saith, "We offer the Lord's cup," meaning thereby the wine contained in the cup. So likewise St. Austin, "The Church

* History of the Troubles of Archbp. Laud, p. 113.
† Private Letter to the Rev. John Skinner.
‡ Daubeny's Guide to the Church, vol. ii. p. 414.
§ Jones's Life of Horne, p. 176.

offereth up the sacrifice of Bread and Wine." Thus saith St. Cyprian, thus saith St. Austin, thus say the godly Fathers of the Church of Christ. These are no bones, Mr. Harding, they are the food of everlasting life.' " *

Canon 7th :—

" The Holy Table is, and may be, called an altar by us, in that sense in which the Primitive Church called it an altar."

Laud :—

" At and in the Eucharist, we offer up to God three sacrifices; one by the priest only—the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's death, represented in bread broken, and wine poured out; another, by the priest and the people jointly, and that is, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for all the benefits and graces we receive by the precious death of Christ; the third, by every particular man for himself only, and that is, the sacrifice of every man's body and soul to serve Him in both all the rest of his life for this blessing thus bestowed on him."†

Hammond :—

" The Protestants of the Church of England believe and reverence, as much as any, the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, as the most substantial and essential act of our religion; and doubt not but the word Missa (Mass) has fitly been used by the Western Church to signify it; and herein abhor and condemn nothing but the corruptions and mutilations which the Church of Rome, without care of conforming themselves to the universal, have admitted in the celebration."‡

Patrick :—

" It is certain that it was not common bread and wine which the ancient Christians prayed might become the Body and Blood of Christ, but bread and wine first sanctified, by being offered to God with thanksgiving, and presented to Him, with due acknowledgments, that He was the Lord and Giver of all things." §

Bull :—

" They hold the Eucharist to be a commemorative sacrifice, and so do we. This is the constant language of the ancient liturgies. 'We offer, by way of commemoration, *μεμνημένοι*;' according to our Saviour's words, when He ordained this holy rite, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' In the Eucharist, then, Christ is offered, not hypothetically, as the Trent fathers have determined, (for so He was but once offered,) but commemoratively only; and this commemoration is made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering, or putting ourselves in mind of Him." ‖

Mede :—

" 'If thou bringest thy gift unto the altar, and there rememberest,' &c. The ancient Christians took this to be an evangelical constitution, wherein our Saviour implied, by way of anticipation, that He would leave some rite to His Church, instead of and after the manner of the sacrifices of the law, which should begin with an oblation, as they did; and that, to require this proper and peculiar qualification in the offerer, to be at peace, and without enmity with his brother. Hence, also, they may seem to have learned to call bread and wine *ἅγια δῶρα*—the holy gifts—from the word which our Saviour useth." ¶

Potter :—

" It is plain, both from the design and nature of the Lord's Supper, and from the concurrent testimony of the most primitive Fathers, who conversed with the

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* Quoted in Mr. Laurence's Review of the Bishop of Oxford's Charge, 1733.
† Conference with Fisher, §. 35, p. 305.
‡ Pref. to Disp. Dispatched, p. 164. § Christian Sacrifice, p. 77.
‖ Answer to Bishop of Meaux, Hickes' Letters, p. 246.
¶ Mede's Works, on the name Altar, sec. 11.

Apostles, or their disciples, that it was reckoned throughout the whole world, a commemorative sacrifice, or the memorial of our Lord offered upon the cross, which, being first dedicated to God by prayer and thanksgiving, and afterwards eaten by the faithful, was, to all intents, the same to them as if they had really eaten the natural Body and Blood of Christ, which are thereby represented." *

2. For the Prayer of Consecration.

Morton:—

"The first transgression of the (now) Church of Rome, in contradicting Christ, His canon, is collected out of these words, 'and he blessed it;' which concern the consecration of this sacrament. First, of the bread, the text saith, He 'blessed it.' Next of the cup, it is said, 'when He had given thanks;' which words, in your own judgments, are all one, as if it should be said, He blessed it with giving of thanks. By the which word 'blessing,' He doth imply a consecration of this sacrament." †

Thorndike:

[Christ's command] "is executed, and hath always been executed, by the act of the Church upon God's word of institution, praying that the Holy Ghost, coming down upon the present elements, may make them the Body and Blood of Christ." ‡

Jeremy Taylor:—

"Have mercy upon us, O heavenly Father, according to thy glorious mercies and promises; send Thy Holy Ghost upon our hearts, and let Him also descend upon these gifts, that, by His good, His holy, His glorious Presence, He may sanctify and enlighten our hearts, and He may bless and sanctify these gifts, that this bread may become the Holy Body of Christ—Amen; and this chalice may become the life-giving Blood of Christ. Amen." §

L'Estrange:—

"I must adhere in judgment to those learned men who derive consecration from the word of God, and PRAYER. The words of invocation of God's blessing, jointly with those of Christ's institution, constitute the consecration." ‖

Bingham:—

"The form of consecration was always composed of a repetition of the words of institution and prayer to God to sanctify the gifts by His Holy Spirit." ¶

Bishop Fleetwood:—

"The Church of Christ did heretofore pray that the Holy Spirit of God coming down on the creatures of bread and wine, might make them the Body and Blood of Christ." **

Waterland:—

"Why this part [Invocation] was struck out in the review, (1552) I know not, unless it was owing to some scruple, which, however, was needless, about making the memorial before God, which, at that time, might appear to give some umbrage to the Popish sacrifice, among such as knew not how to distinguish. However they were, we have still the sum and substance of the primitive memorial remaining in our present Office; not all in a place, but interspersed here and there in the exhortations and prayers," &c. ††

Wilson:—

"Most merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, look graciously

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* Church Government, p. 264, &c.
† Sermon on the Institution of the Sacrament, p. 9, §. 3.
‡ Thorndike, Just Weights and Measures, p. 94.
§ Collection of Offices, 1658.
‖ Alliance of Divine Offices, p. 205. 1699.
¶ Bingham, Antiq. xi. c. 3.
** Reasonable Communicant, pp. 12 and 13.
†† Brett's Remarks on Waterland's Review, p. 42.

upon the gifts now lying before Thee, and send down Thy Holy Spirit, that He may make this bread and this wine the Body and Blood of Thy Christ," &c.*

Testimonies, such as these, might be multiplied without end, were it necessary; and the fact may be proved, by the strongest evidence, that he is not a *good* Anglican, if Anglican at all, who cannot appreciate the purity of the Scottish Office. The witnesses, however, whom we have called, may suffice for the present.

"But it has been said," observes Mr. Cheyne, "that the present Office used in Scotland differs as well from Edward's First Book, as from the Second, and that by the different arrangements of its parts, and the insertion of a very remarkable and significant expression, in the Invocation, ['become,' instead of 'be to us'], it has become essentially Romish, and is intended to teach, and does in fact teach 'the' or at least 'a doctrine of Transubstantiation,'†—so loosely do men speak on the most sacred subjects."

It is truly pitiable to hear of such combined ignorance, irreverence, and frivolity. Verily, one may cease to wonder at any lengths of disobedience and rebellion, and self-seeking, to which unhappy men are driven, who suffer themselves to handle thus roughly, and at random, the deepest and most awful mystery of our redemption. But we repeat it, the Scottish ritual is fundamentally anti-Roman,—much more so than our own. To prove it, Dr. Brett's words are better than ours:—

"Now I confess those words ['be to us'] are in the Canon of the Mass, and in the first Liturgy of King Edward, which was plainly taken from that Canon, and differs very little from it except in the Rubrics, but they are in no other ancient Liturgy. For in all the Greek and Eastern liturgies, as well as in the Gallican, Gothic, and Mozarabic liturgies, which were the ancient liturgies of the Western Church, before they gave place to the Roman Canon, there is no such word as *nobis*—unto us, in this petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements; they all, as has been shown, ran in these words: 'Make, or, let Him make, this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ,' without any manner of restriction, and in as express terms as are in this prayer. Whether the Cardinals Du Perron or Bellarmine could ever desire more [than the insertion of 'to us'] is a question not very difficult to answer. But this is certain, and I have already proved it, that the Cardinals Bessarion and Bona, and Arcadius and Goar, as zealous Transubstantiators as either Du Perron or Bellarmine, have pleaded as hard for those words 'unto us,' as this gentleman or any of his friends can do. A sure argument that those words 'unto us' did not, in their opinion, in anywise tend to overthrow the doctrine of Transubstantiation, nor that the leaving them out did in any measure tend to support that doctrine. I am persuaded this learned answerer had not duly considered what advantage he gives the zealous Transubstantiators by maintaining such an assertion, that to pray to God to send the Holy Ghost to make this Bread the Body of Christ, and this cup the Blood of Christ, without restriction, is as much as they can desire. For this is as much as to say, that all who use such a prayer maintain, or at least countenance, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, otherwise the zealous Transubstantiators can have no desire satified by it. If so, then they have a better argument for that doctrine than hought they had. They have the concurrent sense of the primitive Church n the Apostles' days downward,—of the whole Catholic Church,—of all the rches but their own, (theirs being the only Church which has the restriction), l Eastern and Western for eight hundred years at least, and of all the Greek

* Sacra Privata, Works, vol. ii. pp. 51 and 211.

† See Mr. Drummond's pamphlet.

and Eastern Churches to this day, to countenance this their absurd opinion. So that they must have antiquity, universality, and consent, to support their doctrine of Transubstantion, if the objection here made against this prayer be of any weight. Whereas, for my part, I took the doctrine of Transubstantiation to be modern, first started by Paschasius in the ninth century, when the Roman Canon only had prevailed in all the Churches of the West, and excluded those liturgies, in those parts wherein this prayer was used in the form, order, and words which this worthy person is pleased to condemn as teaching that doctrine. But if to call the consecrated bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ, or to pray that they may be made so by consecration, is to teach the doctrine of Transubstiation, (and if it be not, the objection is made to no purpose;) then what shall we say to our Saviour's own words—'This is my Body,' 'This is my Blood,' which were spoken by Him without any restriction. He does not say this is my Body unto you, This is my Blood unto you. Cardinal Du Perron and Bellarmine, and the most zealous Transubstantiators, say that, they are as express as they can desire, which is more than many of them have said of this prayer; which if they had thought so very much to their purpose as is now pretended, they would not have been so zealous in the Council of Florence, to get an interpretation of it, by the words unto us—the very words which the learned answerer blames us for leaving out."*

And now, the Scottish Office being thus Catholic, Anglican, and anti-Roman, we demand the reason why its use should be laid aside. Has it not authority sufficient? If it has not, we know of no Liturgy in Christendom that ever had. Compiled by some of her most learned Bishops,—hallowed by usage and prescriptive right,—established by synodical sanction, and confirmed by a formal canon, it possesses the highest authority which the Scottish or any other Church could possibly impart. No Liturgy ever had a higher. Kings and princes may ratify the determinations of councils and synods, and acts of parliament may approve and enforce the spiritual enactments of the Church; but their authority over the faithful is none the higher for it. The authority of the Church is with us, and the Church is with its authority, though in a wilderness or hiding-place, deserted by the high and mighty of the earth, and persecuted by the princes of the people. The government and discipline of the Church is inseparable from its essence, intrinsic to herself, and not the grant and constitution of any secular prince or state. Christ is appointed by His Father to be King and Lawgiver to His Church; He has left power and authority to His own representatives for the execution of His laws: Churches may be planted, established, and sustained, therefore, where there is not only no assistance, but enmity, and opposition, and violence, at the hands of kings and secular councils.

Thus, when the Scottish Church, by God's permission, enjoyed no longer civil protection, but kings and parliaments conspired together against her, "to take away her life," and "root her out from among the nations," so far from sacrificing any of her intrinsic privileges, she was cast entirely upon them; she became, like the infant kingdom of her Master, a despised, persecuted,

* Brett, Dissertation on Liturgies, pp. 161, 162.

contemned Church, but still the rather vigorous and healthy, in that her synodical and episcopal decisions had their authority with godly persons, without any imperial sanction, and in spite of all the opposition and rage of kings against them. She was and is on the footing of the ante-Nicene Church, and all her acts claim the same pure ecclesiastical authority;—if not the strongest, (as parliaments count strength) yet the highest and most sacred that can bind the souls of men.

Scotch Catholics have by this time learnt, too dearly, that the Church, following "the prize of the high calling in Christ Jesus," turning her hopes and thoughts to a better home, does not enjoy earthly goods, but only uses them,—dwells not here, as in her own country, but wars in it, as a foreigner. She has her "conversation," her franchises, and her freedom "in heaven." They can afford, therefore, to bear the scoffs and scornings of worldly men; they can pray for and pity (we will not say despise) that unhappy hardness of heart, and cruel irreverence which can make a jest* of their poverty and obscurity, as if such visitations had no sacramental meaning; or as if any branch of Christ's Church were secure against them; they can comfort themselves with the thought that,—while no well-informed Christian, much less right-minded Catholic, will charge upon their misfortunes and troubles an invalid authority for their liturgical offices,— their confessing Bishops and priests have been deemed worthy to follow in the footsteps of the twelve Patriarchs of the Israel of God, who were accounted as the "scum of the world, and the offscouring of all things."† Were it a Christian wish, we would express it, that on those who make light of the Church's sufferings, and joke upon them, as tests of her imbecility, God's chastening hand may never fall to humble and bring them down: rather may we hope that a wholesome experience will one day teach them that the Church owes its birth to the Cross, its glory to ignominy, its light to the darkness of error, its progress to the attacks of enemies, and its stability to losses and disasters."‡

But if the Scottish Office *is* authoritative in the Northern Church, so is the English; and it is undesirable to keep up a distinction, marring the uniformity which might otherwise exist. We have no objections whatever to uniformity, provided any thing is gained by it. But it is not necessary to unity; national Churches may intercommunicate freely and cordially without it; and, therefore, we have strong objections to it, if anything is lost by it. If we must have uniformity, let it be with gain. Let the Church of England adopt the Scottish Office, which is more Catholic and primitive, and even [in a sense] Protestant, than her own; and by so much she will be a gainer, the Church of

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* See Mr. Craig's pamphlet. † 1 Cor. iv. 13.
‡ Saying of Pius VI.

and remaining as she is. But let it not be with loss. Let he Church of Scotland make herself less Catholic and less itive, because, by sacrificing her Communion Office, she t assimilate herself more literally to the Church of and.

eantime, the Scottish Liturgy is of "primary authority;" English Office is only permitted; and there is no good reason it should be otherwise, unless that the English service would tter away. "This was the ancient way of preserving peace e Catholic Church," says Bingham,* "to let different ches, which had no dependence in externals upon one er, enjoy their own liberty to follow their own customs ut contradiction." "There is no harm," said Gregory the † to Leander, a Spanish bishop, "done to the Church blic by different customs, so long as the unity of the faith served." "All ecclesiastical traditions," says St. Jerome,‡ to be observed in such manner as we have received them our forefathers, and the custom of one Church is not to be erted by the contrary custom of another; every province abound in their own sense, and esteem the rules of their stors as laws of the Apostles." "If," says St. Austin,§ "we ite about such matters, and condemn the custom of one ch by the custom of another, that will be an eternal occa- of strife and contention, which will always be diligent gh to find out plausible reasonings, when there are no certain ments to show the truth." And this is the principle upon h the Church of England professes to act. It is quite gn to her temper and spirit to take up, or to seem to take hat monstrous Roman position by which so many parts of stendom are now enslaved, that communion with her can be purchased by receiving her yoke, and abandoning every pendent right and privilege. The communion of Christians ommunion of brethren, upon brotherly terms; not of captives, must submit to any terms, or bear what hardships and achments soever may be imposed. And good Bishop Raitt ered well, when he told certain "memorialists," in his day, "no man was properly a member of any Church but that hich his birth and residence confined him, and that our ion to the Church of England was that of brotherhood to ter Church, and not of membership."

We had hoped to conclude our remarks with a twofold al to Scottish and to English Churchmen, as alike interested is important question; but, many and interesting as are the s which suggest themselves, peculiarly momentous to our-

at Jedburgh,—a glorious opportunity, therefore, for taking the highest ground,—the old Scottish Office is to be sacrificed to the present uncatholic outcry! However this may be, we only seek to ground our appeal upon it, in the discharge of our present duty. We are thankful to Mr. Cheyne for his able testimony to the truth of this, our position—a testimony enhanced and consecrated (if we may say it) by the deep thoughtfulness and earnestness of spirit, the reverence, and kindness, and solemn sense of duty which prevades his tract; and we pray, from our inmost soul, that Scottish Churchmen may realize its force, and occupy it in faith and firmness.

"We have been trusting to our own wisdom, and following our own ways too long; let us now try those of the holy Church. Let us give up the miserable system of seeking to increase our numbers rather than our purity; and if we do wish, as it is our duty to endeavour, to bring men over from the ways of error, let their first lesson be that of obedience to the laws of the Church, instead of allowing them, as hitherto, to prescribe their own terms of communion; let them know that there is but one door of entrance for rich and poor—that all must enter the sanctuary as suppliants, by bowing the head under the consecrated hand of the bishop—and that none are fit or worthy to enter there who do not become like little children in docility. He gives but poor promise of fidelity to the Church, who enters by an act of disobedience; and the priest shows himself ill qualified for the conversion of souls, who acts in contempt of the rule and 'discipline of Christ,' which he pledged himself to follow. If we had paid somewhat stricter and more uniform attention to our own laws of discipline than we have done for a series of years, our churches might perhaps have exhibited diminished numbers, but we should have had fewer of those elements of confusion which now threaten to rend us in pieces. We have neglected to make men feel practically, that admission to the Church is a transcendent privilege, which they cannot claim or take to themselves; and thus, instead of receiving humbly the Catholic faith from its appointed teachers, they have made their own private judgment the test of truth, and now demand that the Church should modify her doctrine to suit their loose or heterodox opinions."—*Cheyne*, p. 48

The late decisive exercise of authority by the Bishop of Aberdeen, honourable to himself and wholesome to the Church, is an earnest of better things. It is cheering also to witness how silently, yet surely [we would hope], the sense of past deficiencies is growing upon Scottish Priests, and nerving them up for present exertions. Let Mr. Pratt's excellent Pastoral Letter testify that the day is not far distant when the Church of Scotland will act upon this Catholic conviction; that, under God, the full development of ALL her gifts and privileges, is her only source of strength and power. But she must put forth all her elements of vigour; she must, at the very least, use the arm which she possesses. There must be no shrinking from the self-denying duties which the exercise of her gifts imposes. It may be well enough for noble Lords,* who, with all their good intentions, have not yet divested themselves of a certain patronizing air towards the Church of their fathers, as if, in at last condescending to become her "friends," they were doing her

* See the Report of the Church Society Meeting at Edinburgh.

honour,—it may be well enough for such Churchmen, who have not yet realized what their real responsibilities are, to throw out sops to the "Establishment," and disclaim, for themselves or their "Communion," a temper of proselytism and aggression. But woe to that branch of Christ's Church which, as a branch, shall forget its position in the world, as the living Representative of Him who came, not to bring peace but a sword,—as the very personification, therefore, of the spirit of "aggression" on the one hand,—of sin and disobedience, and the spirit of "proselytism," on the other, to the rest and peace of Christ's kingdom. So long as sin remains in Scotland, be its form social or religious, the common vices of our nature, or the crimes of heresy and schism, so long the Church in Scotland must make aggressions, and seek proselytes. To do otherwise, in hope of any bribe the world can give, or for love of any peace the world can take away, would be to sell her birthright for a mess of pottage, or to bury her talent in the earth: in either case, it would be to yield her energy, her vigour, her life. At any personal cost, then, the Scottish Clergy must use all the elements of vitality and health which the Church has committed to their husbandry. And here we must observe, that we are at a great loss to account for Mr. Cheyne's personal practice, contrasting, as it does, with his manly and earnest defence of the Scottish Office. He does not use it. What reasons may exist for this course we know not; but sure are we, that in no church in Scotland could its privileges and high Catholicity be more appreciated than in that, where the benefit of such teaching as Mr. Cheyne's is from day to day enjoyed. Howbeit, these are not times when the Church can afford to lose one practical witness, and we most respectfully submit, that no argument can supersede the all-prevailing force of example. What benefit, *e. g.* is there in pleading for the daily service, if it is not celebrated; or, if to the Priest's own mind, an insufficient congregation is a warrantable plea for neglecting it? What good can come of commending a frequent Communion, if all the practical result of this teaching is its administration six times a year? What real advance in the principle of obedience is gained by merely stating the law of the Church, if the Priest himself does not make its fulfilment a matter of conscience?

These questions are for Mr. Pratt's consideration. To our own minds the answer is clear, that on such momentous points as the Eucharist and Intercessory Prayer, nothing can satisfy the Church's needs but the unstinted and liberal provision which the Church herself has made.

And if the case be, as we have represented it,—if, (for it comes to this,) all our future hopes and destinies, as members of Christ's family, depend on the security of our visible inheritance at Baptism, and the grace and strength and spiritual energies which it conveys,—what shall be said of our responsibilities,

our awful and tremendous charge to preserve God's truth inviolate! God's truth is to each Church that deposit of faith and practice which it has received from Catholic sources, and handed on from age to age; so that the unity of Christ's Church can only be maintained upon Catholic principles and Catholic practices. To each individual Christian, the Church of his baptism, or [it may be] of his confirmation, or ordination, or adoption, [in any legitimate sense,] is the interpreter of Scripture, and oracle of holy things. We must follow religion, and not make religion to follow us. The Church declares and prescribes her terms of Communion to her members, not the members to her; if, therefore, we will be members, we must come up to her terms, and abide by her decisions. What, then, can be so sacred as the Church's testimony to God's truth? What so dear and precious to our souls? Let Apostles, and Saints, and Martyrs answer, whose confessions of it before men, not threats, nor penalties, nor tortures, nor exile, nor death, could silence. All the pains, and perils, and sufferings, in this world, had no effect on the Catholic confessors of old. The Church's voice was to them the voice of their Lord and Master; and well had they weighed the solemn assurance, "Whosoever will confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever will deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven."

To Scottish Churchmen, their Communion Office—thrice solemnly confirmed, as the teaching of the Church, in the deepest and most essential article of faith which a Christian is required to believe—is as the voice of their Lord. A spirit of violence is abroad. It has been threatened and attacked; it may be stifled and put to silence. Will they suffer such a result? Will they yield their glorious liberty? Will they deny their Lord, by denying the tradition which they have received from Him? Will they be "as the Children of Ephraim, who, being harnessed and carrying bows, turned themselves back in the day of battle?" God forbid: for who shall measure the consequence of such apostasy, both now and in generations to come! Let them "be strong," and "like men." Let them not slumber at their posts, whilst our Nadabs and Abihus load the altar with unhallowed fire. Let not Korah and his company delude the faithful with the pretence of purity and edification, into that rebellion and apostasy which is as the sin of witchcraft and idolatry. "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." Let the Church be reminded, in time, of "the invaluable loss that is consequent, and the danger of sin that is appendent, to the destroying such forms of discipline and devotion, in which God was purely worshipped, and the Church was edified, and the people instructed, to greater degrees of piety, knowledge, and devotion," and she is safe.

Long may she enjoy those blessings, which the sainted Taylor

so beautifully enumerates, as "the pleasures of the temple; the order of her services; the beauty of her buildings; the sweetness of her songs; the decency of her ministrations; the assiduity and economy of her Priests and Levites; the daily sacrifice; and that eternal fire of devotion that goeth not out by day nor by night;" the very memory of which were to him "as antepasts of Heaven, and consignations to an immortality of joys!"

We have only just time to acknowledge a valuable letter from Mr. Alexander, of Edinburgh, printed elsewhere, with proposals for a new church in that city, which indicate a better spirit; but we are afraid that the Laity are scarcely worthy of their privileges. The scheme is the more valuable; as Mr. Alexander proposes, for the first time in Scotland, to carry out the Prayer-Book.

A Day in the Sanctuary, with an Introductory Treatise on Hymnology. By the Rev. R. W. Evans, *Vicar of Heversham, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.* London: Rivingtons. 1843.

We reckon this one of the most important books on ritual matters which we have lately seen. It consists of an experiment in Hymn writing, and is preceded, as its title-page declares, by an introductory treatise on the subject; of which latter, before expressing any opinion ourselves, we must give our readers some account.

Mr. Evans begins by remarking on the popular misconceptions of the essential nature of a Hymn. "It is supposed," he says, "to be necessarily a composition in metre; and full nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand would be surprised to learn, if indeed all would submit to learn, that, so far from there being any authority for such a composition deducible from Eph. v. 19, and Col. iii. 16, the whole practice of Scripture, both as to Old and New Testament, is against it, without a single exception." In those passages Mr. Evans considers the word Hymn as probably denoting those short snatches of sacred song, or choruses, which occur in Isaiah vi. 3; Luke ii. 14; Rev. iv. 8. Spiritual songs, he thinks, must have been "compositions in the form of Psalms, such as we find in Luke i. 46—56, 68—79; Acts iv. 24—30." No scriptural precedent can be found for a metrical song. Mr. Evans views the attempts to find traces of verse in the lyrical parts of the Old Testament as altogether futile, not merely on the grounds whereon others have done the same, but also because, whilst their metrical character is but a conjecture, their rhythmical character is a fact about which there can be no doubt; and it seems to him in the last degree improbable that the same composition should be metrical and rhythmic.

At the same time, our author sees nothing in the Hebrew language unsuited to metre, and is, therefore, led to conclude, that the absence of it in Psalmody, and the sacred Hymns, (which he thinks may fairly

be taken for granted) must have been designed; that there must be some incompatibility between verse and good ritual devotion—an absolute impropriety in introducing the one amid the other. Such seems to him to have been likewise the sentiment of the Primitive Church, in the earlier ages of which there were no metrical hymns, Ambrose, as is well known, being the first adopter of such into the service of the Western Church, as well as the author of very many. Here, perhaps, it will be well to let Mr. Evans speak for himself:—

"Until the contrary therefore can be proved, we are compelled, in all reason, to conclude that Hebrew poetry, if indeed it should not rather be called oratory, proceeds upon rhythm alone. And yet the language, cognate as it is with the Arabic and Syriac, can scarcely have been unsuitable for metre, and according to its present pronunciation, it certainly presents no greater difficulties than some modern languages, as to such an employment of it, and is so employed by the Jews at this day. Must there not, therefore, have been some reason, quite independent of the genius and construction of the language, for this singularity? And must it not have been the same reason, and not mere force of example, that influenced strongly the mind of the Christian Church, that in none of its liturgies did it admit, until comparatively corrupt times, of any admixture of metrical composition, and that, too, although it was much more according to the genius both of the Greek and the Latin language than rhythmical. So far, therefore, from depriving us of any portion of catholic inheritance in retrenching this part of their old liturgy, our Reformers banished an unauthorized novelty, pruned away a very inappropriate superfluity, which it would have been well if the lust of innovation, in its usual ignorance of the past, had never reintroduced into our churches. One piece indeed they left, and perhaps most persons will agree that, however striking its effect under the peculiar circumstances, this gives no great encouragement to admit more. The reader of course is referred to the version of the Veni Creator in the Ordination service."—Pp. 3, 4.

Our author then proceeds to investigate the causes of this unfitness of verse for hymns; part of his reasoning on which we must give in his own words:—

"Any composition whatever must, in order to deserve the title, contain a whole, presenting its several parts in due and manifest subordination to the general design or leading idea. It must be put together with careful combination, with continual reference to the main object. Otherwise it will be nothing better than an undigested heap of sounding phrases and conventional diction. In such a work, therefore, there must always be two stages of the workman's operation. The former is the conception in its free and natural dress, as it appears when it has been distinctly apprehended, and fully formed in the mind of its author. The latter is the adaptation of the same to the conventional, and therefore artificial, dress, in which the minds of others require it to be exhibited to them. Such being the case, it is clear that in the large and by far most important department of sacred poetry, which is considered as coming from, or going to, or abiding before the throne of God, the composer will advance beyond the first step with the greatest caution. If he proceed in reference to other minds, yet there is before him in the first place the Almighty mind, before which he stands in awful loneliness, in helpless nakedness. To go thence into the artificial detail required by classical poetry, would be to run and hide himself from God, and that not even among the trees of paradise. The offering, therefore of a hymn to Almighty God, being the expression of the sense of his presence, must be the natural effusion of the heart, as simple and unadorned as the adequate communication of the same solemn ideas to other minds will possibly allow. Now it is evident that verse, even the simplest kind, is more artificial *than is necessary for* such a vehicle, and is therefore unsuitable. The mind *becomes too much* engaged in its detail—that of the composer, in seeking

r accents, feet, rhyme, to say nothing of poetical terms; that of the reader, miring the effect. And thus, much of the full and original sense of presence is lost. But as this question is so important and so likely to be ted, it will be expedient to consider it more at length."—Pp. 4—6.

he unfitness of verse for hymns is further manifested, according Ir. Evans, by the fact of its having been already monopolized by world, so as to render "the association with it in our minds rly indissoluble." It must also "derive its beauty of diction from same source as the most profane poems."

ut rhythmic prose can do for us all that verse cannot. What want when we come "to utter the language of confession and ksgiving as a song before the Throne," is "something which has ier the shapelessness of this" (mere prose), "nor the formal traint of the decoration of verse, neither the unfettered common- of the former, nor the studied novelty of the latter." And this ave in "measured prose," which forms "the structure of inspired try, and has been reasonably adopted in the best models of un- ired Hymnology." "Its advantages are very great. It admits ll the unlimited variety which lies between prose and verse; for it be bound up into a strictness nearly metrical, or it may be re- d into a flow closely approaching the liberty of prose." And its e fitness for liturgic song may be seen, says our author, by paring the sacred specimens of it with any attempt which has , or may be, made to render them into verse. He himself ces part of Mr. Keble's rendering of Psalm civ.—a passage ngly favourable to his argument, inasmuch as the renderer has rn considerable poetic power, and brought out a good deal of ic beauty.

Rhythmic prose, such as that of the Psalter, is, then, according to . Evans, the proper mould of Hymns—a mould by which "the ier ages of the Church had the good sense to suffer themselves to directed; and our present liturgies still retain some of their noble sions. The *Te Deum*, the *Tersanctus*, the *Gloria in Excelsis* admirable specimens of sacred composition after an inspired mple." Here we must observe, by the way, that Mr. Evans cely shows his accustomed accuracy, the *Tersanctus* being not a mposition *after an inspired example*," but Scripture itself.* To list, our author adds the Evening Hymn of the Greek Church, ς ἱλαρὸν, &c.

Then follows an interesting discussion on metrical Hymns, which the Western Church may be divided into three great classes: se composed, to a certain extent, on classical principles, which are, the most part, written in very simple verse—the Iambic Dimeter the alternate lines in the Epodes of Horace; those written in in, but with the modern features of the feet marked by accent rhyme, such as the *Dies Iræ;* and those subsequent to the formation, written in the vernacular. Each of these Mr. Evans

* This Hymn, *as common to all liturgies, is confined* to the precise words in Isaiah, gh *nearly every liturgy has added something* to them.

considers in its turn, and on each passes an unfavourable judgment, being least severe, however, on the second, the Monkish rhyming Hymns.

The main body of his work is taken up with specimens of rhythmic compositions, by which he wishes to supersede alike the metrical Hymns and metrical versions of the Psalms at present in vogue among us. On these we must defer our judgment till we have bestowed a little consideration on the argument, of which we have now given a very hasty, and, we fear, imperfect sketch, and to which the reader will hardly do justice, unless he acquaint himself with it at first hand, and in connexion with its author's lively and original illustrations.

Now, we cannot but concede that he makes out a very strong case. The wretchedness of our own metrical devotion, with exceptions so few and so faint as scarcely to modify our judgment, is, indeed, so obvious to every man of good taste—not to say of every man conversant with liturgic matters—that it did not require such an author as Mr. Evans to expose it. And we imagine that his solemn deprecation of anything like an authorized Hymn-book for the English Church, at present, on grounds both of taste and orthodoxy, (for which we cordially thank him,) will be joined in by many who may not be ready to adopt his other opinions.

But we go further than this, and maintain, along with him, that the Psalm and the Canticle are the only forms of Hymn which should be admitted into the body of any distinctively liturgic act; and, were justice but done to them in our ordinary services—were they usually chanted, which is the only really *good reading* of them, this would be instinctively felt by all true children of the Church. The reason why verse is unsuitable to any distinctly liturgic rite, is, that its professed object is to give pleasure. No doubt, the solemn rhythm and magnificent lyric energy of the Psalter, or the *Te Deum*, may, and do give intellectual pleasure of the same sort; no doubt, many receive such intellectual pleasure who receive nothing better from them; but their giving such, is a sort of accident: it is not their professed object; they have no peculiar cast, further than is necessary for choral singing. Between their rhythm and verse there is exactly the same difference as between the severe chants, which are alone appropriate to them, and a regular air. In the one case, the ear of man is professedly regaled; in the latter but accidentally, another object being directly aimed at. Now, in acts distinctly liturgic, there must be no excess of mere gratification; for the spirit requires to be braced, and must be taken out of itself, and made to feel the awful presence of things unseen. Who, for example, would tolerate a florid amplification of the *Tersanctus?* Who would wish, in the Communion office, for the diction of Comus, or of Coleridge's verses on an Æolian harp? Or who would ask for the insertion of prayers in the prose of Jeremy Taylor? These are extreme cases; but they illustrate what we mean; that there is an incongruity between the distinct aiming at gratification, and the most solemn utterances of the

Church's devotion. Her ritual should be no more akin to the legitimate beauty of less solemn compositions than her architecture. A song is quite as much out of place in the midst, and forming part, of a Liturgy, as the style and fittings of a summer verandah would be amid the arches and the dim transparencies of a Gothic cathedral. And, therefore, we fully sympathize in our author's indignation, not only at the rubrical irregularity, but at the wretched taste involved in singing a metrical Hymn after the Communion, the Church having provided a far more suitable one,—one, too, which prescribes and expresses the precise pitch of mind with which devout receivers should retire from those holy mysteries.

A new step, however, must be considered, before we can consent to accompany Mr. Evans any further. Although the Psalter and the Canticles be the true type of the strictly liturgic Hymn, (we shall, afterwards, have to call the reader's attention to the modification of our judgment implied in the words *strictly liturgic,*) it does not follow that we are to go on, as our author proposes, adding to their number. This is a question which requires careful consideration.

If the sacred compositions in this kind supplied the early Church with a model, (as it cannot be denied that they did,) her limited use of it is a rather remarkable phenomenon. The Evening Hymn of the Greek Church can scarcely be cited as a specimen of such use, since, on whatever principle its diction be moulded, it certainly is not on that of a Psalm. It has neither parallelism nor antiphon. Neither is the Angelic Hymn any more a case for Mr. Evans, than in respect of its being in prose. We have, then, but the *Benedicite*, bequeathed from the Jewish Church, and the *Gloria Patri*, the *Te Deum*, and the *Quicunque vult*, produced by the Christian, which can properly be said to be composed on the sacred model, and which really are Hymns for all Christendom. Besides these, indeed, the Latin Church has some others in the Canticle form; some, such as the *Assumpta est Maria*, which we could not adopt; others, such as the *Reproaches* on Good Friday, which, though very beautiful, and free from doctrinal objection, are, perhaps, too dramatic for the temper of our public worship; and she has cast many of her services into this mould, principally by combining different passages of Scripture. This last process can scarcely be said to give us a distinct Hymn; so that we are probably warranted in confining the ecclesiastical documents of the sort which we want to the few which we have enumerated above. And this circumstance of ages of the Church having produced so few, certainly gives rise to the question, whether there was not felt some good reason for abstinence from composition in this kind? Let us see if there be traces of such.

The Psalter, even beyond the rest of the Old Testament, was considered the peculiar property of the Christian Church, whose prerogative it was to use it in its true meaning. It, therefore, speedily became the staple element of liturgic praise in all Churches; and, such was the value attached to it, as a sacred expression of the wants

and sentiments alike of each member and of the entire body of Christ, that the justifiability of using any less Divine composition for such ends, seems to have been more than doubted in some quarters.* Any how, its words and emotions, in connexion with whatever circumstances they at first arose, are all transfigured into a Christian import by the *Gloria Patri* at the end; the politics and the mortal vicissitudes of David's life are thereby baptized, as it were, into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and, therefore, their sufficiency for nearly every purpose of Christian devotion, is apparent from their nature, their excellence, and their universality of application. To them, too, are added the one or two sacred Canticles, such as the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis*, which, intrinsically nearer to the Christian Faith, are taken into it by the same process as the others. And, if more be wanted—if, when directly *revealing* dispensations have come to an end, and perfection been arrived at, the human Mind must needs give utterance to its contemplation of the Mighty Whole—must needs express its reception of all that the ages and generations ending in the Fulness of Time have brought to it,—then the great Ecclesiastical Documents to which we have referred, the *Gloria Patri*, the *Te Deum*, and the *Quicunque vult*, come in, and, by expressing all that we can say, supply all that we can want. It is, therefore, a grave question whether these, taken altogether, be not the sufficient riches of the Christian Church in this kind—whether we can now add to the stock; and the absence of all legitimate attempt to do so, may be considered as one powerful argument in the negative.

A further one is derived from the circumstance that we cannot now revive the appropriate situations for such composition. The most remarkable characteristic of Psalms and Canticles is their reality, and their birth out of contemporaneous and vividly felt and apprehended facts. The whole Old Testament history is that of Revelation, and the progress of God's Kingdom. But that of the New Testament, which consummates all the former, is within much smaller compass. There are, indeed, eighteen hundred years of Church History, in which, no doubt, we can trace God's wisdom and might, and can see at each recurring crisis, the Triumph of His Cause. But it is not the same sort of History as that of Sacred Scripture, whether of the Old or New Testament. Those records which terminate with the gift of Pentecost, and the formation of the Gentile Church, complete the History of human Restoration and the establishment of the Heavenly Kingdom; and all subsequent chronicles of the Church, are but narrations of good ever recurring to that original adjustment, and evil ever wandering from it. There is no more change of Dispensation, and, therefore, whatever events may awaken the Voice of Song and Thanksgiving in the Church, but prompt us to utter the old Praises, remembering the old Triumphs. Having central Truths, and

* Vide Fourth Conc. Tolet. Can. XII.

one character and frame as fit for their reception, we can but revert to them under all circumstances; while in all derivations from them, Theocracy, though continuing to be the paramount principle, is less discernible in detail from human agency and human imperfection, and the bewildering entanglement must remain, more or less, until the Day of Judgment. Mr. Evans is alive to this distinction, as appears from the following passage:—

"There is, however, some reasonable cause for this, which may perhaps seem sufficient to many, when the circumstances are considered. Since the first century, the events befalling the Christian Church have not come from God's hand in that open display of Divine interference which was exhibited more or less through the whole period of the Jewish. A proper feeling, therefore, of reverence and awe, makes us unwilling to do that which would bring us to assume the knowledge of God's inscrutable ways, and to apply to ourselves that which He has not declared to belong to us. Unable to see the end of things, incapable of discerning the heart of men, how could we declare our opinion of events and agents before the all-seeing God, and thank Him for his intentions, with that certainty which should attend the song of faith? How can such events as even the victory over Paganism under Constantine, the overthrow of Arianism at the council of Nice, the arrival of Augustine in Britain, the conversion of Germany by Boniface, the arrest of the tide of Mahometan conquest by Charles Martel, the opening of a new world to the Gospel, and to the Gospel exclusively, in the discovery of America, the rising up of such men as Athanasius, Chrysostom, Constantine, Charlemagne,—how could these events and agents of God's overruling Providence be appealed to with the same confidence as those of his interfering Providence by the Psalmist, who could celebrate the triumphs of the passage of the Red Sea, the glories of the conquest of Canaan, and could mention such names of men as Moses and Phineas? Such events, mingled as they are in their apparent origin with much of the corrupt motives of the human heart, exhibiting in their consequences much association of evil, have not that visible and determined direction of Divine power impressed upon them, so that we can call them forth before God with an unfaltering heart, as peculiarly his own work. And where, if we once begin, shall we draw the line, and not interpret events according to our own interests or prejudice, and not turn the praise of God to the purposes of political or religious party?"—Pp. 48—50.

The only qualifications of which this rule will admit, are precisely such as include the few rhythmical Hymns of Catholic applicability to which we have already referred. Though not part of the sacred, the earlier ecclesiastical History is so far more connected with the former, and nearer it in character, that it presents us with the spectacle of Man mastering and realizing (not without effort and struggle) the treasure he has received in that former; and, therefore, are its utterances a sort of Epilogue to that former. They partake, too, of the limitations annexed to the other. As with that, so with this; we can but revert to it. The treasure secured is one and the same, and, therefore, our sense of having secured it cannot materially vary. We may as well express that sense in the words of those who first felt it. Those words are likely to be much better than ours, as being called forth by the immediate presence, or very recent impression, of the events whereby it was secured. Even the *Quicunque vult*, giving the latest date which has been *assigned to it*, may claim this cha-

racter. It is man's survey, the most comprehensive he has ever been known to take, of the length and breadth, and height and depth of the great Gift that has been made to him; his survey, after all the sifting opposition to which that gift had been subjected.

We do not, of course, deny that the Church has subsequently undergone various developments; but they have all presented that entanglement to our view of the Divine and the Human, to which we have already referred, and which hinders them from forming suitable subjects for Psalmody. Even national deliverances are best commemorated by means of the Psalms, or the *Te Deum:* indeed, the instinctive recourse to the latter, which members of the Latin Church always have on occasion of any triumph or deliverance whatever, shows how the general utterance of the Christian Theology is that to which each several occasion prompts its subjects. It is not the small Christian band routing the hosts of the infidels; not the Imperial city delivered in the hour of extremest need; not even the honour of protecting Christendom, which God's Grace had conferred on his arm, of which a Sobieski must speak, when, fresh from his sublime victory, he rushes with pious impatience into the Cathedral of Vienna. All these triumphs and mercies gravitate at once to the great central Triumph and Mercy; the deliverance of Vienna, of Europe, of the Faith, are but samples and workings of the one great Deliverance; and thanksgiving for them is best expressed, not by dwelling on them, but by bursting out into the Church's great comprehensive Psalm, "We praise Thee, O God, we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord; Heaven and Earth are full of the Majesty of Thy Glory—Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ; Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father. When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb. When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of Heaven to all believers." *

For these reasons, we are doubtful how far our stock of Psalmody, such, at least, as can well be used liturgically, admits of increase. But there may yet be scope for such experiments as our author's, in which he is not so unprecedented as he, perhaps, imagines. And here, of course, we make no reference to Mrs. Barbauld, who, with many merits, is quite beside the present question; but to compositions having the very same aim, and on the same plan, as those now before us. "In the year 688, there was printed in Paris, in the English Tongue, a book, entitled 'Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices, consisting of Psalms, Hymns, Antiphons, Lessons, and Collects, for every day of the week, and every Holiday in the year.' It was drawn up by one of the Romish communion, for the use of such religious persons as were willing to entertain themselves in a spiritual manner, whenever they met together in private, by bearing

* When John Sobieski relieved Vienna, the moment his victory was complete, he rushed with his followers to the Cathedral, and, finding no official ready to sing *Te Deum, they sung* it themselves.

their part in those Holy Offices. In order to render these offices ceable to families and religious societies, the Rev. Dr. Hickes pleased to publish them, but with a reform in those points of rine which are peculiar to the Roman Faith. And though the l end proposed has not, I fear, been sufficiently answered, (partly an opinion that such liturgic forms are most proper to be used rge assemblies in the Church, and partly from a natural bashful-, which disables many from making the responses with that readi- and freedom which might be expected from them,) yet for the y instructive and pathetic Psalms contained in this reformed , it hath met with good acceptance and esteem from persons of exactest piety and soundest judgment."* Previously to Dr. es' publication, it appears that a certain Mr. Dorrington put a book of Devotions, derived from the same source, but with alterations, which are described in the document from which ave just been quoting, as taking away a good deal of the Psalter- character which was originally given to them. Afterwards, Joshua Smith, instead of "reforming or refining on the original," a selection from them, taking forty-six Psalms out of an hun- and thirty-six, and meddling with them no otherwise than by e bare change of some obsolete words, and the transposing of rs, to preserve the smoothness of the verses, which, like those of Psalms, and the Book of Job, are cast into a sort of numerose , very grateful to the ear, and of singular beauty in the com- ion."

'e have never seen Mr. Dorrington's book, but Dr. Hickes's is y precious one; one which, it is pleasant to know, was not only iled, but *used* by him. It is also satisfactory to think that it through numerous editions. With all its merits, however, the of the language in the time both of himself, and Mr. Joshua h, was not very favourable to this species of composition. Both lge in the fashionable contractions of last century, *'tis*, *'twill*, and ike, together with a superfluous decoration in the diction; and clauses sometimes run into verse—an unpardonable fault, but of frequent occurrence. Besides, the Devotions are often Medi- ns rather than Psalms, and so far, of course, are unfit for choral The following are not the deepest and most spiritual compo- is in these really very holy books, but they are among the best mens of Canticles which we have observed in them.

ome, let us lay aside the cares of this world; and take into our minds the f heaven:
et us empty ourselves of all other thoughts; and prepare to receive our gracious God:
etiring from the many distractions of this life; and closely recollecting all rces of our soul:

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reface to "A Select Manual of Divine Meditations and Prayers," &c., being t work of the Rev. and learned Mr. Joshua Smith, late Minister of St. Mary anbury, &c.

"So, to pursue in earnest the one thing needful; the securing to ourselves the kingdom of heaven.

"Why should we thus neglect that sacred science, and be busy in everything but our own salvation?

"Why should we still forsake the real substance; to embrace an empty shadow?

"Miserable are they, O Lord, who study all things else; and never seek to taste thy sweetness:

"Miserable, tho' their skill can number the stars; and trace out the wanderings of the planets.

"To know thee, O Lord, is to be truly wise; and to contemplate thee, the highest learning.

"But, O thou glorious God of truth; in whom the treasures of knowledge are all laid up!

"Unless thou draw'st the curtain from before our eyes; and driv'st away the clouds that intercept our sight:

"Never shall we see those heav'nly mysteries; nor discern the beauty of thy providence.

"Send forth thy light, O thou Morning-star! and lead me to thy holy hill!

"Send forth thy truth, O increated Wisdom! and bring me to thy blessed tabernacle:

"Shew me Thyself, and thy eternal Father; and 'twill fully satisfy my utmost desires:

"Shew me Thyself alone, O glorious Jesu; and in thee I shall behold all that I can wish:

"Only so much I beg to conceive of thy Majesty; as may move my heart to seek thee:

"Only so much of thy unapproachable Deity, as may guide my soul to find thee:

"If I may not know thee clearly now; let me know so far, as to long to know thee farther:

"If I cannot love thee perfectly in this life; let me so love thee, as to desire to love thee more:

"So let me know and love thee here; O thou sovereign Bliss of our souls:

"That hereafter I may know thee better; and love thee more for ever.

"*Glory be to the Father,*" &c.

"Raise up thy head, O my soul! look up; and behold the glory of thy crucify'd Saviour;

"He that was dead, and laid in the grave, low enough to prove himself Man,

"Is risen again, and ascended into heaven; high enough to prove himself God:

"He is risen, and made the light his garment; and commanded the clouds to be the chariot of his triumph:

"The gates of heaven obey'd their Lord; and the everlasting doors open'd to the King of Glory:

"Enter, bright King, attended with thy beauteous angels; and the glad train of thy redeemed ones:

"Enter, and repossess thy ancent throne, and reign eternally at the right-hand of thy Father.

"May every knee bow down to thy exalted name; and every tongue confess thy glory:

"May all created nature adore thy power; and the church of thy redeemed, exult in thy goodness:

"Whom have we in heaven, O Lord, but thee, who expressly wentest thither to make way for thy followers?

"What have we on earth, but our hope, by following thee, to arrive at last, where thou art gone before us?

"O glorious Jesu, our strength, our joy, and the immortal life of all our souls!

"Be thou the principal subject of my studies: and daily entertainment of *my most serious* thoughts.

"Draw me, O dearest Lord, from the world, and myself; that I be not entangled with any earthly desires.

"Draw me after thee, and the odours of thy sweetness, that I may run with delight the way of thy commandments.

"Draw me up to thee, on thy throne of bliss, that I may see thy face; and rejoice with thee, for ever in thy kingdom.

"*Glory be to the Father,* &c."—*Smith's Select Manual.—Psalm* ii. iii. Pp. 15, 16.*

Mr. Evans's good taste has, as may easily be believed, kept him free from many of the faults which we have just been noticing. His Hebrew model has been more faithfully followed; his Psalms, or whatever we are to call them, are better expressions each of one governing idea. Are they successful? Do they warrant or establish his doctrine that this should be the exclusive, or even a general, form of the Christian Hymn? We can hardly answer all these questions at present. To one of them, indeed, we are going by-and-by to reply in the negative; and we can handle the others no otherwise than by throwing out a few hints.

In the first place, then, it is difficult speedily to judge of an experiment of this sort, just because it is an experiment. The circumstance of its being so must, we should think, operate unfavourably on the writer; and, any how, can hardly do otherwise on the reader. Of all compositions a Psalm is worst approached in a critical spirit, or with a suspended judgment. We join in the Psalter or the *Te Deum,* asking no questions about their merit or their suitableness, because of the Sacred authority possessed by the one, and the Catholic consent which has long assigned to the other the first place among extra-Scriptural compositions. It is no fault of a modern writer in the same style that we cannot at once *use* his compositions in the same confiding spirit; but it is a great drawback to our judgments on them, seeing that whatever merits they may possess must, from the very nature of the case, be comparatively latent till they are boldly used.

And next, as such compositions in the present day must, however rich in merit, be almost necessarily chargeable with some faults, so must those faults be more immediately noticeable than the merits; it being of the very essence of truly theological, religious, and devotional merits to hide themselves for awhile. These things being so, our judgment of Mr. Evans's undertaking must not be considered as on the main issue, but rather on certain subordinate, though we think, by no means unimportant points, on which we feel already that we have something to say.

We think, then, that though far freer from the defect than those which we have just noticed, our present author's Psalms border too

* These quotations are from Mr. Smith's book. His alterations on Dr. Hickes are very slight; one only is worth naming, as being for the worse, the substitution of the singular for the plural number in the first person. A reprint of one or both of those little books, with the faults to which we have alluded corrected, would be of service at present.

much on the character of meditations. And this is, perhaps, occasioned in great measure by his most frequently using the first person, and by the subjects of several of his songs being more individual than congregational; such, for example, as that on dressing oneself in the morning, subjects on which the Antiphonal form seems to us to have no propriety or even applicability, and even the lyrical very little. Again we desiderate, on the whole, more long-drawn sound, more volume of rhythm, than Mr. Evans has supplied us with. A certain absence of long quantities, and prolonged rise and fall in the rhythm, are indeed all but inseparable from the modern style. Coleridge, and the late Edward Irving were, perhaps, the only prose writers of the day who contrived to produce anything like the rich and slow melody of Hooker, or Taylor, or the higher flights of Barrow, or the exquisite passages of Walton, or the authorized Version of the Old Testament, without much appearance of straining or affectation. Mrs. Barbauld had her share of the gift,—a most needful one for Psalm-writing, but a most rare one in an age when composition, like everything else, must have a business-like character;—a most difficult one, either to acquire or preserve after the French influence, which gave English prose such a character.

Yet, we cannot pronounce against Mr. Evans's work, for we already feel its merits. Irrespectively of its value, as a book of personal devotion (and that is very great indeed, the thoughts and the theology being deep, and yet the whole eminently practical), there are some of the compositions which are surely very fine hymns, and which assuredly might be turned (we do not say in Church) to choral use. Here are one or two specimens:—

THE CHRISTIAN MISSION.

"Make ready thy swift ships, O queen of the islands: send forth thy messengers, O thou that dwellest in the ocean.

"Hear, for the Lord hath spoken unto thee: tarry not, for thou art the servant whom He hath chosen.

"Blessed art thou, because thou hast heard his voice: and thy feet have run swift to the performance of his commandments.

"Thou hast gathered thy sons together: thou hast chosen a goodly company.

"The bishop goeth forth from thy shores: the Priest and his Deacons are around him.

"O Thou, that didst dwell with thy Church: when it floated in the ark on the flood;

"That didst rebuke the winds and waves: when it was borne with Thee on the lake;

"O Lord Christ: Author and Finisher of our faith;

"O head of our body: captain of our salvation;

"Be present to these thy servants: comfort Thou them in their loneliness.

"Remove from before them all the perils of the deep: and bring thy Church unto its destined haven.

"O clap your hands, ye islands: sing and rejoice, ye shores of the great deep.

"Look forth into the wide ocean: the day of your Saviour is at hand.

"Behold the signs of his coming: his white sails are shining from afar.

"Strip your palms of their branches: arise, go forth to meet Him.

"*Open* your arms wide: with songs of joy receive Him.

"For He bringeth light to the blind: and mirth to the mourner.
"There cometh with Him health to the sick: and life to the dead.
"O blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: and blessed are ye to whom he hath been sent."—Pp. 131—133.

"XX.

"A PRAYER FOR THE CHURCH.

"O Lord Jesus Christ: Thou Son of the living God;
"Have mercy on the bride whom Thou hast chosen: deck her with the beauty of holiness.
"Have mercy on the body which Thou hast prepared for thyself out of the sons of men: evermore dwell in it with thy Holy Spirit.
"Have mercy on the mountain which Thou hast exalted above all mountains: that all the nations may flow unto it.
"Have mercy on the city whose gates Thou hast barred against the powers of hell: strengthen her bulwarks.
"Have mercy on the Sion which Thou hast chosen for thine habitation: place thy continual rest in her.
"Have mercy on the vineyard which Thou hast dug and planted. Fill it with faithful labourers.
"Have mercy on the Church of the first-born whom Thou hast enrolled in heaven: give unto her children as the dew of heaven.
"Have mercy on thy flock, which Thou hast purchased with thy most precious blood: feed it from thy heavenly pasture.
"Have mercy on the host which Thou leadest unto salvation: clothe it with the armour of light.
"Have mercy on the nation where Thou hast set up thy name: on the people whom Thou hast chosen.
"Have mercy on the kings whom Thou hast enthroned: on the priests whom Thou hast anointed.
"O Lord, remember the place of thy habitation: forget not the land of thine inheritance."—Pp. 145, 146.

"XXI.

"CHRIST THE CORNER STONE.

"The darkness hath surrounded me: it hath divided my acquaintances far from me.
"The brethren are far from my sight: the Church is no longer before my eyes of flesh.
"But I meditate in my heart: and in my spirit I behold its pleasant places.
"How beautiful are thy courts: how glorious is the habitation which Thou hast prepared, O Christ.
"Blessed are they that dwell there: their song of joy goeth up before Thee day by day.
"And all thy elect shout forth: and all the host of thy sanctified crieth out with one voice,
"Thou art the Son of the living God: Thou art the Rock of our hope, O Christ.
"The Holy Prophets are laid upon Thee: the blessed Apostles are built upon Thee.
"The faithful Confessors rest upon Thee: the holy martyrs depend upon Thee.
"The brotherhood of saints confesseth Thee: the company of Priests acknowledgeth Thee.
"All the built in the Spirit adore Thee: all the redeemed from the pit glorify Thee.
"Every lively stone crieth out: and the whole temple joineth in one song;
"Thou art the precious and *living stone: Thou* art our head stone of the corner.

"Man did reject Thee: but God did choose Thee.
"Worthy art Thou to be praised: honour and glory be unto Thee.
"Truly our boast is in Thee: O Lord God of our salvation."—Pp. 202—204.

The following passage, too, is much to our mind:—

"XXIV.

* * * * * *

"I tremble at the exactness of thy justice: and behold, the iniquity of man aboundeth.
"Then I weep over my lost estate: I cry in my despair, who shall bring salvation?
"The holy angels in heaven answer and say: Son of man, it is not in me.
"The archangels and all their glory answer and say: Son of man, it is not in me.
"Cherubim and Seraphim answer and say: Son of man, it is not in me.
"All the company before the throne answer and say: Son of man, it is not in me.
"Have not some already fallen from amongst us: are our ranks full as at the beginning?
"Who then of us shall say that he may not fall: who then of us shall save the fallen?
"The Lord knoweth us from the beginning unto the end: and He chargeth us with folly.
"Shall a fool plead for a fool: shall he that hath nothing to spare satisfy for another?
"Behold in God is our strength: and by our faith we stand.
"O Son of the living God, thy glory alone is unchangeable: thy fountain of riches alone can never fail.
"From eternity to eternity Thou art Lord: for world after world Thou canst satisfy.
"Thou didst come to our help, and raise us: Thou didst burst the bars of our prison-house."—Pp. 208, 209.

In the face, therefore, of facts, of Mr. Evans having produced such strains as these, it would be idle to disparage his experiment; but, nevertheless, when we come to consider what our prospects are in this line, we are still doubtful. We have found nothing in his volume which shakes the ground we have already taken, and on which we pronounce it improbable that our stock of *liturgic* Psalmody is capable of any serious increase. It is possible, however, that our author's, or some such compositions might be found available in Family Devotion; and to this Mr. Evans seems chiefly to look at present, as appears from the following pleasing paragraph:—

"But the minds of the people are not prepared for such a change as foregoing the use of this species of hymns. Yet they may be, and, at all events, the experiment is worth trying. If the chanting of rhythmical hymns were used in our family prayers, it would soon be revived in our congregations. And what style of singing can be more suitable to family prayer? In company with the deep solemnity required by the occasion of meeting before the throne of God, our chants have commonly a blithe cheerfulness of tone, which is remarkably in unison with the feelings which pervade the meeting of the family for the first time in the morning and the last at night. And there is this additional advantage; that while the peculiar tone of the chants excludes all association with the worldly sounds which might come upon their ears in the course of daily duties and conversation, so the peculiar structure of the *hymns forbids the* recollection of any of the worldly reading which may have *fallen in their* way. Thus they are hedged off from the world as a family of

God, and can serve and worship Him with a peculiar service, with utterly unworldly adoration."—P. 61.

Even this use, however, of Mr. Evans's, or any other modern Canticles, we greatly deprecate, until our churches be generally open for daily service. For until the monthly course of the Psalter be thus gone through in the places appointed for its observance, we think the intentions of the Church are most nearly fulfilled by families reading the appointed Psalms for each morning and evening, as is done, we trust, by not a few. When, however, they shall have the opportunity of joining in them every day in church, there may be found scope for other vehicles of praise in private; and it will be well that there should; for, in the abstract, we coincide with the opinion expressed by Mr. Evans in his "Rectory of Valehead," that as the Church in comprehending all subordinate relationships, such as that of Nation or of Family, neither confounds nor obliterates any of them, the Liturgy of a Family should be essentially different from that of a Congregation.

And now we must say a few words on that part of Mr. Evans's treatise with which we find it impossible to agree—his entire denunciation of verse in congregational Psalmody. We have already expressed our concurrence in such denunciation as regards the intrusion of verse in *distinctively liturgic* acts, and given, we cannot help thinking, a better reason for it than any of his. But it seems to us that Mr. Evans overlooks the possibility and lawfulness of mingling with such more solemn service, expressions of religious feeling which do not quite come up to the others' mark, and which, in their place, and in due measure, are a necessary relief to the worshipper's mind. Take our own ritual, which in this respect surely does not err on the side of indulgence; and, view it in what light you will, you will find it impossible to predicate equal solemnity of all its portions; of reading the book of Tobit for example, and of reading the Gospel of St. John. Both are appointed for our religious cultivation, and for our cultivation *in the sanctuary;* but one cannot but feel that they not only must be placed on different grades, but belong to different kinds. And if the principle of such degrees and varieties of solemnity be admitted into any part of our public services, why may it not apply to our praises? In fact, it does so apply already; for, while both are duties in their place, no one surely would attach equal solemnity to joining in Psalm 49th, and to joining in the *Tersanctus.* Now, besides her expressly-assigned provision for praise, our Church has left an open place wherein we can avail ourselves of our own resources,—that for the anthem, which, as far as any enactment that we know of is concerned may be, which very often is, metrical, and which we think, in many places, had better continue so to be. For were nothing permitted but a Psalm or Canticle, the choirs of small churches, who might be quite equal to a simple air, would be found at fault in what is technically called a *service*, unless of the very simplest kind; and if the Anthem be plainly chanted, *there will be* no particular difference

between it, and the regularly-appointed Psalms or Canticles; and yet a difference surely was intended.

Until, then, we can find some better reasons than Mr. Evans has brought forward, we think that metrical Hymns may be interspersed amidst, though they ought not to be incorporated with, liturgic rites, in which they will appear as pictures, or sculpture, in a church, which, when they are in their proper place, being altogether heterogeneous to the architecture, come into no comparison, and in no way interfere with it. Let us see to what our author's objections amount.

First, the Metrical Hymn has no precedent in Holy Scripture, notwithstanding that the Hebrew tongue is sufficiently adapted to metre; from which two circumstances, taken conjointly, the conclusion is, that Metrical Hymns are actually objectionable. But, granting Mr. Evans all his facts, we cannot admit such a deduction from them. The cast of the Hebrew Hymn is probably owing to the practice of antiphonal singing, to which it required to be adapted; and with such a reason for the alleged fact,—if it be a fact,—we may content ourselves without looking further.

Neither do we attach much weight to Mr. Evans's objection, that Metrical Hymns only came into the service of the Church at a time when she had grown less scrupulous as to what she introduced there; for no body of Christians, however hard it may have tried, has succeeded in confining itself to the precedents of the first age; and it is impossible, from the nature of the case, that any should. Whatever be the lawfulness or safety of doctrinal, there must be Ritual, Developments of some sort, if the Church is to be a living Body; and thus the whole question of Metrical Hymns will turn, not on the precise age in which they were first introduced, nor on its greater or less scrupulosity, but on the propriety of adopting them.

Nor can we see any force in Mr. Evans's main argument, that Verse has been so much the world's instrument, that it can only awaken worldly associations, and ought, therefore, to have no place in the sanctuary. For, in the first place, its higher forms were nearly at all times something unworldly,—yearnings after, faint prophecies of, something above and opposite to the world. And, secondly, if the Church was to inherit the Gentiles, and their riches,—if their gold, and frankincense, and myrrh, were to be poured into her lap, —if all their best and their costliest was to be offered to her service, shall we except the highest and the finest of their arts? Mr. Evans will, doubtless, say *no*. He will say that Poetry has its place in the furtherance of Religion, but that such place is a literary, not a ritual one—in the closet, not in the sanctuary; that we see this noblest of the arts performing its true office in the hands, not of an Ambrose, but of a Herbert. But religious verses, capable of being sung to airs of an essentially religious character, exist in fact, and no reason appears why they should not be so sung in churches, in the places, and under the limits, which we have assigned them. Some of them are essentially *congregational* in their character, so as to be sung nowhere else with

the like propriety. The mere fact, indeed, that verse hymns have been used all over the Western Church for fifteen hundred years, and have expressed the feelings and fed the devotion of thousands from age to age, outweighs, with us, all Mr. Evans's arguments against the use of them. His review, indeed, of our stock of Hymns is very able, and, on the whole, just; but he scarcely does justice, we think, to those on the Ambrosian model, which, though liable to the accusations he brings against them, have, nevertheless, great merit in our eyes. Each has a remarkable Unity and condensation of purpose and scope, along with great reverence of tone. Some of them, too, exhibit, we think, a freshly-awakened sympathy with external Nature—one of the most delightful subordinate results of that Light from Heaven, which "makes all things new." That we could not use them with propriety is obvious enough; for (with the exception of the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which, considering the occasion whereon it is used, might, we think, be sung in the original, instead of in either of the wretched English versions which disfigure our ordinal,) our hymns must be in our vernacular tongue; and those in question are, we suspect, well nigh untranslateable. Mr. Chandler's efforts to give them in English are elegant enough, but plainly unfit for congregational use. Still they may supply us with models, presenting, as they do, a particular type of excellence, such as we cannot think that the Church ought to refuse or neglect. We possess, at least, one or two tunes, such as the *Old Hundredth*, which, while they are admirable in themselves, are unfit, and would be unmeaning, for any but sacred purposes; and, in proportion as the hopeless undertaking of rendering the Psalms into verse shall become abandoned, must such be employed on hymns. We have but few English ones, indeed, at present, which Catholic Orthodoxy, or a pure taste, can regard with complacency; but yet there are one or two which Mr. Evans will hardly persuade us to surrender: "*All people that on Earth do dwell*," viewed apart from its original, and considered simply as a hymn, —"*Jesus Christ is risen to-day*," "*My God, and is Thy table spread?*" and that which is still fresh in our ears, "*Hark! the herald Angels sing.*" In citing these with approbation, we are not careful to answer the objection which may be made against the origin of three of them, holding that the Church ought to avail herself of everything that has intrinsic value; and that all which is true in aim, and holy in spirit, is really of and through her, whatever the author may have been in other parts of his conduct, or generally. We are not very sanguine, indeed, of Mr. Evans's admitting the merit of the compositions in question; for we find him pronouncing the Morning and Evening Hymns to be failures,—a paradoxical judgment, surely. That Ken cannot take high rank simply as a poet, we admit; that the three hymns by which he is chiefly known display no great range of Imagination, and no elaborately-beautiful melody, must be granted also; but that, for their purpose, they are eminently successful, and *precisely what* they ought to be, is, in our

judgment, equally clear. It may be questioned, however, whether our prevalent use of them be in accordance with that purpose. So long as we continue to begin our morning service at eleven, there must always be an extreme absurdity in urging ourselves half an hour after that, to "Awake—and *early rise*,"—an absurdity at once so ludicrous, and so obvious, that nothing but the lamentable indifference of most people as to what takes place in church, so long as it shall tread on no unreasonable prejudice which they may chance to nurse, has succeeded in perpetuating it to the present time. And it may be questioned whether the Morning and Evening Hymns, if not so exclusively personal as the Midnight one, ought not to be kept within the limits of family Devotion. There is certainly not much in them appropriate to "the great congregation."

We have thus delivered ourselves of a protest against that portion of Mr. Evans's Treatise, which we think must injure the operation of its sound parts; a protest which will derive additional force from the consideration that there are communities from whom we hope that we are not to be for ever estranged—we mean principally the Lutherans—whose metrical Hymns have been too powerful over them to make it right that they should be asked to give them up; and who must, supposing that they were drawn to seek our privileges, be discouraged by finding such a doctrine as our author's prevalent among us. Having discharged ourselves of our protest, and having also expressed some doubts on one or two other points, we must conclude by thanking Mr. Evans for his interesting and valuable book.

Sermons, bearing on Subjects of the Day. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D. *Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* London: Rivingtons. 1843. 8vo. Pp. 464.

IT were little, if at all, short of affectation at this time to set about a formal review of any publication from Mr. Newman. Competent and incompetent alike form sometimes, and always express, an opinion of the works of the most remarkable writers of the times. It is so whatever department of literature such may happen to fill: in the case of the poet, the novelist, or the historian, or even the man of science, the price which preeminent gifts pay is invariably an unreal estimate: between idolatry, as in the case of one so wretched as a Byron, and the neglect of ignorance, which *was* Wordsworth's lot, a *great* author during his life has scarcely a middle standing. Hence, which is a noticeable fact, it is that few of the most exalted living writers can be rightly estimated by contemporaneous criticism: even if such could be fairly conducted, readers would pay but little attention to the most elaborate and scientific judgment which we *might* pronounce in a case, where if their reasons are not

ıced, their affections and sympathies, or it may be their lices, are already pledged. Now, common consent seems to ıwarded this intellectual empire to Mr. Newman: be he or wrong, be it for good or for evil, be he the most useful most dangerous writer in England, the man is not to be to, whatever his own sentiments, who does not at least wledge that the late Vicar of St. Mary's is the most in- ial author of the day.

art from all higher and better associations, Mr. Newman's is a very remarkable literary phenomenon: we are quite , that the great writers of the Church were never popular; ıat Mr. Newman is popular, after a manner, and that this one might seem a sufficient bar to ranking him amongst the s of the Church. But, it must be remembered that ours is a g age; or if not this, which may be reasonably questioned, when there is much talk about reading: whoever, there- xercises much influence, is sure to be much talked about; e *volitare vivu' per ora virûm* is generally reckoned equivalent ıionable: but in the highest and only true sense of the term ar, Mr. Newman is eminently unpopular. He, like those who gone before him, the torch-bearers of the heavenly race, is anting in that sure evidence of truth, the fewness of those ı all its depth embrace it. But this we shall see presently. her, therefore, that success which Mr. Newman alone prize has attended his labours, we still maintain that he present beyond the range of criticism; and it is remark- nough how seldom it has been attempted. Volume after ıe of the most weighty erudition, compact in argument, natic in form, as mere works of art specimens of the highest ctual skill,—we allude more particularly to the History of rians, and the Treatise on Justification, and the elaborate on Ecclesiastical Miracles,—proceed from this inexhaustible ; and yet, though they are directly concerned, and that ically, with a whole religious system, they never meet with nal review, still less a reply. It may be, that few feel elves capable of grappling with such a mind as Mr. New- ;—his is the magician's skill, which though it cannot win nt, at least compels silence. At any rate we are not disposed, ıst on this occasion, to depart much from the recognised ice of our reviewing brethren; and yet we are desirous, coolly announcing the publication of one of those noble f sermons, which are not only unequalled, but unapproached, at, if we were to add, unapproachable?—in the whole stores ology, at least since the days of St. Bernard, to say some- on certain "subjects of the day," which sometimes their ons, and sometimes their words suggest.

d if we do not now, as we would fain, say much of the extra- ıry contributions *to the Church* which this very gifted

person has within a short decade of years produced, it is only from the feeling that there is at least ONE whose retiringness and sweetness of character we have no right to harass or distress by intrusive praise. But it would be scarcely becoming, not to say disrespectful, to the author of the work which heads this paper, in ourselves, or indeed dutiful to that spirit from whom whatever is subduing or cheering in the exercise of the Church's prophetical functions comes, were we not to hazard one remark, which is, the thorough change in the whole character of English sermons of any range or pretension, which is owing to Mr. Newman's publications. Even in quarters where, perhaps, the acknowledgment would be made with the worst grace, he is the secret model; nor are we afraid to own that we are prepared to recommend the study of his pulpit compositions for this very purpose.

It is sheer nonsense to talk about the impropriety of taking a model for writing sermons; as written pieces they do but follow the rule of all other writings, and the very greatest masters of style have always been in a sense students of some particular author. Thus Demosthenes himself formed his oratory upon the manner of Thucydides, and yet, it were impertinent to say that he is no plagiarist. Study is no hindrance to originality; and reality, without which sermons are but as frozen fruit, is quite compatible with a certain refined attention, both to the general cast and details of writing. Mr. Newman's Sermons have that rarest combination of excellences, that they read well and that he preaches them well. They are sufficiently direct and personal to arrest the attention and feelings, without verging upon familiarity: they have enough of ornament and rhetorical skill to convey interest, and yet they can never, we conceive, be listened to in the mere spirit of criticism: in the writer we can never forget the teacher; with sufficient of dignity to remind us that they are the voice of a better nature, they still address us as "human mortals:" with wonderful powers of analyzing our corrupt nature, Mr. Newman never seems, as we have observed in some preachers, to dwell with a merely professional skill upon the morbid anatomy of sin; he knows what man is, but weeps over him with more of an angel's tears, than with the lecturer's technical hardness.

Never, for example, have the subtle mazes of self-deceit been so successfully tracked out; but the result to an earnest mind is, not how clever an analysis of compound motives, but, as to ourselves, how tremendous and mysterious is the sway of sin. Brief and pointed, without studied sententiousnes; pathetic, without whining; close, without obscurity; varied, without vagueness; suggestive, but never obscure; such are some, and only some, of the characteristics of these sermons. *And with all this* they are eminently practical; and what we

scarcely observed elsewhere, even most practical when controversial: controversial, indeed, in the common sense word, they never are; and it is quite surprising to see what extraordinary powers the direct disputes of the day ways in terms avoided, and yet how the truth on all is sted. Mr. Newman's aim seems to build up the Christian cter silently and secretly, as though such a thing as divi- were unknown in the Church: the life of God in the and not skill in polemics, are their substance. There is ed to tell people not to be heretics if we fill their souls Catholic prejudices—we use the word in its highest sense. now not with whom of our elder divines to compare Mr. an, and this chiefly because the moulds of thought are ferent in different ages. If it were possible to divest wes of his obscurity, and what to us wears the appearance antry, and to clothe his skeletons with living flesh and blood: Hall always warm and never quaint: had we Donne's power ut his coldness, we might arrive at something like New- Sermons. But it may, perhaps, be safest to consider as almost a new era in our English theology; we cannot, reading them, quite understand how old sermons *told* at all; Jeremy Taylor seems fatiguing, and beautiful as he is, un- to congregational occasions; Barrow's exhausting profu- quite oppressive even to read; and though Wilson is the practical of preachers, he is utterly devoid of elegance. an is eminently English, while in the Tillotson school, we we detect classical models, or rather the classics through h translations—Athens filtered through Dacier; they have of the stiff conventional propriety with which certain have thought proper to invest Aristotle's unities; unities would have as much surprised Aristotle as they shock on sense.

hen we suggested Mr. Newman as a model for parish ser- there is one fault against which his imitators require to be lly warned, and towards which they seem to have a remark- roclivity. So easy and flowing is Mr. Newman's language; urally does one thought seem to follow another, that some men seem to think, that so that they write down just comes, or is forced into, their heads at haphazard, if it be written in somewhat short sentences, it does not much r whether it is connected with the subject of their ser- or, in other words, that it is quite indifferent whether sermons have subjects at all. Never was so fatal a mis- it may be quite true that Mr. Newman's Sermons are en hastily—though of the facts we are quite ignorant— ot only are haste and carelessness very different things, e it always borne in mind, that a full mind can afford to pid. And yet more, if a single sermon of Mr. Newman's

be carefully studied, it will rarely amount to more than a single thought; viewed, perhaps, from every point; illustrated, perhaps, with unparalleled profusion; combined with many scattered elements; analyzed, dissolved, reproduced, again separated into its components, and once more produced in integrity; but it is always one idea. It is but one general impression at which Mr. Newman aims; it is but an isolated lesson which he seeks to convey; he never indulges in religious rambles. Another mistake of imitators has been very fatal. They have seen that Mr. Newman's style was living and flexible, eminently idiomatic, and regardless of one or two conventionalities which had acquired a sanction of some fifty or eighty years' standing; and they have consequently fancied themselves free to write both very bad English, and sometimes very doubtful grammar. We can assure them that the logic of such a conclusion is most vicious; nor can they shield themselves under their model, who, with one or two exceptions, is unimpeachable in his use of the English tongue.

Once more: if we would write and preach like Mr. Newman, *we must live like him;* this is the secret of the Nazarite's strength; this is the pervading life of all that he, and such as he, write. But, for obvious reasons, we desire rather to give this hint than to enlarge upon it.

The present volume of Sermons—the *eighth* (to say nothing of the recent fifth volume of *Plain* Sermons)—is on "Subjects of the Day:" but if any of our readers are so weak as to suppose that it contains significant hints about No. 90, or Dr. Faussett; or that it goes into Dr. Pusey's suspension; or even elaborately confutes Dissent; or specifically engages with baptismal regeneration or the apostolical succession as mere temporary disputes, they are very ignorant of Mr. Newman's spirit. If such happen to reside in parishes where weekly fulminations against "disguised Popery" are duly dealt out, they will find no "counter-blasts" against the Socinianizing tendencies, which are but too apparent among us, in the present volume. All is calm, dignified, eminently holy, and eminently practical. Mr. Newman never seeks to confute an adversary, but always to further the divine work of grace. If anybody can conceive what they would anticipate of Mr. Close's treatment of "Subjects of the Day," and then imagine the direct opposite of this in every conceivable particular, such is Mr. Newman's line. But as everybody will read it for himself, we shall, having said thus much of sermons in general, only select one passage—a "subject of the day"—which will furnish occasion rather for thought than writing. It is this; and it occurs in the form of a note to the Twenty-second Sermon, "Outward and Inward Notes of the Church."

"Such conversions to the Church of Rome as have occurred among us, are, *for the most part,* subsequent to March 1841; *from which date our Church has,*

ious ways, and through various of her organs, taken a side, and that the stant side, in a number of questions of the day. The authorities who were s to the condemnation of No. 90 of the 'Tracts of the Times,' by that osition, released the author, in his own feelings, of the main weight of a responsibility, which up to that time attached to him, of inculcating reli- views, which, however primitive, however necessary for our Church, how- anctioned by her writers, tended, without a strong safeguard, towards the gy of Rome. Till then, whatever happened amiss in the spread of lic doctrine, might be supposed to flow as a direct result from that one which alone seemed in operation, the advocacy of patristical theology; f its advocates the remedy and correction of all irregularities in the direc- f Rome might fairly be demanded. But the state of the case was changed, persons in station interfered with the work, and took the matter into their ands. In saying this the author has no wish at all to rid himself of such sibility as really belongs to him. That there are portions of what he has n which have become the disposing cause of certain tendencies to Rome, xisting, he does not deny; but theological principles and views have little ce on the minds holding them, without the stimulus of external circum- s. Many a man might have held an abstract theory about the Catholic h to which it was difficult to adjust our own, might have admitted a sus- , or even painful doubts about the latter, yet never have been impelled ds, had our rulers preserved the quiescence of former years; but it is *roboration of a present, living, and energetic heterodoxy*, which realizes akes them practical; it has been the recent speeches and acts of autho- who had so long been tolerant of Protestant error, which have given to y and to theory its force and its edge. Such toleration of Catholic doc- nay have been impossible or wrong; that is another question, with which e persons have no right to interfere; still it may be a fact that the want as been the cause of recent secessions."—Pp. 384—386.

e reserve for our second thoughts the passages which we italicized, taking first Mr. Newman's own view of the ts of the condemnation of No. 90.

r less than "condemnation" we do not affect to call the treat- of this tract. Wherever there was the right, real to some t, as in the case of the bishops, or assumed, as in the case of our tutors—to condemn this tract, it has been censured, and s distinctly and formally as the constitution of the respective rities would admit. To deny this were as unfair as delu- Nevertheless, we do not remember that in any quarter, in the Bishop of St. David's Charge, the acknowledged pur- of No. 90 was with all candour admitted. At the best it ed to be an extreme remedy: it was not proposed as *the* ition suited to the whole Church, but only as satisfactory section of it. No. 90 was addressed to some "straggling ewards." If others were satisfied with other views of the y-nine Articles, they were not called upon to receive this: ted to a particular class, it has been censured as though osed as the *only* conscientious view of the Articles, which it assumed to be. Mr. Newman wrote with a particular, not eral object. What was addressed to a school, the million were not consulted have, without being called upon, re- ed against. And under this view we consider Mr. New-

man's present statement or warning exceedingly important. He suggests the distinction which we have here drawn out.

We expect to hear this note stigmatized as sophistical: we deem it very valuable and candid. Mr. Newman acknowledges much of the antecedent force of the common objection, that Catholicism is intrinsically Romanizing, when viewed from a certain point: it must be so from its very nature, as is freely admitted; and as experience coeval with the Reformation itself has shown. He frankly, too, acknowledges that his own writings have contributed to this tendency: such *tendency* is inseparable from a strictly primitive study of the constitution and powers of the Christian Church. But then, if he draws the line, and suggests the counter-balancing view, why should they complain who have never felt the difficulty and perplexity itself? Why should he not solve his own paradox, if such it be, in his own way? If his solution satisfies those who were dissatisfied that we were at once assuming ourselves to be conjointly Catholic and Protestant, what have they to object who make no claim whatever to Catholicism? If he—to use the vulgar phrase—does not "unchurch" the low party, why should they complain, that he will not, on his own view, submit to be "unchurched" himself? Let us illustrate this: A certain course of medicine is deemed needful to cure a man of an ague: this regimen has a tendency, unless other checks are administered, to throw him into a fever: the physician is well aware of this, and at the proper moment proposes his own remedial agent: another mediciner steps in, and prevents this remedy being prescribed at the critical moment: *if the patient dies, who is responsible—the first physician or the second?*

Just so is it with the Church of England: if Mr. Newman's control was prevented precisely when it was, as he declares, most needful to his patient, then, as he says, "the case was taken out of his hands," and his responsibility ceases: if men turn Romanists after this, he is not responsible when his remedy was denounced. And all this does not apply to the case of those who were quite satisfied with their former Protestant apathy: if they were content to die of their ague, Mr. Newman is not responsible for it: if others die of their fever, Mr. Newman is not responsible for it: for No. 90 has not had a fair trial.

All which we may fairly admit without committing ourselves one way or the other about this No. 90. It still remains a separate question, whether Mr. Newman's remedy was judicious and salutary, or not; or whether it would have succeeded after all: other correctives might have met the difficulty equally well, or better: Mr. Newman had a perfect right to propose his own, and a perfect right, on its rejection, to decline all further responsibility: whether the patient lived or died, he, at least, was *no longer* in fault.

We have expressed this view familiarly; but clearness of thought upon it is very essential. The facts are certainly with the author of No. 90. The majority of secessions to Rome have been within the last two years and a half; and where a formal disavowal of this particular view has not been compelled, or where the tacit holding of it has not been deemed by individuals inconsistent with their personal deference to Episcopal dicta, we have no fear that other secessions to Rome will or can take place. If the Church, in her corporate capacity, had protested against this view, the state of things would be widely different; but, happily perhaps, under present circumstances, a canonical and legitimate censure is impossible; it would be very disastrous at present. Secessions have taken place, because some have considered the Church of England as pledged: others remain firm, and will do so, because they cannot recognise in the Hebdomadal Board, or in the Bishops' Charges, expressed as they are, an assailable decision of the Church as such.

This view, to our mind, also, and that very simply, accounts for many perplexing things of recent occurrence. We are not speaking with any authority, or with more knowledge than is open to ordinary bystanders; but if Mr. Newman declines for the future controversial writings, or if he resigns his living lest his own parochial sermons and ministrations should contribute, with or without his consent, to a state of things where he can only increase the evil with no permission to suggest what he deems the good, *upon his own view* he is fairly exculpated for his present position, which is a very legitimate one: he remains firm in his dutiful allegiance to the Church for reasons that she has internal marks of the sacred Presence, of the holiest and most consoling character, which are perfectly satisfactory to his own mind, be their appearance what it may upon others, from whom his influence is withdrawn; and that at the bidding of those to whose wishes and feelings he is bound to defer.

And this thought brings us, in the second place, to other considerations arising from Mr. Newman's statement, that "our Church" has recently, in various ways, taken a Protestant (and by the epithet we mean what has been styled *ultra*, and by some *psilo*-Protestant) side in a number of the "questions of the day," which is a truth that many of us are afraid to face. It is not to be denied, as some say, that there has been "a check," and that it is not quite so easy or so safe now to play at Catholicism as it was four or five years ago; and this because, while individual minds, or even the thinking part of members of the Church, have advanced in one direction, a retrograde movement has commenced *by the Church herself*, as far at least as it was possible for the Church to commit herself. Let us see this.

The scheme of the Prussian Episcopate—that *fornicatio post gentes*—has, God be *praised, been averted*, even upon the terms

on which we were content to surrender ourselves; but if this plan has been defeated, it is rather from a secret and mysterious power within the Church, strangely developed just when it was most needed, a religious and panic fear which suddenly seemed to possess the whole mind of the Church, the more real because the more undefined, than from the lack of any active cooperation with the Lutherans in the highest quarters: we certainly should have given the succession to the Berlin Superintendents, but they would, they could, never have acknowledged us as their Mother-Church of England, since, with the strangest inconsistency, we had already saluted them as of our "Sister-Church of the Reformation." We were quite ready to have demanded no other symbols than the Augsburgh Confession —no other ritual than a state-paper affair—no security for doctrine more religious than Prussian dragoons—and no head of the Church more authoritative than King Frederick William. Church History has read us neither warning nor encouragement; the frightful responsibility of giving a mere succession, without the One Catholic and Apostolic Faith, had been already tried in Scotland; and this miserable step was not the least unimportant element in the success of the great Scotch Presbyterian schism: again, we gave the succession to America, and we did exact some measure of pledged obedience to the doctrine, as well as to the order of the Church. Twice already has the Post-Reformation Church of England been the mother of two lines of Bishops; the one are rulers of a noble Church, the others have been persecuted for two centuries; and yet we were quite ready to make a third experiment, and not only to require no terms in our bargain with Prussia, as we did with the United States; not only to leave it without a Prayer-book, as was the case with Scotland, but to do even worse than this—to place Catholic Bishops—Catholic, that is, in mere form—over a sectarian community which would not swerve one iota from the developed doctrines of the Continental Reformation, which was a new and untried thing, an "Evangelical Church" made up out of the effete fragments of worn-out bodies, a δύναμις ἐπισολιμαῖη—not a true thing, not a living power, like Lutheranism or Calvinism, but a mere *tertium quid*, constructed too by the civil power,—not only kept alive, but forced into unnatural life by bayonets and deportation. And it was no fault of our Church, or of its rulers, that this alliance was not cemented; and this, at least, is one instance of taking a Protestant side.

Indeed, *we are already committed* much more than is pleasant to think of in the same direction. It may be true, that the unfortunate Jerusalem scheme is withering away, and yet the very fact that it ever was, has established a precedent, which is new to us since the days of Cranmer: how far the effects of *what cannot be* undone will come home to us now or hereafter

we cannot estimate; but with all our *talk* for three centuries and a half of sympathy with the Foreign Reformed—for it never amounted to more than empty talk—we were never so plainly and openly committed to an alliance with them as at the present moment, and that in the eyes of all Christendom, and on the very scene of our Lord's Passion. But we have spoken of this elsewhere, in our present number.

So, too, with many of the Episcopal Charges: it may be quite true that from them, as a whole, may be extracted a catena, which is very unpalatable to the Evangelical party;* but, on the other hand, may be constructed from the same documents a counter-statement, which we do not dare to characterise: the true doctrine of the Church—*essential* doctrine—articles of the Creed—have never been so openly denied as at the present moment. Without censure, without a thought apparently that there is anything wrong, or anybody to blame, the flattest heresy is unblushingly preached, and nobody protests. There may be much of floating Catholicism; there is "a present living and energetic heterodoxy." If our Church is not to be judged by its Bishops (as in a sense it certainly is not) and by the majority of the Clergy and laity, by what popular standard can it be tried? and there is no question that the main body is Protestant, and in the worst sense too, to the very core.

Catholic teaching is barely tolerated: as we hinted last month, Catholic practices are only permitted on sufferance—the Catholic life is not allowed to develop itself; wherever a Clergyman is censured or rebuked, it is for obeying, not disobeying, the Church; it is zeal, not apathy, which is now criminal: once we encouraged theological learning; now let a divine be learned enough to know what has ever been the doctrine of the Church Catholic or Anglican, and he is marked for life: "Thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb: and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear—away with him! he speaks Latin—he shall die, an it be but for pleading so well for his life." If we believe in the one Baptism for the remission of sins, we are "Puseyites;" and even poor-law guardians, when they come to elect a chaplain at 50*l.* a-year, are good Churchmen enough not to elect so monstrous a heretic as this; but let another preach for two months in the Scotch meeting-houses, *he* is Chaplain to the Queen, and in a fair way for a Bishopric. Which do we *look* most like? Catholics or Protestants?

These are popular topics, but they are the "subjects of the day"—they are facts: by these shall we be judged; and shall any one say that they are not *indicia* of a most active Anti-Catholic vigour? Yes!—it is replied—but look on the other

* Such is indeed before us in a useful tract—"Testimonies to Church Principles, selected from Episcopal Charges and Sermons," *Burns.*

side: look at the Colonial Bishoprics, and intercommunion with Scotland and America. True, these are great blessings; but to erect a sort of Protestant centre of unity at Canterbury, to make Lambeth a kind of reformed Vatican, is consistent enough with other than over Catholic views. And if to these topics we add such facts as the Lichfield-House compact, between the Whiggery of Evangelicalism and the O'Connellism of Dr. Hampden, as lately displayed at Oxford in the attempt to remove the censure on the Divinity Professor—the rejection of Mr. Williams in the same place—the actual suspension of Dr. Pusey, and the practical suspension of Mr. Newman—the recent lay addresses—the open denunciation of the head of the government—and the averted looks of our rulers, as well as the significant falling away of the worldly and summer-friends, it is, we think, as undeniable as perhaps sad, that there is not only a re-action against the truth, but that never was heterodoxy so compact, so determined, and so powerful in the Church of England, as at the present moment. If words are with us, deeds are with those opposed to us: we have plenty of books and talk to appeal to; they have the undeniable testimony of facts to produce against us; if we quote ourselves they quote the world; if we have done anything it is in the very teeth of opposition and coldness, they have to produce every sort of censure which the Church could indirectly convey: in a word, they have *everything* short of that *which alone is anything* to us, viz., a synodical decision and condemnation. As soon as Protestantism awoke to the real bearing of the revival—slow enough, ludicrously so, it was in arriving at any glimmering of what such revival meant, apathy was at an end: it is felt to be a death struggle on either side; and this lesson, as it is the most humiliating, so is it the most needful for us to learn; not only because the present state of things may have contributed very much towards unsettling the faith of those who have left our communion, as Mr. Newman remarks, which is not our present subject; but because it may lead us all to inquire whether some among us may not have begun to reform the Church, before we reformed ourselves—whether too many of us are not mere greenhouse plants, which want hardening before they can endure a winter sky—whether, in battling for one mark of the Church, external symmetry, we were not content to forget another, internal holiness—whether, in preaching the Church system, we have not thought more of its beauty than of its severity—whether we have not (to make our meaning clear by an instance) kept Church feasts and neglected Church fasts—whether, in our earnest gaze at theoretical perfection, we have not forgotten our practical degradation—whether we have not tried to become saints, without first becoming penitents—whether we *have not* attempted to do the Lord's work with spotted hands

—it may be "that we cannot stand before our enemies, neither will God be with us any more, except we destroy the accursed thing from among us."

"*Thou* to wax fierce,
In the cause of the Lord;
To threat and to pierce,
With the heavenly sword!
Anger and zeal,
And the joy of the brave;
Who bade *thee* to feel
Sin's slave?

"The Altar's pure flame
Consumes as it soars;
Faith meetly may blame,
For it serves and adores.
Thou warnest and smitest!
Yet Christ must atone
For a soul that thou slightest—
Thine own."

Lyra Apostolica, LXV.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Journal of the Statistical Society of London. London: Parker, 1842, 1843.

But lately, on looking over the very dry pages of the Journal of the Statistical Society, we met with a paper on the origin, custody, and value of Parish Registers, with an abstract of those of Manchester, read before the British Association by Canon Parkinson, when that astro- and gastro-nomic body met at Manchester, in June, 1842. Some, perhaps, of our clerical friends may not be acquainted with the use and progress of registers, or know why or wherefore they or their churchwardens are bound to look after them so carefully; and therefore we venture the following information from the Canon's paper.

The first injunction for keeping parochial registers was issued by Cromwell, in the thirtieth year of Henry the Eighth, in which the king's vicar-general ordained that "in all churches a register should be kept of every wedding, christening, and buriall within the same parish for ever." Some registers are still extant of this date, but the majority date from the time of the more full injunction of Edward the Sixth, put forward nine years after, in 1547. This enjoins—

"That the parson, vicar, or curate, and parishoners of every parish within this realm, shall, in their churches and chapels, keep one book, or register, wherein they shall write the day and the year of every wedding, christning, and burial, made within their parish for their time, and so every man succeeding them likewise; and therein shall write every person's name that shall be so wedded, christned, or buried. And, for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one sure cofer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other with the wardens of every parish, church, or chapel, wherein the said book shall be laid up; which book they shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record, in the same, all the weddings, christnings, and burials, made the whole week before; and that done, to lay up the book in the said cofer, as before. And for every time that the said shall be omitted, the party that shall be in fault thereof shall forfeit to the said church iiis. iiiid. to be employed to the poor man's box of that parish."

This injunction was continued by Queen Elizabeth, and set out further at length, but *without any material* alterations, in the 70th

Canon of 1603. Some additions were made to the old canon, such as transmitting yearly copies to the chancellor of the diocese, in order to their preservation in the episcopal registry, and forbidding the minister, without the churchwarden, or the latter without the former, to open "the cofer." In the reign of William and Mary a most extraordinary act was passed, which must have insured the accurate keeping of the registers, as a tax was raised on them for the crown. The king and his parliament wanted to fight the French, so their wisdoms granted to his majesty "certaine rates and duties upon marriage, births, and burials, and upon batchelors and widowers, for the term of five yeares, for carrying on the war with France with vigour."

"The preamble," says Canon Parkinson, "after stating the reasons for passing this act, goes on to say, 'that from and after the first day of May, in the year of our Lord 1695, for and during the terme of five yeares, and not longer, there shall be raised, levied, and paid to his majesty, his heires and successorss, (over and above all other duties whatsoever,) for and upon the burial of all persons who shall be buried within the said terme of five yeares, at any place within the kingdom of England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-on-Tweed, the several and respective sums and duties hereinafter mentioned.'"

So, to please the warlike notions of his majesty, for five years no one is to be buried without paying four shillings to the king to help to kill Frenchmen; and if a duke or a duchess, fifty pounds, besides the four shillings; if only a marquis or marchioness, he may enjoy the rites of the Church for forty pounds sterling. The tariff goes down through the nobility ten pounds per grade, then takes the minor honours into its keeping, and is content to let a plain gentleman be buried for twenty-four shillings; in default of payment, to be levied upon the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, or the goods and chattels, of the buried one. This act took charge of his majesty's loving subjects from their first to their last breath. It would not allow any to be born, except paupers' children—happy paupers!—under two shillings sterling; and added a birth tariff nearly as exorbitant as the Charonic tax for burying; charging a duke's son thirty pounds two shillings for being born. Now, considering that neither deaths nor births are generally the act of the person born or buried, it was rather hard in our Hollandish sovereign to tax at once the increase and decrease of his subjects, setting aside the morality of raising a war-tax on the services of the Church, as that it was, conceal it as you will. As to marriage, perhaps William's cold, calculating nature might have deemed it very correct to arrest the progress of improper marriages,—our royal Malthus was doubtless a deep economist; but as he was a good financier, he caught his people at both ends, and taxed the bachelors for being bachelors, and then for marrying; made the widowers pay for their wives' death, for their temporary return to celibacy, and for their second marriage. The next thing was to secure these novel duties; to insure which the king and the parliament laid the burden on the clergy, and ordered them to register every birth, marriage, or death, in their parish, on the pain of forfeiting one hundred pounds, one-half to the king, the rest to the informer, for every omission. What between informers, tax-gatherers, and clergy, few registers were more accurately kept than those

between 1695 and 1700. As these remarks are made solely to introduce early information about parochial registers, we shall not here discuss the effect of the various acts on the subject passed in later reigns, from 52d George the Third to the first year of Victoria. All we wish to remark is, that people may as well remember that registration is neither baptism, marriage, nor burial, though legally a substitute for all; and that, excepting with regard to marriages, the famous, or rather infamous, Registration Act in no way affects parochial registers.

Israel's Ordinances: a Few Thoughts on their Perpetuity, respectfully suggested in a Letter to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Jerusalem. By CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH. London: Seeley. 1843.

THIS is a very remarkable production; remarkable both in the way of testimony and tendencies, as well as from its own intrinsic merits, which are far from slight. Charlotte Elizabeth is no common writer, and in the mere power of diction, and as a specimen of Bible criticism, "the Bible, and the Bible only," unassisted by the Church's perpetual witness, "Israel's Ordinances" is very superior to the common range of such writings. An independent thinker, reckless of all consequences, who "admits of no authority of any kind whatever, beyond the two covers of the Bible, *my* Bible, which includes neither note, comment, or interpretation of any kind," (p. 9,) we might anticipate to become a heretic; and a heretic of no ordinary type is Charlotte Elizabeth. In reading this production, we were forcibly reminded of the strange days of a Maximilla and Priscilla; but Montanism were purity and orthodoxy itself compared with this last development of the "Society for promoting Judaism among Christians." The present is a perfectly fair deduction from the modern principles which have passed current with little questioning.

Charlotte Elizabeth arguing only from the mere text of Scripture, and from certain detailed practices of "Paul," (as she is pleased to term the great apostle,) comes to the conclusion that the Sabbath, circumcision, the passover, the levitical priesthood—in a word, all the legal ordinances, were never formally superseded and abrogated; that, at least as far as Jewish converts were and are concerned, they were intended to be perpetual; that the Jewish Christian Church has, or ought to have, a peculiar system, apart from the Gentile Christian community; and that Dr. Alexander, whom she thinks fit to call "*The* Bishop *of* Jerusalem," is called upon, in his own person, to revive and continue all "Israel's ordinances." But let the *lady* speak for herself:

> "In your person the Church of the circumcision is once more planted on the height of Zion; in your person, the reproach of seventeen centuries is thus rolled away from the Israel. Call you what we will, my Lord, you are a JEW, a circumcised Jew; and your dear partner, the wife of your bosom, is a Jewess, a descendant of Levi; your daughters, who, under the Lord's blessing, are growing up as the polished corners of the temple, are Jewesses also. Here I pause; for I feel that something is wanting to complete the picture. My dear Lord, bear with me, while I respectfully and affectionately put once more the query, *Why are not your sons also Jews?*"—Pp. 4, 5.

In other words, why are not the youthful Alexanders circumcised? We really deprecate *levity on this subject;* it is much too grave a

matter to be trifled with; but honestly, on Charlotte Elizabeth's principles, we ask, why not? There is so much in Scripture, both of prophecy and of fact, as to the retention of the Israel of God, that we are only surprised that this view has not been elaborated before; more skilfully argued in a small compass it could not be, than in the present little pamphlet. It is quite true that there is a vast principle of the Jewish permanence running through both covenants: a continuance and identity of priesthood, temple, and sacrifice, is declared in Scripture: we are content to admit all this to the full.

Charlotte Elizabeth (what absurd affectation this name is), it will be seen, must take a very independent and somewhat original view of such epistles as those to the Galatians and Colossians, which seem so directly opposed to the "ordinances which are to perish with the using." All these she considers of force against the Gentile branch of the Church, and thus far she does not differ from the common line maintained by the ordinary Protestant writers; but she differs from them, *toto cœlo*, in showing that ceremonial and ordinances have any place in the apostolic scheme. Hence a very noticeable testimony to her own singleness of purpose and clear-sightedness; unlike her school, she dares not evade the crushing force of the fact, that somehow or other, though the apostles did speak so strongly against ordinances, *in some sense*, yet they did recognise their inalienable perpetuity also *in some sense:* though theirs was theoretically in one view a merely spiritual Church, yet still it was, in fact, practically a ceremonial Church: it had its altars, its sacrifices, its Aaronical succession, its Divine Presence also: hence her extraordinary expedient to reconcile these two independent classes of scriptural facts; and to say that it is simply ingenious, is anything but a correct view of it. Charlotte Elizabeth deals triumphantly with her friends, by challenging them to prove when Judaism became extinct: she asks—and the question will never be answered—for scriptural proof of the common figment of the abrogation of the law. She has no wish to escape from the overpowering force of our Lord's declaration, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law." Many points she overstates, and *all* she misapplies; but in the general tenor of her scriptural argument we entirely concur.

How this will be received in quarters which are constantly inveighing against the Judaism and formalism of the Catholic system, we can anticipate; but it is not our province to reconcile these parties. Sufficient for us to make our own use of this remarkable testimony in favour of the retention of the whole ceremonial and ritual, and formal aspect of the temple service, as somehow not inconsistent with the freedom of the Gospel. For ourselves, it will be sufficient to refer to two of Mr. Newman's recent sermons, in the most valuable volume which has just appeared, and which is elsewhere noticed, The Christian Church a Continuation of the Jewish, and, The Principle of Continuity between the Jewish and Christian Churches, (pp. 203—245,) from which Charlotte Elizabeth may learn, that all Israel's ordinances are, as she says, perpetual; that Israel itself does exist as the Church Catholic; that circumcision remains, expanded into Holy Baptism; that the sacrifice is retained in the Sacred Eucharist; that

the priesthood of succession is preserved in the Apostolate; the sabbath in the Gospel Festivals; the ritual in the Christian Ceremonial; the tribe of Levi in the stewards of the Mysteries; the reign of Judah in the Divine Empire. We are not driven to explain away Scripture: in the real, more real, because spiritual, we joyfully recognise the literal. In what the apostles say against human ordinances, we find, with her, no condemnation of such as are divine. What she admits as applicable only to Jewish converts, and this in a carnal sense, we accept as binding on the whole Church; and this after a mystical and spiritual manner.

There remains of course another view, under which this performance cannot be viewed without the deepest horror. As Charlotte Elizabeth has applied this train of thought, it results in a heresy, approximating very nearly to that of the Ebionites: it is a frightful, though consistent evolvement of undisciplined private judgment. And yet we cannot see how, with any consistency, Dr. Alexander, for example, can refuse to admit the validity of his correspondent's conclusions; whether he will act upon them remains to be seen; though nothing would surprise us in that quarter. Only if all this opens the eyes of our rulers at home to the imminent dangers which beset our communion, as a part of the Catholic Church, in Jerusalem, under its present most untoward auspices, it will not be without its use. Most cordially do we subscribe to Mr. Newman's sentiments—

> "The recent appointment of an Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem, has had a most grievous effect in weakening the argument for our Church's catholicity, and in shaking the belief in it of individuals. May that measure utterly fail and come to nought, and be as though it had never been!"—P. 378.

which earnest prayer seems about accomplishing: never was such a miserable failure and delusion, and it is quite impossible that it should ever be repeated or continue.

It is useless to pick holes in the details of this pamphlet, but the information that the tribe of Levi still subsists, and even the family of Aaron, in ascertained integrity and lineal purity, "as distinct, as visible, as universally known, as in the days when they served the temple," (p. 46,) is to us perfectly new; if it were so, we can pardon our authoress' rapture "in the presence of a simple Cohen, an Aaronite, *even were he but measuring me for a shoe*," p. 47; with which anticlimax we are sorry to conclude.

Theophilus Anglicanus, or Instruction for the young Student, concerning the Church and our own Branch of it. By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D. *Head-Master of Harrow School, &c.* London: Rivingtons. 1843.

IN the present time, when it is not easy to foretel what will be the end of that great theological movement which is now only in its infancy, a more than ordinary responsibility lies upon those to whom the sacred duty of education is entrusted. The minds of the young *must* be furnished with right principles, based on a sufficient knowledge; and if this duty is not wisely and *faithfully performed*, we can only expect a

harvest of wild opinions, and the saddest consequences of polemical strife.

We hail, then, with peculiar satisfaction the work before us, which we had barely time to notice in our last number. It appears to us exactly to meet the necessities of the times, by supplying what has long been acknowledged a desideratum in our educational literature—a text-book for theological instruction.

The classical attainments of the author are too well-known to need any observation. He now appears before the world in the character of a well-read divine; and both these qualifications are essential for the right performance of a work designed, as this in the title-page professes to be, for the instruction of the young student.

It adds greatly to the value of the book, that it was composed to supply a want which the author had himself experienced, in his labours as head master of one of our most esteemed grammar-schools; so that it promises to be an eminently practical work.

The great questions of ecclesiastical polity are treated in a clear, concise, and masterly manner. Every position is supported by references or quotations, generally given at large, from the most approved divines of the Greek, the Latin, and the English Church, which not only exhibit a wide range of reading, but are of great value in themselves, as a collection of authorities, many of which are designed to serve as exercises for the classical student; while at the same time they fix the point they are intended to illustrate in his memory.

The book is likely to become eminently useful to young men, whether intended for holy orders or for other professions, who, having finished their university education, are desirous of learning the certainty of those things wherein they have been instructed.

Would it not be desirable that a work of this kind should be examined and approved by competent authority; and so be put into the hands of masters and scholars, recommended by some other imprimatur than that of what is now called public opinion?

"St. Patrick's Purgatory; an Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise, current during the Middle Ages, by Thos. Wright," &c. (Russell Smith,) is one of those very curious collections of out-of-the-way literature for which both author and publisher are celebrated. Of the tone and spirit of this performance, we can say nothing favourable. It may be too true, that the doctrine which is its subject was made a matter of sad cupidity; but, really, though Mr. Wright professes to have taken up the subject in a merely literary way, he is not called upon to write as though the next world were a legend.

"True Stories from the History of the Church," (Haselden,) is, in either sense of the word, a story-telling book, written on a vile plan, and with worse execution. One of the cuts amused us exceedingly: the meeting of Augustine and Ethelbert, with Canterbury Cathedral in the back-ground.

Two beautiful passages of Mr. Keble,—"Now is there solemn pause," from the *Christian Year*, and "I thought to meet no more," from the *Lyra Apostolica*, have been wedded to solemn music (Chappell); the former with an arrangement of a German hymn, the latter, of a Roman chant. This is as it should be. Why are the

"Sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse,"

so seldom or so inappropriately on either side associated?

We are glad to see advertised an "Appeal to the Members of the Society for *Promoting Christian* Knowledge, on recent Doctrinal Changes introduced into

s." We trust that *our* last month's exposure of the garbling of Ken's r Manual will not be overlooked.

, or the Excellence of Charity," by the author of "The Cottage on on," (Grant and Griffith,) is on the whole a very pleasant and good k. There are one or two things which we could stop to criticise, eneral impressions a shade less favourable.

rting Gift to Young Women leaving School and entering Service." rner, Hackney,) is an admirable tract, at once sensible and orthodox. t one fault, for the purposes which it contemplates,—the omission of all to the duty of Communion, a subject on which young women at re, unhappily, not less impracticable than their neighbours.

udenell Barter has published an excellent pamphlet, entitled, "A Defence of our Altars and Catholic Church" (Burns); occasioned by or Dealtry's recent charge. The great respect we feel, in common, we with the whole body of English Churchmen, as well as the author now s, for the latter gentleman, makes us deeply regret his having com- imself on the very delicate subjects which he has chosen, in his official , to handle. There are so many topics on which he is at home, and on he is so fit to moderate among his brethren, that we deplore his re from them into regions where he is obviously but a stranger. Mr. writes upon them with a far different amount of information, though d have wished that he had dealt at greater length with the objections ficulties which are likely to be uppermost in the minds of Dr. Dealtry se who think with him. There is a note appended on Mr. Maurice's letter to Lord Ashley, in which Mr. Barter assumes that author to what our readers may remember our saying he *seemed*, but we were sure *emed*, to mean, that Catholicism was the religion of the upper, and a t that of the middling classes. We were made sure of this by our ntance with Mr. Maurice's other writings.

Dickens's "Christmas Carol in Prose," (Chapman and Hall,) is a very ble present at this season. A very old and hackneyed subject is treated in original way, and the story displays all its author's eminent powers of com- humour with pathos. He has, however, thought fit to make an attempt igious allusion here and there, one at least of which could well have been —that occasioned by some of his grown-up characters playing at blind- buff, and forfeits, on which he says, "It is good to be children sometimes, ver better than at Christmas, when its mighty Founder was a Child Him- We do not believe that Mr. Dickens is aware of the extreme irreverence way of speaking; but we are mistaken if numbers of his readers will pained by it; and we feel bold to assure him, that his expunging, or g, the sentence in his next edition, will give general satisfaction.

lect Pieces from the Poems of William Wordsworth," (Burns,) are put n a most beautiful volume, well adapted for a present or a prize as the nay be. The selection, as well as the decoration, is, on the whole, us; but we could have wished the principle announced in the preface en somewhat more closely adhered to, of choosing "such poems as contain ader features of Wordsworth's style." Exquisite verses about childhood, terized by a simplicity which is the result of consummate art, have charms for children; nor in the nature of things can it be otherwise: r is it fair to those whom we are training into a relish for a poet, not enjoyed without training, to present them in the first instance with verses only the confirmed Wordsworthian can relish. We allude to such as Childless Father," "The Sailor's Mother;" the first of the two poems Skylark," "The Redbreast and Butterfly," and one or two similar ones. along with such verses as are not Wordsworth's, (*e. g.* "Which way he Wind come?" &c.) ought, we think, to be replaced in another by "She was a Phantom of Delight," "O Nightingale, thou surely art," Kitten, and the falling Leaves," and the "Poems on the Naming of ." The last-named *series is not only* surpassingly beautiful, but

eminently characteristic of our great poet. We also venture to recommend a still further restoration (we are glad to see some in this collection) of the old readings, which obviously will be the enduring ones. *Ruth* ought really to be protected from its illustrious author, who, with all respect be it said, has proved himself the worst enemy to one of his own greatest works.

"Holy Baptism; Prayers, Meditations, and Select Passages on the Sacrament of Baptism, &c." (Burns,) is a sort of companion to the Archdeacon of Surrey's Eucharistica. The little book is very prettily got up, and the compilation is from stores of different ages and parts of the Christian Church: from Cyprian, from Chrysostom, from Cyril, as well as from Andrewes, Hooker, from Comber, Leighton, and Beveridge. We cordially recommend the work to all who wish to live in the recollection of their Baptism. It will be found of still more direct use to such as are looking forward to the Baptism of any who are dear to them; and as we cannot but think it likely that adult baptism will become more frequent in proportion as the state of those around us becomes better known, this work has a prospective value of no slight importance, as it will then be found an excellent manual of preparation. The introduction is very beautiful, and is signed H. E. M.—a signature which many will scarcely need for the purpose of information, as the style is not easily mistaken.

"A Voice from Rome," (Burns,) is a valuable reprint from the columns of the *English Churchman*, with additions; harmonizing altogether very much with the tone of thought of a recent article in our own pages.

Mr. Paget's "Churchman's Calendar for 1844," (Burns,) is a great improvement on its predecessor, inasmuch as it is complete (complete, we mean, as an Anglican calendar); whereas the other was confined to the red-letter days.

We recommend "Little Alice and her Sister," (Burns,) and also, "Short and simple Prayers for Children," (Grant and Griffith,) though there are things in the latter which ought to be altered; and we can assure the author, that the notorious hymn at the end, with its burden of "Glory, glory, glory," is not less unorthodox than it is ridiculous.

"Romantic Fiction; select Tales from the German of Fouqué, and others," (Burns,) is a very beautiful and seasonable present. We hope speedily to call more particular attention to the great and noble-minded writer from whom these tales are principally taken. We see that an objection has been made to one of them, "The Unknown Patient," as too terrible. This is a question that must be left to the discretion of parents or instructors in each individual case. The tendency to τὸ δεινὸν is one of the first forms taken by the imagination; our early communion with that which we have not realized cannot long continue "from terror free;" and, therefore, the great question is not, How to get rid of what will plainly come anyhow, but how to regulate it when it comes; and this, as we have already said, must be left to discretion in each several case.

In the same form have appeared, from the German of Fouqué, "Undine," "The Two Captains," and "Aslauga's Knight," which, with "Sintram," previously published, make a Series of Romances on the Four Seasons.

"Glimpses of Nature, &c., during a Visit to the Isle of Wight," &c., by Mr. Loudon, (Grant and Griffith,) will be welcomed by all parents who wish to call children's attention to the natural objects around them.

"A Companion to the Services of the Church of England for every Sunday in the Year," (Burns,) is an excellent book in the same kind as Bishop Jolly's, with greater range and variety, and with the advantageous introduction of verse, principally from the Christian Year.

"Liber Scholasticus," (Rivingtons,) is the reprint of a very comprehensive body of information, on subjects in which nearly every class of English Churchmen must have an interest.

"Remarks on the Book of Psalms as Prophetic of the Messiah," (Burns,) is an erudite and orthodox work, of far more than the ordinary value, which we ought to have noticed ere now.

"What is the Church? The question answered," &c. derives interest, in *addition to its intrinsic* merits, from the quarter whence it has proceeded—from

a *French Anglican* resident in France. The author must find his ground very difficult to make clear to persons who have never heard of other than *Romish* Catholicism.

We hope that "An Account of the Picture of Frederick Overbeck, representing Religion glorified by the Fine Arts, &c., written in German by the Painter himself, and translated by John Macray," (Parker,) will be generally read. The thoughts and tone are like their author. We could wish that, as there appears to be a line engraving of the picture, it had been reduced and prefixed in outline to this pamphlet, in which it would have been found a useful diagram.

The Propagation Society has put forth an interesting document, entitled, "The Church in Canada," a journal of a Visitation, by the Lord Bishop of Toronto, of the Western portion of his diocese. This gives us more of a Bishop's mind than we have often access to. It is to be followed, we understand, by a similar one from the Bishop of Montreal.

The same interest attaches to "Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand," addressed to the Propagation Society (Rivingtons).

"The Order of Daily Service, &c. as arranged for Use in Quires and Places where they sing," by Thomas Tallis, 8vo. newly edited by Mr. John Bishop of Cheltenham, (Cocks and Co. Princes-street,) we are glad to be able heartily to recommend. The work is beautifully, as well as correctly got up, and, we trust, will lead to a very extensive use of the ancient canto fermo in connexion with these inimitable harmonies. We may remark, however, that it would have been an improvement if the plain chant in the harmonized responses, whether occurring in the tenor or treble staff, had been printed in the black notes, as is done in the priest's part. The correspondence would then have been seen much better. Also, there is a question as to the propriety of making up harmonized responses for the second part of the Litany following the Lord's Prayer. In most places where Tallis's Litany is used, that portion is sung in unison, as given in Marbeck and Lowe; and this is after all, perhaps, the best mode, as it keeps up the distinction which there evidently is between the first and second parts of the Litany. We presume, from a sentence at the end of the Introduction (a very good Introduction, by-the-by) that this book is used at St. John's, Cheltenham, what, indeed, is no more than we should have expected from Mr. Watson's well-known zeal. That he should have encouraged and assisted in such a publication, is not the least of the obligations under which we lie to him. We had almost omitted to add, that the whole is printed without organ accompaniment; and in this way, we presume, the music is used. It ought, beyond all doubt, to be so; the way in which it is (or was very lately) performed at Westminster Abbey, and in some London churches where the organ is made use of, is quite abominable.

"Conciones Academicæ, Ten Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge," by J. W. Blakesley, M.A., is a hard-thinking volume by a gentleman of known accomplishments, ability, and orthodoxy: the same applies to a volume by Mr. Marriott, of Oriel, (J. H. Parker,) and another by Mr. Poole, of Welford, (Walters.)

Among recent Charges, the Bishop of Bangor's (Rivingtons), and the Archdeacon of Surrey's (Burns), will be read with interest.

"Commemoration of the Fifth of November, by Mr. C. Smith Bird," (Hatchard,) is a single, though heavy, sermon on this perilous State-service, which has contrived to identify two subjects as dissimilar as Tenterden steeple and the Goodwin Sands. The day itself was celebrated, we hear, by a *feu-de-joie* of sermonizing,—a sort of mixture of Vauxhall and a Protestant *auto-da-fé*; but the flower-pots and Roman candles have not many of them exploded in print: a dropping fire of squibs from three or four of the Islington Clergy, has ignited, though tardily, and with more splutter than brilliancy.

Among other single sermons, we may mention "The Duty of Promoting Christian Unity," by Mr. Joseph Oldknow (Rivingtons), "Church Principles considered with reference to the Life and Practice," by W. C. Dowding, B.A. (Ditto); and one by *Archdeacon Manning*, preached at York, (Sunter).

MISCELLANEOUS.

[*The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.*]

REVIVAL OF CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS.

[We have now the satisfaction to present to our readers the authorities in favour of the Revival of Conventual Institutions, referred to in our last number. The collector of them requests us to state that he cannot doubt that very many have either escaped his search, or lain beyond the range of his reading; and to add, that the transmission of any such, through the hands of the publisher of the Christian Remembrancer, will be thankfully acknowledged.]

The duties of monks were these:—"to pray, groan, and weep for their faults;—to subdue their flesh;—to watch and abstain from pleasures;—to bridle their tongues, and shut their ears from vanities;—to guard their eyes, and keep their feet from wandering;—to labour with their hands, exult with their lips, and rejoice at heart in the praises of God; . . . to obey readily, and never to contradict, their superiors;—to serve willingly, and assist speedily, the sick brethren;—to throw off the cares of the world, and attend to celestial concerns with their utmost endeavours;—not to be overcome by the arts of Satan, and to do everything with prudence."

"To *monastic perfection* . . . eight things were requisite — keeping the cloister;—silence;—no property;—obedience;—no detraction or murmuring;—mutual love;—performance of the appointed duties;—and confession. Besides these, they were to be imitators of Christ, love an abject and lowly habit, be clothed in vile garments, walk simply in discipline, upon rising to matins meditate upon their actions;—to bear patiently the injuries of others,—to him that struck them upon one cheek to turn the other . . . to converse of, and meditate upon, the last judgment, wait for the Lord, and dread the anger of the Judge; . . . to use private prayer when under a vicious impulse, because such prayer reminded them of their crimes, and made them think themselves more guilty;—to have respect for their habit in act, speech, and thought;—not to be querulous, angry, slanderous;—not to regard rashly the lives of their superiors, nor to become rebellious by beholding their faults. . . ."—*Fosbrooke's History of Monachism*, pp. 211, 212. 4to. edit.

T. Hearne to Browne Willis, on the dissolution and destruction of Monasteries.

"I am mightily pleased with your transcript out of the Augmentation Office. The pensions of the abbots both of Abingdon and Battle are large: nor are those of the monks inconsiderable. I look upon these pensions as evident proofs of the innocence of those places. I have not Burnet by me at the writing this letter, so I cannot refer to the page where he allows of the argument. Yet I am sure he does allow it, and one that is so well versed as you are in our history cannot but quickly find it in him. He certainly wrote his history, as he hath done his other books, in post or rather Scotch haste. The very arguments he hath made use of against the monasteries would have served against the universities. It is no wonder that some ill men are found in all large societies. I do not doubt but the visitors were the most inveterate enemies that could be employed. And therefore, to be sure, they would, in their returns to the king, insert all the stories they could rake up that sullied the reputation of the monks, and were likely to please the king, who was resolved to get their revenues into his own hands, and was, for that reason, very glad to encourage any person who was willing to lay open the characters of those men in the blackest terms that could be thought of.

That Burnet hath offered against them appears to me to be spite and
e. His proofs are weak and groundless. And I do not doubt but that if
monk's character were strictly and impartially examined, there is not one
n but what would appear more innocent and virtuous than any one of the
s; and it may be, than any one of their accusers.

would not be thought, from what I have said, to be an enemy to the
mation. That is certainly to be commended, so far as it was carried on
a design to shake off and extirpate those gross errors that had, by degrees,
into the Church; and so far the king himself is to be commended, as he
sed that in his opposing the pope. But then, whereas the Reformation
arried on with a design also to destroy all the abbies, and to take from
those lands that were conferred in the most solemn manner, this ought
nly to be condemned and to be looked upon as the highest instance of
ge; and by it the king hath left behind him such a blemish as will never
ed off. And therefore my Lord Herbert might well conclude his history
wish *that he could leave him in his grave;* which is a very excellent con-
n, notwithstanding very short; he having, by his demolishing the religious
, and by giving and selling the lands to lay persons exceeded in sacrilege
rticular prince that ever went before him. Nay, I question whether he
t exceed all the princes of any one single kingdom put together. I am
nwilling to speak ill of crowned heads; but what I have mentioned is so
otorious that it is no secret, and, therefore, there can be no manner of
in speaking of it even in the most public manner. When Christianity
st planted in Britain the Reformers discovered plainly that what they did
it of a true principle of piety and devotion, and with a design only to
gate the Christian doctrines, and not with an intent to enrich themselves.
therefore, did not destroy heathen temples and other places of worship,
nly converted them to a Christian use. Neither did they employ any of
things that had been appropriated to religion to a profane use; but
d in a synod that they should continue for religious purposes to which
ere originally designed, though with this caution, that under the severest
es they should not be (as before) made use of upon any account in pro-
g and advancing the heathen, but only in carrying on and establishing
ristian discipline. Had King Henry VIII. imitated them, he had left in
int a very great and glorious character behind him. But in this he very
pily failed, and the nation groans to this day for the sins that were at this
committed, not only by himself but by the agents employed by him, par-
ly by the visitors, who proceeded with the utmost rigour and violence
t the monks, and stuck at nothing that they thought would expose them,
ould serve as an argument to the king for dissolving the abbies and seizing
ir lands and revenues, and afterwards employing them to such purposes
nself, by the advice of those visitors, and other enemies to the monks,
l judge proper. . . ."

e.—The sentiments expressed in this letter are such as, in the opinion of
riter of this note, do no less credit than to Hearne's heart than to his head.
e necessity and important value of the Reformation, there can be only
inion; but the overthrow of every monastic institution, the barbarous
y inflicted on the professors of religion, and the destruction of every
le monument of art, every splendid relic of literature, cannot but
ss us with a disgust and abhorrence, which even the great benefits we
eceived from the change can scarcely allay. That there were some abuses
ieties so numerous and extensive, was to be expected; but that these
were not general, is proved from the testimony of the visitors them-

ny of the persons appointed, not so much to *inspect* as to *condemn* the
teries and nunneries of the kingdom, confessed that they could discover
conduct in their inhabitants or domestic government;—that the houses
ere directed to suppress were of the greatest benefit to the neighbour-
n which they were situated, as well as of essential interest to the poor;—

they instructed the children of the wealthy;—they employed the mechanics and labourers, and they relieved the poor. There are numerous instances on record of the most earnest intercession from the visitors in behalf of the unhappy objects of Henry's avaricious displeasure. The nunnery of Godstow, in Oxfordshire, the abbey of St. Edmund's-bury, in Suffolk, the monastery of Woolstrope, in Lincolnshire, with divers others, were reported as free from stain; their inmates were represented as pious, charitable, and virtuous, and their continuance deemed of vital importance to the country around them. The interesting account of the manners of one of these monastic institutions, given by one of the visitors (Gifford), is too curious to be omitted. He is speaking of Woolstrope: "The governor thereof is a verie good husbande for the howse, and well beloved of all the inhabitants thereunto adjoynynge—a right honest man, having ryghte religious persones being prests of ryght good conversacion, and lyvynge relygiously; having such qualities of virtue as we have not found the lyke in no place. For ther is not one religious person ther, but that he can and doth use either embrotheryng, writing bokes, with verie fair hande, maykng ther own garments, carving, paynting, or graffing (graving). The howse without any slaunder or ill-fame, and standinge verie solitarie: keepinge such hospitalitie, that, except singular good provysion, it could not be mayntened with half so much more as they may spend. Such a number of the pore inhabitants nigh thereunto daily relieved, that we have not seene the lyke, havinge no more lands than they have. God be even my Judge, as I do write unto you the troth. The premises considered, I beseche you to be a means to the King's Majesty for the standinge of the sayde Woolstrope." The same visitor also intercedes for the nunnery of Polesworth, in Warwickshire, "wherein is an abbess, namyd Alice Fitzherbert, of the age of sixty years, a very sadde (grave), discreate, and religyous woman: and in the same howse, under her rule, are twelve virtuous and religyous nonnes, and of good conversation. Wherefore ye myghte do a ryght good and meritorious dede, to be medyator to the Kyng's highnes for the said howse to stand and remayne unsuppressed. And in the town of Polesworth are forty-four tenements, and never a plough but one: the resydue be artyficers, laborers, and victellers, and live in effect by the said howse, and the repayre and resorte that ys made to the gentylmens' children and studiountes that ther do lyf, to the nomber sometyme of thirty, sometimes of forty and four, that these be ryghte vertuously brought upp."—*Warton's Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, pp. 27—30.

"Such is the picture of two of these establishments: and this picture is given, too, by one of those persons absolutely sent thither to discover errors, not to report virtues—for it seems that Henry was *displeased* with such favourable sentiments, and attributed them to bribery. 'It is like,' said he, 'that they have receyved rewards which caused them to wright as they do.' Gifford, however, made his honesty the more manifest by continuing to represent the virtues and ability of the religious houses in the same bold strain.

"But the loss sustained by literature on this occasion can never be repaired, nor can its extent be ever ascertained. Whole libraries were destroyed, or made waste paper of, or consumed for the vilest uses. The splendid and magnificent Abbey of Malmesbury, which possessed some of the finest manuscripts in the kingdom was ransacked, and its treasures either sold or burnt to serve the commonest purposes of life. An antiquary who travelled through that town many years after the dissolution relates, that he saw broken windows patched up with remnants of the most valuable manuscripts on vellum, and that the bakers had not even then consumed the stores they had accumulated in heating their ovens! See also some curious instances of the ignorance of the Reformers in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss, edit. 4to. vol. i. col. 468.—*Letters of Eminent Persons, from the Bodleian Library*, 3 vols. 8vo. Longman: 1813.

"The monks being thus settled gave themselves up to idleness and pleasure, having in their hands the chief encouragements of learning, and yet doing

g towards it: but, on the contrary, decrying and disparaging it all they —*Burnet's History of the Reformation*, p. 22, line 10—15.

is is a very hard censure to pass upon a whole order of men, who were ery honorable, but always very serviceable, to the Church. On the con- after they were thus settled (viz. by Dunstan, Ethelwald, and Oswald, in n of Edgar), they set themselves in with great industry to restore learn- d root out that universal ignorance which had then prevailed in Eng- and effectually performed it. Insomuch as, whereas before that time any secular priest in England could read or write a Latin epistle,— a few years (as Elfric, a learned disciple of Ethelwald boasteth) the face gs was so changed by the endeavours of Dunstan and his master Ethel- that learning was generally restored, and began to flourish. At that nd long after, the monasteries were the schools and nurseries of almost ole clergy, as well secular as regular: for the universities (if there were ere then very mean societies; and the whole learning of the nation was n a manner, confined to their cloisters. As the universities increased, radually decreased, yet still retained and cultivated learning, till about ddle of the 13th age, when the mendicant orders arose, who by their isy, juggling tricks, and extraordinary industry, ran down both them e secular clergy. Within two hundred years, the mendicants became ptible; and then both the monks and the seculars began to recover ncient credit, and long before the Reformation had made great progress restoration of learning. They had all along brought up their novices in g, every great monastery having for that purpose a peculiar college in the universities: and even to the time of the dissolution, they continued g up great numbers of children at school at their own charge for the of the Church; and immediately before the Reformation many of the onasteries were so many nurseries of learning, and the superiors of them rned themselves, and promoters of learning in others. Such were Kidder- , abbot of Winchelcomb; Goldwell, prior of Canterbury; Vache, abbot Austin's; Wells, prior of Ely; Holbeach, prior of Worcester; Islip, f Westminster; Webbe, prior of Coventry; and many others. I do not apologise for the laziness of the monks in the middle ages, but maintain th in the time of Edgar, and some time after, and immediately before ormation, they deserved a contrary character to what the historian giveth ; and that even in the worst times they were far from being enemies and rs of learning, as he would have it believed."

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ttel Abbey was represented to be a little Sodom; so was Christ Church, terbury, with several other Houses."—P. 241, l. 45.

e historian doth not tell us by whom they were thus represented; for that have marred all the history, and have relieved the reputation of these teries. Not by the visitors, surely, for the acts of their visitation of these do not remain. The credit of the whole matter rests upon the authority le pamphlet published soon after without a name, pretending to relate ormous wickednesses discovered in the monasteries of England at their ssion. From this pamphlet Stevens transcribed these stories into his gy for Herodotus,' and from him Fuller took them into his 'Church y,' from whom our historian received them. But Fuller is so ingenuous wn from whom he took them, and to add, that he thinks it not reason- believe such heinous accusations upon so slender testimony. We have eason to reflect upon the complaint which our historian brings against ylin; *that he never vouched any authority for what he writ, which is not orgiven any who write of transactions beyond their own times.* I fear that, computation, it will be found that our author hath not vouched any ty for so much as the third part of his history; and is especially deficient e passages which tend to defame the memories of other men; in which, all others, justice and charity would require that sufficient, or at least

some, testimony be produced."—*A Specimen of some errors and defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England, by Gilbert Burnet. By Anthony Harmer (an Anagram for Henry Wharton).* London: 1693.

"Archbishop Bramhall disapproves of the perpetual vow (of celibacy), but thinks that if that were changed to the 'form of our English universities, or of the canonesses and Biggins (Beguines) on the other side the seas,' and other changes made, 'monasteries might agree well enough with reformed devotion.' —*British Critic*, No. lxiv. Art. "Extracts from Divines," &c.

"The Church of England hath no monasteries, as not essential to the constitution of a Church, though advantageous to the maintenance of that retirement from the world wherein our *common Christianity* consisteth, by that *visible* retirement wherein this *profession* consisteth. For the constitution thereof, *after that horrible act of abolishing the monasteries under Hen. VIII.* it is no marvel if it were difficult to agree in a form which the Reformation might allow and cherish. Yet is no son of the Church of England bound to disown the whole Church in maintaining, as she has, the monastic life to be agreeable with Christianity, and expedient to the intent of it."—*Thorndike*, Epilogue iii. p. 371.

"It might seem that the ordinary state of those who are engaged in the world, is of more perfection than monastic life, as furnishing greater opportunities for the exercise of that charity wherein our Christianity chiefly consisteth. To which I answer, that though the occasions of the world minister more opportunities of exercising charity, *yet the engagements which a man that liveth in the world hath, make it more difficult for him. In the profession of monastic life* there is ground for presuming that those who live in it come nearer what our baptism professeth, by the means thereof, than others can do." —*Ibid.* p. 372.

"Some there are, either so averse from the calling, or so in love with the possessions religious people were endowed with, as they held an opinion that there should have been no reformation, but an absolute extirpation of them. In which yet Latimer, a glorious martyr, did not concur, who would have had two or three saved in every shire. And certainly those men, in my understanding, do rather concur with the Donatists than the ancient Fathers of the Church. For, to speak seriously, and without passion, what can the ill be (without other consequence) to have places set apart whither men, either by nature, time, or otherwise unfit for the world, may retire themselves in religious company, may think on heaven and good learning?"—*Sir Roger Twysden, Monastic Life*, p. 31.

"Ipsa quoque *monachorum cœnobia* Rex (Jacobus Angliæ primus) optimus et pietatis studiosissimus soluturus omninò non fuit (certè non omnia) ut sæpè affirmantem audivi, si invenisset integra, et primæ institutionis legem servantia."—*Isaaci Casauboni Epist.* 710, *ad Cardinalem Perronium.*

"One of the most munificent of her (Lady Falkland's) charitable schemes which she contemplated about this time was the establishment of *religious houses* in different parts of the kingdom, for the education of young gentlewomen, and the retirement of widows. That such institutions are devoutly to be wished, none can question, who consider how favourable they would be to the education and piety of the young, and what a blessed refuge they would afford to those who are desolate and oppressed. The world is 'all too wanton and too full of gawds' to give audience to thousands of those who are still compelled to mingle in scenes they loathe, and stifle feelings which, in such retreats, might be fostered undisturbed and without ridicule. Retired as Lady Falkland's life was, and little as she was obliged to mingle in scenes for which her heart had no sympathy, she would often look upon the Priory of Barford, one of her estates, and long to remodel its walls, and fill them with persons who, bound together by the tie of a common faith and sorrow, might live in resignation and peaceableness, 'lonely, but not forlorn.' What *public* blessings, also, would such institutions prove! They would exist as wells of

charity to water the surrounding neighbourhood, and be mirrors of purity, which, like the 'glistering ray' of Merlin's diamond shield, would overawe the sensual worldling as he passed by and gazed upon them."—*Teale, Lives of Eminent Laymen*, pp. 130, 131.

"A scheme was proposed in 1671 for an academy or college, 'wherein' (says the programme) 'young ladies may, at a very moderate expense, be duly instructed in the true protestant religion, and in all virtuous qualities that may adorn that sex; also be carefully preserved and secured till the day of their marriage, under the tuition of a lady governess, and grave society of widows and virgins, who have resolved to lead the rest of their lives in a single, retired, religious way, according to the pattern of some protestant colleges in Germany.'

"The intended institution was explained in a 4to. pamphlet of ten pages, printed by Thomas Newcomb, in the Savoy. The unknown writer begins by stating that Englishwomen, who, before the troubles, were the most modest, chaste, and pious in Europe, had become worse than those of any other country, in consequence of their general relaxation of manners; that the maiden schools in and about London grievously disappointed the expectations of those who sent their children there; that the girls who were sent abroad to convents were generally tainted with popery during their stay; and that those who were placed in the families of nonconformists, where perhaps a stricter education may sometimes be found, had schismatical and rebellious principles instilled into them. A collegiate life was, therefore, recommended to be instituted, that thereby may be founded not only excellent seminaries and nurseries, out of which persons of honour and worth may at all times make choice of virtuous wives, but where provision (whereof there is great want in England) may be made for sober, pious, elder virgins and widows, who desire to separate themselves from the vanities of the world, and yet employ their talents for the benefit of the public. These are, therefore, to give notice, that near London, in a pleasant, healthy soil and air, there is provided a large house, with a chapel, fair hall, many commodious lodgings, and rooms for all sorts of necessary offices, together with pleasant gardens, orchards, and courts, all encompassed and well secured with strong, high walls. Also, there is a reverend, learned, and pious divine in the same parish, ready to officiate daily, morning and evening, as chaplain; a grave, discreet lady to be governess, with divers other matrons, who, having taken up a resolution to live a retired, single, and religious life, are to assist in the government of the college without expecting any gain, profit, or emolument to themselves, but to bestow, gratis, all their care and pains in governing the college, and the young ladies in their education. Moreover, there will come, at due time, the best and ablest teachers in London for singing, dancing, musical instruments, writing, French tongue, fashionable dresses, all sorts of needle-works; for confectionary, cookery, pastry; for distilling of waters, making perfumes, making of some sort of physical and chirurgical medicines and salves for the poor, &c. If, therefore, any honourable and worthy persons desire that their daughters, or any trustees, that their orphans should be admitted commoners or pensioners of this college, or any devout widows, or elder virgins, who intend not to marry, desire to be admitted fellows and assistants in this government, and to lead the rest of their days without cares and troubles of the world,—to live with honour and reputation,—to devote themselves to the service of God, and the good of their country, by contributing their advice and assistance in the training up of young ladies and gentlewomen, and securing their persons and fortunes till the time of their marriage, let them repair to, &c. &c. &c. and they shall be farther informed."—Quoted in *Quarterly Review*, Vol. xxii. pp. 94, 95.

"Convents for single women seem more convenient [*i. e.* than monasteries for men] if not very necessary for all times and countries, and are by far less dangerous, since no considerable detriment can be expected from them if due regard be had in composing the rules of their institution by such like precautions as these:

"1. Nothing should be imposed upon them that may infringe or take away their Christian liberty. But those that come in young, after they were bred up in all the rules of piety, virtuous arts, housewifery, and decent and modest behaviour, should, if their parents' or their own inclinations were to marry, have their liberty so to do, when convenient offers were made; and that at any time, as long as the vigour of their youth remains.

"2. That they should not be exempted from the public laws, nor the duty owing to their parents, no more than if they continued in their parents' houses and with them. And, as for such as were at their own disposal, they may use their liberty to remain or leave the society when they come to years of discretion; but whilst they are members of the society, frequently to go abroad would be scandalous, and therefore noways to be permitted.

"3. Those that are admitted at years of discretion ought to be of known virtue, and unspotted modesty; and strict enquiry should be made of their virtue, before they are admitted, for fear of scandals.

"4. Sloth and delicacy should noways be permitted, but every one should learn, and be employed in, some profitable art, whereby they would be useful to the world, pleasing to Heaven, and deserve the praise of mankind.

"5. The government should be committed to none but such whose virtue, conduct, age, and experience should render them worthy of that honour, and are rather to be chosen out of widows that have first ordered their own selves and their families with all prudence and unspotted reputation.

"6. They should be brought up and trained in strict discipline of virtue; but, above all, they should be taught exactly to tread in the steps of the ancients, by constant devotions, both night and day.

"To these ends, we may suppose St. Paul so highly commends a single life to both virgins and widows, that they may entirely serve the Lord, being freed from the cares of this life, and the difficulties of pleasing a husband. But so as not to lay a snare of necessity upon them, but to show them what was decent and convenient for them.

"Such nunneries as these would be no ways prejudicial, but many ways profitable to the state, and creditable to the Church. For their industry would hinder them from being burdensome to the one, and their exemplary virtue and piety would be a reputation to the other. Whereas, now-a-days, how many families are there so burdened with daughters, their parents cannot, either for want of beauty or money, dispose of in marriage, or in any other decent manner provide for? Yet are they obliged to maintain them according to their quality; till, usually, at their decease, they leave them without a habitation, and many times scarce a quarter enough to keep them decently. Whereupon, it too often comes to pass, that they are forced to wander about from lodging to lodging, to betake themselves to servile employments, or, which is worse, are tempted to prostitute their virtue to gain their bread. Whereas, in this manner, they would, for a small portion, be creditably provided for; and as they may excel in all commendable qualities, might become a portion to themselves, without the help of their relations; and indeed may deserve to be purchased with more money than, now-a-days, men strive to get portion as a recompense for taking them off their wearied parents' hands, who, after an extraordinary charge in breeding and keeping them, till many times their age, which is their ornament, becomes their reproach, are forced to marry them below themselves, without prospect either of credit or advantage by them.

"See, on this subject, a serious proposal written by an ingenious lady (Quy. Mrs. Mary Astell); and proposals of the same nature by the Rev. Mr. Stevens."—*The Protestant Monastery, or Christian Œconomics, by the Rev. Sir George Wheler*, 12mo, 1698.

"If we consider the matter closely, all Christians are bound to strict living and discipline, to large distributions of charity, little less than the monks. They are false to the engagements of baptism if they manage otherwise. The monastic institutions were principally designed to revive the piety of

the ancient Christians, and bring up practice to the rule of the Gospel."—*Collier's Eccles. Hist.* vol. v. p. 33.

"Of all the retreats that a man can choose when he is old, I should infinitely prefer that of a convent, if their rules were less severe. It is certain that old age shuns a crowd, out of a nice and retired humour that cannot bear to be either importuned or tired; and yet it avoids solitude with greater diligence, where it becomes a prey to its own black disquietudes, or to sullen vexatious imaginations. The only remaining relief against all this is the conversation of a virtuous society. Now what society can better agree with it than a religious one, where, one would think, all manner of human helps should be afforded with more charity than elsewhere, and where their prayers should be united to obtain those succours from Heaven which cannot reasonably be expected from men."—*St. Evremond.*—Quoted in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii. p. 89.

"In the wholesale extirpation of monastic institutions, the nunneries were swept away. The good which would have resulted from converting them into Protestant Establishments is so obvious, that few persons can have regarded the present state of society in these kingdoms, as it affects women, without regretting that an opportunity for alleviating so much evil should have been neglected . . .

(To be continued.)

ST. IRENÆUS UPON THE OFFERTORY.

[The Church, if we would not mutilate her system, is, by the grace of God freely imparted to her, a self-supporting and a self-propagating institution. She does not, in any way whatever, countenance the collection and publication of guinea subscriptions, but demands and accepts contributions from *every one* of her members, proportioned to their respective means; she encourages almsgiving in secret, or sanctifies gifts by her altars. She would preach the Gospel to every creature; not by the use of artificial societies, but by calling upon all, as *a matter of positive duty*, to honour Almighty God with their substance; and by the practical adoption of that scriptural rule which requires worldly things to be given in return for spiritual things, and spiritual things in return for worldly things.

Christians in this day are unhappily divided in their opinions on many subjects; but they are as unhappily agreed in their determination to suppress, or dismiss, without consideration, the real *scriptural* principle for the propagation of the Gospel. In this matter all claim the right of private judgment; all disregard patriarchs, prophets, councils, fathers, laws, and, in short, all those authorities to which, *in other* cases, they are ready (and with reason) to defer. As an illustration of this, I would observe that Mr. Newman and the late Mr. Blunt, the advocates of two different systems of theology, nevertheless, in their discourses upon the history of Abraham, agree in entirely omitting all notice of the patriarch's gift of a tenth of all to Melchisedec, though this payment of the sacred tribute is mentioned in the New Testament, and therefore was, of all others, a subject which ought to be *dwelt upon* in a sermon or lecture addressed to a christian audience.

The following letter of St. Irenæus is deserving of great attention for many reasons; and amongst them,-1st. Because it shows that the principle of offering is a part of natural religion, and that it was incorporated BOTH in the Jewish and the Christian religion; 2dly. Because it accounts for the omission of a *direct* precept for the giving of *tithes* in the New Testament; and 3dly. Because it shows the connexion between the Eucharist and almsgiving. This latter part of the subject I hope to illustrate, on some future occasion, by quotations from Anglo-Catholic divines, and to direct attention to a remarkable omission in the statement of the doctrine of the Eucharist in one of the Oxford Tracts. Meanwhile I would observe, that if the passage from the 25th of St. Matthew,

quoted in the following letter, be compared with that part of the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews which speaks of tithes as due to the priesthood of Melchisedec, it would seem to follow that a portion of the tithes is due to Christ's poor.] C. M.

FROM S. IRENÆUS.

CH. XXXIV. LIB. IV. ADVERS. HÆRESES.

Of Sacrifices and Oblations, and who they are that offer in truth.

THE offering of the Church, therefore, which the Lord hath taught us should be offered in all the world, is accounted a pure sacrafice before God, and is accepted with him; not that He needs our sacrifice, but because he who offers is himself glorified in that which he offers, if his gift be accepted. For by an offering to a king, both honour and affection are shown, which gift God wishing us to offer in all simplicity and innocence, has in his sermon declared: "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." (Matt. v. 24.) It behoves us, therefore, to offer the first-fruits of his creatures, (or creation,) as Moses also said: "Thou shalt not appear before the Lord empty." (Deut. xvi. 16.) That in the things wherein man hath been gratified, in these being accounted in favour with Him who is, he may receive honour from Him.* And the kind of oblations is [not] blamed. For there are oblations there also, and oblations here too:† sacrifices among the people, and sacrifices in the Church. But only the form or species is changed, inasmuch as it is offered not by slaves, but by freemen; for it is one and the same God: and the character of the servile offering is peculiar, and the character of that of the free is peculiar; that even by the oblations may be shown a sign of liberty: for with Him nothing is unmeaning, or without signification. And on this account they, indeed, had the tithes of their possessions consecrated; but those who have received liberty, devote to the uses of the Lord all which belongs to them, giving freely and cheerfully, not inferior gifts, as having a greater hope than that poor widow here throwing into the treasury of God all her living. For from the beginning God had respect to the gifts of Abel, because he offered with simplicity and righteousness; but to the gifts of Cain he had not respect, because [he offered] with the envy and malice which he had towards his brother, and had division in his heart, as God shows, reproving his secret (thoughts). If thou offerest rightly, but dost not divide rightly, hast thou not sinned? (Gen. iv. 7. LXX.) Be content, since God is not appeased by the sacrifice. For if any one attempts to offer only according to appearance, purely, rightly, and lawfully, but does not from his heart divide that which he communicates to his neighbour, and has no fear of God; he does not impose upon God by that sacrifice which outwardly is offered aright, having sin inwardly. Nor will such an offering profit him aught, but a ceasing from the evil which is conceived in his heart, lest by a pretended sacrifice,‡ but rather

* I am doubtful of the correctness of this translation, and suspect an error in the text.

† *That is*, under the Law and under the Gospel.

‡ *There seems* an omission here.

the sin itself, should make the man a murderer to himself. On which account the Lord also said: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye are like unto whited sepulchres." (Matt. xxiii. 27.) For a sepulchre outwardly is beautiful, but within it is full of the bones of the dead and of all uncleanness; so you also appear to men outwardly just, but inwardly ye are full of malice and hypocrisy. For when they appeared outwardly to offer aright, they had within themselves envy like that of Cain. For He said to him, (see Septuagint) "Be quiet! and he complied not." And what means to be quiet, but to desist from his purpose of violence? And the like of this he says to the Pharisee: "Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup, that the outside may be clean also." (Matt. xxiii. 26.) And they did not hear him. And Jeremiah saith: "Behold, thine eyes and thy heart are not good, but they are for covetousness, and for the innocent blood, that thou mayest shed it, and for unrighteousness, and for murder, to do it." (Jerem. xxii. 17. Sept.) And again, Isaiah saith: "Thou hast taken counsel, but not of me; and made a covenant, but not with my spirit." (Isaiah xxx. 1. Sept.) That, therefore, their inward will and thought being made manifest may show that God is not in fault, and worketh not evil, even He who makes manifest the hidden things, but doeth not the evil. When Cain would not rest at all, He said to him: "Unto thee shall be his turning, and thou shalt rule over him." (Gen. iv. 7. Sept.) To Pilate, also, in like manner he said: "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above." (John xix. 11.) God always permitting as just, that He being approved by the things which He suffered and sustained, may be accepted, and he who hath been an evil-doer, being judged by the things which he hath done, may be expelled.

Sacrifices, therefore, do not sanctify the man, for God needs not sacrifice; but the conscience of him who offered it, being pure, sanctifies the sacrifice, and makes God accept it as from a friend. But to the sinner he says: "He that killeth an ox, is as if he slew a dog." (Isaiah lxvi. 3.) Hence, therefore, the Church offers with simplicity; her gift is justly esteemed a pure sacrifice before God. As also Paul said to the Philippians, (iv. 18,) "I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God." For we ought in all things to offer an oblation to God, and in all things to be found grateful to God the Maker, with pure intention and faith without hypocrisy, in firm hope and fervent love, offering the first-fruits of the creatures, which are His. This pure oblation the Church alone offers to her Maker, offering to Him of his creation with giving of thanks.

But the Jews do not now offer: for their hands are full of blood. (Isaiah i. 15.) For they received not the word through which offering is made to God. Neither do all the congregations of the heretics; for some saying that there is another Father besides the Maker, therefore, offering to Him those things which according to us are creatures, represent Him to be covetous of that which is another's: but those who say that those things which exist *among* us are made from defect

food is given for the satisfying our empty souls, and not for the exercising of our curious and subtile wits. § 5. Our Lord's apostle will tell us the meaning of those admirable words, "My Body," *i. e.* the communion of My Body. "My Blood," *i. e.* the communion of My Blood. As Christ is termed our life, because through Him we receive life, so the parts of this sacrament are His Body and Blood, for that they are so to us, who receiving them, receive that by them which they are termed. The bread and cup are His Body and Blood, because they are causes instrumental, upon the receipt whereof the participation of His Body and Blood cometh. For that which produceth any certain effect, is not vainly nor improperly said to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth. § 6. The real presence therefore is not to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament. Our Lord's words point to this. *First*, "Take, eat;" *then*, "This is My Body." *First*, "Drink;" *then*, "This is My Blood." His words prove not when or where the elements are His Body and Blood, but only that they are so in the soul of the recipient. As for the sacraments they really exhibit, but for aught which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves, that grace which with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow. The grace of Baptism is received by water, though neither seated in it nor changed into it. Why should men think then that the grace of the Eucharist must needs be in the Eucharist, before it can be in us that receive it? There is nothing in Scripture to show that we cannot partake of the Body and Blood, without they are first contained in the sacrament, or it converted into them. "This is My Body," are words of promise: and we are all agreed that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform His promise. Why trouble ourselves whether He does so by transubstantiation or consubstantiation? He does it by His omnipotent power; whether one way or the other, by change or without it, we surely need not greatly care or inquire. § 7. "Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then consider what cause there is why the rest that is left should not rather be left as superfluous, than urged as necessary." All plainly confess that the sacrament is a true and real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth Himself, even His *whole entire person*, as a mystical head unto every soul that receiveth Him. § 8. People mistake therefore in arguing against the sacramentaries, as they call them, that "the Eucharist is not a bare sign and figure only, and that the efficacy of His Body and Blood is not all that we receive in this sacrament." They confess as much; they grant that these mysteries "impart unto us *the very person* of our Lord Himself, whole, perfect, and entire." § 9. The strong conceit of two of the three parties thus far agreed, that the real presence is in the elements consubstantiate or transubstantiate, is surely no where delivered in Scripture, but greatly prejudiced by our Lord's connexion of those who supposed He would give them His own flesh to eat, when He said His word was spirit. § 10. All suppose what does take place, to occur by the omnipotent power of God. § 11. Touching the sentence of antiquity, Tertullian, Irenæus, and Theodoret, not to mention others, *forasmuch* as they knew that the force of this sacrament doth neces-

presuppose the verity of Christ both Body and Blood, they used times the same as an argument, to prove that Christ hath as the substance of man as of God, because we receive Christ and graces which flow from Him, in that He is man. So that if He no such being, neither can the sacrament have any such meaning e all confess it hath. No one can assure himself in conscience the Fathers held a corporal consubstantiation of the elements, heir transubstantiation. § 12. "Wherefore, how should the l, which loving truth and seeking comfort out of holy mysteries, not perhaps the leisure, perhaps not the wit or capacity, to out so endless mazes, as the intricate disputes of this cause led men into; how should a virtuously disposed mind better ve with itself than thus: 'Variety of judgments and opinions eth obscurity in those things whereabout they differ; but that h all parts receive for truth, that which every one having sifted, no one denied or doubted of, must needs be matter of infal- certainty.'" Then stating the three opinions, and recommending ntented belief in a real presence of Christ's body in the recipient at which it is absolutely necessary for a christian man to hold, as with which all antiquity and all christian confessions are con- nt, he ends by saying, "What these elements are in themselves lleth not, it is enough that to me which take them, they are the and Blood of Christ. His promise in witness whereof sufficeth, word He knoweth which way to accomplish. Why should any ation possess the mind of any faithful communicant but this, 'O God, thou art true; O my soul, thou art happy.'"

rely it is now evident,

That when Hooker says the Presence "is not to be sought in the sacrament he does not mean to affirm, as any one would ose he meant, when the words are taken apart from their context, the Presence *is not* in the sacrament, but only that it "is not to ought" there as a matter of piety and wisdom, because there eat doubt and difficulty about *the proof* that it is there, because earch is profitless, and distracts attention from the enjoyment and of a great blessing.

That nothing was further from his intention than dogmatically fine our Church's view on the subject, his object not requiring nd that indeed he does not give us his own view explicitly and . His object from first to last was peace rather than truth—to how, in the then state of parties, the one might be obtained ut the other being sacrificed. It formed no part of it, that con- antiation or transubstantiation should be denied; all he desired that being held, they should be esteemed as private opinions, not ticles of faith. How strange that words written with such a view ld be used afterwards in the way these have been! Hooker e them to deprecate the insisting on an affirmation, and they are d as insisting on a denial! He desired to mediate between and all parties who held as much as the real presence in the ient; but he has been made to aid and abet in condemning those say, what, for aught we know, Hooker himself would have said, the real presence may also be in the elements!

3. That whether Hooker was right or not in thinking the Zuinglians of his day held the elements to be to the recipient all that Roman Catholics and Lutherans think them, it is plain that such was his notion. His whole plan for their agreement centres on this being a fact; and, the fact disproved, the plan falls to the ground, and Zuinglians can no longer claim him as their advocate. Now we know that the modern representatives of this party, and how almost numberless are they amongst us! do not hold the real presence after reception any more than before in the same sense that Roman Catholics and Lutherans hold it. As far as this chapter, therefore, is condemnatory of any one, it is so of our modern Zuinglians;—indeed, we cannot doubt from what is said in § 12. that Hooker would have anathematized them.

4. That he did not propose his plan, and that neither is it fitted, for the adoption of Anglicans, at any rate as they now exist—for 1st, a large, a very large party now believes less than the plan supposes;—and the question with us is not *where* is the real presence, but is there *any?*—and 2dly, ingenious as is its explanation of scripture, and not discordant as it may be thought with the writings of the Fathers, which it may be observed are the only tests Hooker thinks he is called upon to apply to it.—it is at variance with our formularies. The clergy of the Church of England have to teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed *taken* as well as received in the Lord's Supper, and have subscribed the 28th Article, which states that the Body of Christ is *given* as well as taken and eaten. Now, possible as it is, and absolutely incumbent upon us, as many believe it to be, that we should understand our formularies in none other than the Catholic sense, however difficult it may be to do so, it is quite impossible to suppose that we shall allow a forced interpretation to be put upon them and received henceforth as the *only* one admissible, merely that they may be thereby made to square with a view Hooker once proposed for the sake of peace between Catholics and a party with which we have nothing to do, and who since his time have proved themselves unworthy of his charitable attempt, and *incapable* of benefiting by it. I am, &c.

F.

DISSENTERS' BAPTISM.

A VERY satisfactory little pamphlet has appeared—"Dissenters' Baptism and Church Burial"—which recommends something to be *done* in the extraordinary dilemma in which the recent decisions of the Arches Court places the English Clergy. Here is the official of the Metropolitan—in other words, the Metropolitan in person—fining and ruining the Clergy, because they will not betray the Church; and separatists are permitted to form an unholy league with the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, for the strange purpose of showing that their ministerial commission is as good as his own. The tyranny of the State is bad enough, but for a Church court to encourage schism, and to oppress the Clergy alone, is still more intolerable. The writer

is for something practical; so are we. We gladly, therefore, recommend an Address, of which we subjoin his form; and we trust to hear that the Clergy are setting about it in earnest.

"*Address of the Clergy of the Deanery of ———, in the Diocese of ———, to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of the Diocese of ———.*

"We, the undersigned Clergy of the Deanery of ———, in your Diocese, beg leave, with the greatest respect, to call your attention to a recent decision pronounced by the Judge of the Court of Arches *in re* Escott.

"Such a decision does not merely recognise (what was never recognised by any General Council) the validity of lay baptism, and indeed of baptism administered by separatists, but also requires a Clergyman, under pain of suspension for three months, to read the Burial Service of the Church over those who deliberately and wilfully continue in a state of separation from her communion.

"Such a state of the law is at variance as well with Scripture and reason, as with the real principles of the Constitution.

"We hope, therefore, for your speedy cooperation in bringing about such measures as may release us from this hardship and tyranny over our consciences. And we presume that, as the authority of the Court of Arches emanates from the Primate of all England, there can be no real difficulty in procuring for us immediate redress."

NOTICES OF BOOKS—*continued.*

THE following has been accidentally displaced:—

A Systematic Arrangement of Scripture for Sunday Schools, containing a Series of Scripture Lessons for two Years, as used in the local Sunday Schools belonging to St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row. Dedicated to the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, under whose superintendence and direction the local Sunday Schools of St. John's Chapel are conducted. London: Seeley. 1843.

The work itself consists of a course of selections from Scripture, of which the first is a fair specimen.

First Year.—First Sunday.

LEARNING LESSON.—Fulfilment of prophecy in the birth of the Saviour.

Luke ii.	8—14.	1st class.
„	9—11.	2d class.
„	11.	3d class.

Marginal References.

Isa. vii. 14. Gen. iii. 15. Isa. ix. 6, 7. Heb. ii. 16—18. Matt. i. 21.

READING LESSON.—Gen. i. contains the doctrine of the Trinity, and the power and wisdom of God.

Catechism.

1st class, Assembly's Shorter, No. 1, 2.
2d class, Gall's First, No. 1, 2.
3d class, Brown's, No. 1, 3.

We have given the whole for the sake of fairness. To the mass of the book there seems only two objections:—First—that the lessons bear no reference to the Prayer-book; a very great evil, when we remember the great difficulty of making ignorant persons join at all in our ser-

vices, or follow the blessed course of the christian year. This alone would be with us an insuperable objection to the use of the book. Secondly—that the passages of Scripture learnt are all short fragments: none in their context; as, *e. g.* a psalm, a parable, a miracle, &c. This we feel to be a grave objection.

There is another most serious objection, however, namely, that under the head "Catechisms," the catechism of the regicide parliament, called "The Assembly's Shorter," is recommended, and the Church Catechism never mentioned at all till the seventy-fifth Sunday; it then is used only for the second class, the first being kept to the Assembly's. Of Gall's First, and Brown's, we never heard, but presume they are on the model of the Assembly's rather than of the Church.

The reason of this slight to the Church Catechism is explained at the beginning of the book, where we are told that, "For the study of the second class, *the Church Catechism, although deficient in a thorough explanation of the covenant of grace*, is very valuable when combined with others: the moral duties which it enforces through the grace of God, and through his help alone, is (*sic*) extremely salutary for young persons just entering into the snares and temptations of the world."

And this is to be put into the hands of teachers and scholars of the Church of England, by the authority of a clergyman like Mr. Noel! Let us put a parallel case. Suppose a clergyman to put into the hands of his Sunday school teachers a tract, which asserted that the Church Catechism is very defective in explaining christian doctrine, although very useful as stating moral duties, (which might truly be said of any heathen teacher,) and that therefore he recommended some Roman Catholic book, *e. g.* "The Garden of the Soul," or the "Most Rev. Dr. Butler's small Catechism," would not Mr. Noel accuse him of spreading Popery under a false pretence of Churchmanship? No doubt; and there is only one thing which prevents his seeing that he himself is spreading dissent under false pretences. He would himself say that this would be inexcusable in the case of Popery, but right in the case of "our dissenting brethren;" in other words, that he is inclined to dissent, not to Popery. But he should remember that the other party would hold such conduct quite right with regard to "our Roman Catholic brethren," and quite inexcusable with regard to dissent! The strange folly of the writer of this book cannot be appreciated, until it is known that he goes on to say of the Church Catechism, "that the explanation which it contains of the two sacraments of our Lord, are (*sic*) beautifully clear and scriptural, and not to be equalled in any other catechism; as if, forsooth, this were not the covenant of grace!"

We may add, as illustrating the temper of a certain party in the Church, that, in coming to the care of a parish which had been for a short time under the care of a clergyman of this description, we learned that this book was put into the hands of the Sunday school teachers; and also that the clergyman had told them, that "as the children learned the Church Catechism enough in the week," (many of them go to no weekly school,) he had rather they should not say the Church Catechism.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of Norwich, *Jan.* 28. | Bp. of Lincoln, *March* 3.

ORDINATIONS.

Lord Bishop of Ely, *at Ely, on Sunday, Dec.* 3.

DEACONS.

ford.—R. W. Deane, B.A. Exeter; J. , B.A. Linc. (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter;) J. M. , B.A. Ball.; (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter.)
mbridge.—G. Jarvis, B.A. Corp. Chris.; hwaite, M.A. Magd.; D. I. Heath, M.A. W. C. Mathison, M.A. Trin.; A. P. J. B.A. Queen's; W. R. Ick, B.A. Sidney F. Gell, B.A. Christ's.

PRIESTS.

ford.—A. J. Lowth, B.A. Exeter.
mbridge.—J. A. Frere, M.A. Trin.; M. inson, M.A. Trin.; R. Hull, B.A. St. W. G. Humphrey, M.A. Trin.; W. H. B.A. Trin.; L. Hogg, B.A. Emm.; C. A. Magd.; W. Crouch, B.A. Trin.
ste.—W. Williams, (*l. d.* Bp. of Wor-

Lord Bishop of Chester, *at Chester, on Sunday, Dec.* 9.

DEACONS.

rford.—T. Green, B.A. King's Hall and ; W. Leay, B.A. St. Edm. H.; E. Ro- B.A. St. Mary's H.; R. White, B.A.

mbridge.—E. A. P. Campbell, B.A. F. B. Danby, B.A. Cath. H.; W. B. B.A. Magd.; W. H. Kemp, B.A. and J. ley, B.A. Corp. Chris.; W. J. Monk, John's.
t. Bees.—F. B. Ashley, H. G. Brasnell, nt, G. B. Hill, W. Hayes, W. M. Jukes, S. G. Poole, jun., M. Reid, J. Rimmer, W. Wicks.
blin.—F. M. Harke, B.A., J. R. Dunne, d John Scott, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

ford.—A. H. Ashworth, B.A. Oriel; J. , B.A. St. Edm. H.; J. H. Stephenson, d C. C. Southey, B.A. Queen's.
mbridge.—W. Allnut, B.A. Cath. H.; J. mer, J. Slade, B.A. and J. Twisaday, John's; R. N. Featherston, B.A. Jesus; Markwell, B.A. Christ's; W. Mulleneux, m.; D. Walker, B.A. St. Peter's.
. Bees.—J. H. Butcher, G. Dowty, G. J. M. Woodmason, and R. White.
blin.—J. Booth, D.C.L., T. Cowan, B.A., rdson, B.A., A. L. P. Snow, B.A., and ood, B.A. Trin.

By the Lord Bp. of Winchester, *at Farnham Castle, on Sunday, Dec.* 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. F. Seymour, B.A. Univ.; F. G. Simpson, B.A. St. Edm. H.; G. Jenkins, Linc.; E. Kilvert, B.A. St. Alb. H.; J. Simpson, B.A. Exet. (*l. d.* Bp. of Salisbury).
Of Cambridge.—H. Hotham, B.A. Jesus; P. Hookins, B.A. Trin.; W. C. R. Flint, B.A. Trin.; J. Foot, B.A. Sid.; T. R. O'Flaherty, B.A. St. John's; C. Smith, M.A. St. Mary Magd.; T. Ridley, B.A. Cath. H.; W. B. Jowett, B.A. St. John's; P. Bingham, B.A. Jesus (*l. d.* Bp. of Salisbury).
Of Dublin.—J. Niven, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—C. P. Carey, B.A. Wad.; C. R. Hay, M.A. Mert.; N. T. Travers, B.A. Linc.; A. Le Sueur, Magd. H.
Of Cambridge.—J. Miller, B.A. St. John's; T. Vincent, B.A. St. John's.
Of Dublin.—J. Chapman, B.A. Trin.

By the Lord Bishop of Durham, *at Auckland Castle, on Sunday, Dec.* 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—J. Burrow, B.A. Queen's; W. Callendar, B.A. Magd. H.
Of Cambridge.—G. F. De Gex, B.A. of Pem.; W. S. Mare, M.A. Magd.
Of Durham.—H. Borton, B.A. Univ.

PRIESTS.

Of Cambridge.—W. B. Young, B.A. Emm.
Of Durham.—H. W. Hodgson, M.A. Univ.
Of Dublin.—J. Leeson, M.A. Trin.; J. Reed, B.A. Trin.

By the Lord Bishop of Hereford, *(for the Dioceses of Hereford and Bath and Wells), on Sunday, Dec.* 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—H. B. Power, B.A. Oriel; the Hon. T. C. F. Skeffington, Worc.
Of Cambridge.—J. M. Lewis, B.A. Trin.
Of Lampeter.—W. Watkins, St. David's (*l. d.* Bp. of St. David's).
Literate.—W. C. B. Powell (*l. d.* Bp. of Llandaff).

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—C. Dunne, B.A. Worc.; E. B. Hawkshaw, B.A. Oriel; H. J. Torre, B.A. Univ.; R. Williams, B.A. Oriel.
Of Cambridge.—H. Dew, B.A. Jesus; G. O.

Johnstone, B.A. Trin.; T. R. Maskew, B.A. Sid. Sus.; E. S. Stanley, B.A. Jesus (*l. d.* Bp. of Llandaff.)

Of Dublin.—J. Denning, B.A. Trin.

Literate.—W. T. P. Timperley.

By the LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN, *at Lincoln, on Sunday, Dec.* 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—T. Evetts, B.A. Corp. Chris.; H. G. M. Pretyman, M.A. Oriel.

Of Cambridge.—J. Barry, B.A. Caius; G. J. Boudier, B.A. Fellow of King's; C. P. Buckworth, B.A. Trin.; C. O. Goodford, M.A. Fellow of King's; G. D. W. Ommaney, B.A. Trin.; J. P. B. Younge, B.A. Christ's; R. E. Roy, B.A. Corp. Chris. (*l. d.* Bp. of St. David's).

Of Dublin.—W. C. P. Baylee, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—H. L. Armitage, B.A. Worc.; C. W. I. Jones, Oriel; T. J. M. Townsend, B.A. Linc.; R. Weatherell, B.A. St. Edm. H.; J. S. Whiting, B.A. Worc.

Of Cambridge.—T. L. Edwards, LL.B. Trin.; J. H. Henderson, B.A. Trin.; J. C. Middleton, M.A. Fellow of King's; W. C. Newcome, M.A. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD, *at Oxford, on Sunday, Dec.* 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. H. Collyns, M.A. Ch. Ch,; G. C. Swayne, M.A. Corp. Chris.; T. Painton, B.A. Pem.; G. Hext, M.A. Corp. Chris.; W. A. Buckland, B.A. Ch. Ch.; A. A. Barker, M.A. Magd.; R. C. Dickerson, B.A. Worc.; E. Rogers, M.A. Ch. Ch.; W. A. Paxton, B.A. Trin.; J. Marsh, S.C.L. New; W. J. Jenkins, B.A. Bal.; H. E. Havergal, B.A. New; W. Andrew, B.A. Worc; J. G. Hickley, M.A. Trin.; G. H. Fell, B.A. Magd.; F. Balston, M.A. Ch. Ch.

Of Cambridge.—E. A. F. Harenc, B.A. Magd.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—J. E. Bode, M.A. Ch. Ch.; R. A. Coffin, M.A. Ch. Ch.; A. P. Stanley, M.A. Univ.; T. Shadforth, M.A. Univ.; H. Binney, B.A. Worc.; F. Hathaway, M.A. Worc.; J. Foster, B.A. St. Mary H.; J. Collingwood, B.A. Pem.; S. Shedden, B.A. Pem.; W. Bousfield, B.A. Linc.; H. Robinson, B.A. St. Alb. H.; W. Wetherell, B.C.L. New; T. Knox, B.A. St. John's; R. W. Mason, M.A. Jesus; J. Baker, M.A. Fell. of Worc.; R. C. Price, M.A. Stud. of Ch. Ch.; F. E. Thurland, B.A. New; W. Vansittart, B.A. Ch. Ch.; H. S. R. Matthews, M.A. Linc.

By the LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH, *at Peterborough, on Sunday, Dec.* 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. J. S. Bowles, B.A. Wad.; A. Trower, B.A. Linc.; F. A. Weekes, B.A. Wad. (*l. d.* Bp. of Chester.)

Of Cambridge.—G. Acklom, Downing; W. de St. Croix, B.A. St. John's; E. Smythies, B.A. Emm.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—G. Bucknill, B.A. Trin.

Of Cambridge.—W. L. Gibson, B.A. Trin.; J. Knipe, B.A. Pemb.; H. S. Mathews, B.A. Clare H.; L Poynder, B.A. Trin.; W. Seymour, Trin. H.

By the LORD BP. OF LONDON, *at St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Sunday, Dec.* 24.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—J. Swayne, B.A. Magd. H.; H. Stretton, B.A. Magd. H.; J. Le Mesurier, B.A. Ch. Ch.; J. Llevien, B.A. Wad.; J. Smith, B.A. Magd. H.

Of Cambridge.—R. M. Smith, B.A. Queen's; J. W. Sheringham, B.A. St. John's; H. S. Mott, B.A. St. John's; P. A. L. Wood, B.A. Magd.; P. M. Brunwin, B.A. St. Peter's; T. Bagley, B.A. Queen's.

Of the Church Missionary College, Islington.—E. Newman, I. Smith, B. Geidt.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—H. A. Bowles, B.A. St. John's; A Burder, B.A. Magd. H.; H. B. Burney, B.A. Oriel; H. Fyffe, B.A. New Inn H.

Of Cambridge.—P. W. Mayon, M.A. Trin.; R. B. Tritton, B.A. Trin.; E. Worlledge, B.A. Clare H.; J. P. Beard, B.A. St. John's; W. Kerry, B.A. St. John's; E. Over, M.A. Cath. H.; C. A. Halson, B.A. Pemb.; F. P. Pocock, B.A. Peter's; R. H. Kirby, M.A. St. John's; S. Gall, B.A. Queen's; J. Tagg, B.A. Pemb.

Of the Church Missionary College, Islington.—E. Reynolds, P. L. Sandberg.

By the LORD BISHOP OF RIPON, *at Ripon, on Sunday, Dec.* 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—G. H. G. Anson, B.A. Exet.; W. B. Caparn, B.A. Braz.; J. W. Grane, B.A. Exet.

Of Cambridge.—R. H. Dover, B.A. Queen's; W. L. Howarth, B.A. St. Mary Magd.; G. J. Perram, B.A. Clare H.; J. Sanders, B.A. Cath. H.; J. H. Sweet, B.A. St. John's; J. G. Underwood, B.A. St. John's.

Of St. Bees.—P. Bryan and J. Campion.

Of Dublin.—R. Wolfenden, B.A. Trin.

Of Giessen, Germany.—T. R. Jones, M.A.

PRIESTS.

Of Cambridge.—W. R. Bowditch, B.A. St. Peter's; J. Gooch, B.A. Caius; T. B. Parkinson, B.A. Queen's; T. Ramsbotham, B.A. Christ's; H. Townend, B.A. St. John's.

Of St. Bees.—J. Davidson and R. Neale.

Of Dublin.—J. G. Angley, B.A. and R. R. Wolfe, B.A. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF BANGOR, *at Bangor, on Sunday, Dec.* 17.

DEACON.

Of Lampeter.—R. Jones, St. David's.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—R. Marsh, B.A. Wad.

Of Cambridge.—W. Morgan, B.A. Queen's.

By the LORD BISHOP OF LICHFIELD, *at the Church of Eccleshall, on Sunday, Dec.* 24.

DEACON.

Of Cambridge.—J. P. Pearson, B.A. St. Cath. H.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—J. R. Quirk, B.A. St Edm. H.; R. W. Greaves, M.A. St. Edm. H.; P. G. Bentley, B.A. Bras.

Of Cambridge.—H. Gordon, M.A. Trin.; W. Leighton, B.A. St. John's; E. W. Symons, B.A. St. John's.

Of Dublin.—T. Mason, B.A Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER, *at Worcester, on Sunday, Dec. 24.*

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—A. Moyley, B.A. Oriel.
Of Cambridge.—T. Anderson, B.A. Corp. Chris.; A. W. Bullen, B.A. Trin. (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter.)
Of Dublin.—W. H. Thompson, B.A. Trin. (*l. d.* Bp. of Llandaff.)
Of Lampeter.—W. Price (*l. d.* Bp. of Llandaff.)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—H. Bittleston, B.A. St. John's; W. Ewart, B.A. Exet.; C. H. Sale, M.A. Bras.; G. W. Spooner, B.A. Magd.
Of Cambridge.—W. B. Budd, B.A. Queen's; G. C. Hodgkinson, M.A. Trin.; J. Shelley, B.A. St. John's; J. R. Young, M.A. Caius.
Of Dublin.—F. Ffrench, M.A. Trin.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Allfree, W. G.	Southease, R.	Chichester	Mr. Allfrey	£191	142
Ashington, H.	Quarrington, R.	Lincoln	Marq. of Bristol	287	184
Barnes, J. W.	Kendal, V.	Chester	Trin. Coll. Cambridge	600	17427
Booth, T.	Bedingham, V.	Norwich	J. W. Gooch, Esq.	150	380
Butler, W. J.	Aston Tirrold, R.	Oxford	Magdalen Coll., Oxford	233	343
Cave, W. A. C. B.	Stretton in the Field, R.	Lichfield	Sir W. B. Cave	196	109
Clay, W. K.	TrinityChurch, Ely, P.C.	Ely	D. & C. of Ely	116	...
Collett, W.	Normanton, R.	Lincoln	Marquis of Bristol	104	204
Cowpland, R.	Weeford and Hints	Lichfield	Bp. of Lichfield	63	470
Day, C.	St. Swithin, Norwich, R.	Norwich	Bishop of Norwich	105	870
Elliott, H.	Castle Sowerby	York	Bp. of Carlisle	...	...
Fawcett, J. G.	Warthill, V.	Peculiar	Prebend thereof	100	162
Grigson, W.	Whinburg and Westfield, R.	Norwich	Sir W. Clayton	283	346
Guest, B.	St. Katherine's, Northampton, P.C.	Lincoln	Trustees	...	...
Guthrie, L.	Cranley, R.	Winchester	— Sapt, Esq.	1195	1320
Hutchinson, J.	Blurton, P.C.	Lichfield	Duke of Sutherland	189	849
Hutton, C. H.	Tubney, Sinecure R.	Oxford	Magdalen Coll., Oxford	120	167
Jackson, E. D.	Heaton Norris	Chester	Manchester Coll. Ch.	116	14626
King, R. H.	Broomswell, R.	Norwich	Marq. of Bristol	...	...
Knight, G.	Hungerton and Twyford, R.	Peterboro'	Apreece & Ashby, *alt.*	220	772
Knox, T.	Runwell and Ramsden Crays, R.	London	Rev. T. Knox	...	...
Leigh, R.	Halsall, R.	Chester	Miss Blundell	3051	4150
Lott, S. J.	Bradninch, R.	Exeter	D. & C. of Windsor	102	1524
Marewell, M. H.	Frampton, V.	Sarum	R. B. Sheridan, Esq.	120	376
Middleton, J.	Brompton, P. C.	York		...	...
Oswell, H. L.	Stoulton, P.C.	Worcester	Earl Somers	100	312
Parkinson, W.	Langenoe, R.	Lincoln	— Waldegrave, Esq.	446	146
Pering, B.	Fersfield, R.	Norwich	F. Naussau, Esq.	325	292
Pigott, E.	Longridge, P.C.	Chester	Hulme's Trustees	170	...
Richardson, E.	Trin. Ch., Louth, P.C.	Lincoln	Trustees	...	...
Richardson, W.	Stainforth			...	...
Sanders, L.	Whimple, R.	Exeter	Mrs. Sanders	357	739
Shackley, J.	Osbaldwick	York	Preb. of Strensall	124	319
Simpson, J. P.	Crofton, R.	Ripon	Duchy of Lancaster	334	361
Smith, J. A.	Shotley, R.	Norwich	Marquis of Bristol	604	410
Spurrell, J.	West Beckham, P.C.	Norwich	D. & C. of Norwich	61	154
Stratton, G. W.	Ailston, R.	Peterboro'	Duke of Bedford	845	758
Trevanion, T.	Whitby	York	Archbishop of York	206	11725
Tuson, F. C.	Minty, V.	G. & B.	Archdeacon of Wilts	166	585
White, J.	Stalham, Norwich	Norwich	Rev. B. Cubitt	180	613

APPOINTMENTS.

Anderson, A. — Master of the Diocesan Sch., Newport, S.W.
Brown, E. M.A. — Precentor and Minor Canon in Carlisle Cathedral.
Clifton, R. C. — Canon of Manchester.
Crawley, W. — Archdeacon of Monmouth.
Dry, T. — Hd. Mast. of Paston's Gram. School, North Walsham.
Garbett, J. — Prebendal Stall in Chichester Cathedral.
Hodgkinson, C. — Second Master of the Gram. Sch. of Bury St. Edmund's.
Jelf, Dr. — Principal of King's College, London.
Knight, W. B. — Dean of Llandaff.
Melvill, H. — Princ. of Haleybury College.
Singleton, W. — Principal of Kingston College, Hull.
Wade, W. M. — Dean of Glasgow.
Weidemann, F. R. Esq. B.A. — Junior Professor in Bishop's College, Calcutta.
Williams, J. R. — Minister of the Welsh Chapel in Ely Place.
Williams, T. — Archdeacon of Llandaff.
Woolcombe, H. — Preb Stall in Exeter Cath.
Woolley, J. — Warden of Queen's College, Birmingham.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Bowen, Rev. J. St. Vincent.
Bowstead, W., Vicar of Ulceby, and Head Mast. of the Grammar School, Caistor.
Dowling, G. P., at Puckington, near Taunton.
Forster, Sir T., at Colderay.
Freeman, J. N., Vicar of Hayes, Middlesex.
Gatliff, J., Rector of St. Mary's, Manchester.
Good, T., at Framlington, Suffolk.
Hall, G. W., Master of Pembroke Coll., Oxford.
Hughes, J., of Llangwstenin.
Lewis, J., Rector of Blatchington.
Matthie, H., Rector of Worthenbury.
Moss, T., Vicar of Walton-on-the-Hill.
Nash, R. A., Rector of Hamerton.
Naylor, M. J., D.D., Rector of Crofton.
Nethersole, W. P., LL.B., Rector of Clophill.
Newman, H. T., Curate of Kilshannick.
Palmer, F., Rector of Alcester.
Richards, T., Vicar of Icclesham.
Rickards, G., of Wortley.
Rodber, W. J., A.M., Rector of St. Mary-at-Hill and St. Andrew Hubbard, London.
Rowe, W., at St. John's, Cornwall.
Tomkins, F., D.D. Vicar of Harmondsworth and Drayton, Middlesex.
Twopeny, R., Rector of Casterton Parva.
Vereist, A. C., Rector of Withycombe.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING, AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

A MEETING of this Society was held at their chambers, in St. Martin's-place, on Monday week, the Lord Bishop of London in the chair. There were also present the Lord Bishop of Llandaff, Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart. M.P.; the Revs. Dr. Spry, H. H. Norris, J. Jennings, and B. Harrison; Messrs. N. Connop, J. S. Salt, Benjamin Harrison, S. B. Brooke, William Davis, E. L. Badely, &c. The reports of the sub-committees having been read, the board examined the cases referred to their consideration, and finally voted grants of money towards building additional churches or chapels at New Swindon, Wilts, the principal station of the Great Western Railway; at Norland, in the parish of Kensington, Middlesex; at West Hide, in the parish of Rickmansworth, Herts, and at Yeovil, Somersetshire; also towards enlarging and rebuilding existing churches at Bovington, Herts, and St. Alkmund's Derby; and towards enlarging or otherwise increasing the accommodation in the churches at Burlescombe, Devon, and Stoke Golding, Leicestershire. The population of these parishes is 43,231 persons, and the accommodation now provided in nine churches is 7,167 seats (being for less than one-sixth of the whole number), including 1,955 free sittings, or one free seat for 22 persons. The additional church room to be obtained by the execution of the works in aid of which grants are now voted by the Society is 3,916 sittings, 2,716 of which will be free. One of the parishes assisted, has, at present, church accommodation for less than one-sixth of its population, which is 17,000 souls; another, with 9,000 inhabitants, possesses church room for about one-twentieth of that number; and a third, with a population of 7,000 persons, can accommodate barely one-sixth. The requisite certificates of the completion of five additional churches, of the rebuilding, with enlargement, of five existing churches, and of the enlargement, reseating, &c., of three other churches, were examined and approved, and orders were issued for the trustees to pay over to the treasurer the sum granted by the Society in each case, in order that he may remit the same to the respective applicants. The population of these thirteen places is 26,875 persons, and before it was determined that the works now completed should be executed, the church accommodation provided in these parishes was 5,854 sittings, including 1,367 free seats. One of the parishes, with a population of upwards of 6,000 persons, had accommodation for about one-ninth of the number, and five others, each with a population of about 2,500 persons, possessed church room for from one-fourth to one-eighth. With the aid of the Society's grants 3,051 additional seats are now provided at these places, 2,523 of which are free. Since the last meeting, the committee have received intimation that applications will be made for their assistance towards the erection of churches in six populous parishes, and towards rebuilding, enlarging, and otherwise increasing the accommodation in the churches of seven other places, as soon as the requisite plans,

specifications, and other documents can be prepared for their inspection. In addition to which, the plans, &c., relating to six applications are now under the consideration of the sub-committee, preparatory to their being referred (if approved) to the general board.

NEW CHURCH IN EDINBURGH.

LETTER OF REV. J. ALEXANDER.

I TAKE the liberty of soliciting your influence and support in behalf of an undertaking, which I sincerely believe will, when carried out, be of considerable importance to the progress of the Church in this city. Before stating, however, what the particular undertaking is, it may be proper to call your attention to the following details:—

In the course of last year, I was privileged to enter upon the charge of St. Paul's, Carrubber's Close, as well as to commence a Missionary enterprise in the Old Town, for the purpose of collecting together the poorer members of the Church, and placing within their reach the divinely-instituted means of grace; and I have abundant reason to thank God for the success which he has pleased should already attend this interesting department of Christian exertion. When I went to St. Paul's, I found a very small congregation; and now there are as many individuals belonging to it as would fill the church, the greater number of whom are *natives either of England or of Ireland*, and are so poor as to be altogether unable to contribute anything towards the support of a minister. While I am thankful to the Almighty Disposer of events, that he has thus honoured my ministry, I think it also my duty to express the gratitude which I feel to my brethren of the clergy and laity, for the kind interest which they have taken in the mission, placing, as they have done, a sufficient amount of funds in my hands to relieve the immediate wants of the most destitute; and having instituted a Working Society with the view of encouraging a spirit of industry among those who are able to make any effort towards their own support. I have also to acknowledge the valuable assistance which I have received from several gentlemen who were kind enough, last year, to share my labours in the visiting department, and who have all along strengthened my hands in no common degree.

When I commenced my duties at Carrubber's Close, there were two services in the church every Lord's Day; and the Holy Eucharist was celebrated only every second month: whereas we now have Weekly Communion, Daily Prayer, and three Services every Lord's Day. The number of regular monthly Communicants is much increased, being now nearly three times as great as it was every second month about eighteen months ago; and it is gratifying to be able to state, that some of the most regular Communicants are persons who have recently been rescued from circumstances of the utmost poverty and indigence. I may also add, that about eighty poor children have been already collected, and many of them brought under instruction in a Sunday School; and that a Week-Day School is upon the eve of being opened for their benefit, in which they will receive a plain, useful, secular education, combined with a knowledge of those things which are able to make them wise unto salvation.

Under existing circumstances, then, I consider it extremely desirable, for the following reasons, that a new church should be built as soon as possible, in some eligible part of the Old Town, to receive the congregation presently worshipping in St. Paul's, and as many more as may be disposed to join it:—

1st. St. Paul's Church is a very old building; and from a report recently obtained from a professional architect, it appears, that although the building is perfectly safe at the present moment, he does not think it can be warranted to continue so beyond other ten or twenty years.

2d. It is situated in a steep dirty lane, which is full of low taverns, and where scenes of the most offensive description may be witnessed at all times,—circumstances sufficiently powerful to prevent any from frequenting it who are not altogether destitute. In frosty weather the church is positively difficult of access to all, but particularly to the aged and the infirm.

"3d. It contains accommodation only for about 350 persons, which will soon be quite inadequate for the congregation. Henceforth, the congregation will be partly composed of the children belonging to the school above-mentioned,—the whole of whom will be taught to chant such portions of the Service as are sung. It is proposed that the new Church shall contain, besides room for the quire, about 600 sittings, the one-half of which shall be free, and the other half let in

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

FEBRUARY, 1844.

A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler or Ketler, prosecuted for Sorcery in 1344. *Edited by* T. WRIGHT, Esq. F.S.A. London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1843.

Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, A.D. 1631 *to* A.D. 1654. Printed for the Spalding Club, 1843.

Criminal Trials, American. By PELEG W. CHANDLER. Vol. I. Boston: Little and Brown. London: Maxwell. 1841.

Few, if any, persons in this march-of-intellect era, would dare to confess that they believed in witches and witchcraft; and yet equally few, if they were to confess their own secret thoughts, would deny that there is any antecedent improbability in mortal beings being endowed, by the Spirit of Evil, with a temporary immortal power, or would stumble at the power of Satan to award, to those who will fall down and worship him, the riches and benefits of this world. Sir Mathew Hale was content to admit his belief in sorcery; and Selden, the cold-hearted, hard-headed lawyer, shrouded his secret hankering after a belief in witchcraft under the doctrine, that if a man believes that by turning his hat thrice and crying "buz" he could take away a man's life; this were a just law made by the state, that whoever should turn his hat thrice and cry "buz," with an intention to take away a man's life, should suffer death. That very practical Scotch lawyer, William Forbes, in his Institutes of the Laws of Scotland, published as late as 1730, says, "Nothing can be plainer to me, than that there may be, and have been, witches, and that, perhaps, such are now actually existing; which I intend, God willing, to clear in a larger work concerning the criminal law."

Wherever we find a belief in sorcery prevalent, it generally assumes the same form. Its leading principle of doctrine, is a mis-

chievous application of Christianity, as the manifestation of the powers of darkness against the Deity. Satan is always represented as acting first through his inferior demons, and afterwards in person, in the compact with the sorcerer; and, as in all cases the bargain is for immortal powers in return for a mortal soul, so the great object of the two contracting parties is to cheat each other: Satan striving to lessen, as far as he can, the value of his gifts, and the sorcerer to render null and void the conveyance of his soul after death. In the majority of cases, females are represented to be the agents by whom the Devil works his ends. According to the German, Biensfieldius, we are to look to the Pythia of Greece, and the Venefica of Rome, as the origin of this accusation against the weaker sex; whilst Sprenger, in his "Malleus Maleficarum," considers that the inferiority in mental strength and the natural wickedness of their hearts, predisposes females to be the agents of Satan. One thing is certainly noticeable, that sorcerers are always more powerful than sorceresses, and the men seem to have driven harder bargains for their souls than the women: the latter being generally content with very far inferior powers than the former.

On going back to the earliest times in which enactments against witchcraft appear, we find the statutes confined to mischief done by poisoning, and natural diseases, or to lapses from Christianity, and the following of heathen practices. It is against the practices of the old heathen worship, from which our nation had just been converted, that we find the Anglo-Saxon laws against sorcerers confined; whilst, in the South of Europe, the statutes are made, to meet the softer spirit of fiction, to punish those who yet believed in the fair companions of Diana, and the lusty satyrs of the Arcadian god. The necessarily secret meetings of the early Christians and their ceremonies were immediately reported as sorcery, as in later days the secret meetings of the Waldenses were made the foundation of the witches' sabbath, and the early opponents of the Church said to ride to their conventicles on brooms, as the witches to the mountain of the Broken on Valpurgis' night. The work edited by Mr. Wright, for the Camden Society, exhibits in one person both the classes of accusations we have spoken of.

The scene of the prosecution is laid in Kilkenny, in the year 1344; the accused was Dame Alice, the wife of William Ketler, or Kyteler, and mother of one William Outlaw, by a first marriage. William Ketler, Viscount of Kilkenny, who came from the turbulent county of Pembroke, seems to have been not over-scrupulous in his actions; being in want of money, he stormed the house of William Outlaw, and carried off 3000*l.* which had been entrusted to Outlaw by one Adam le Bond. A claim was made on the money in the king's behalf as "treasure trove," and Bond also put in his claim as the original owner. This last was found so inconvenient, that Bond was put in prison; and, in order to set aside the royal demand, the matter was arranged between the Ketlers and the Bonds, and Dame Alice, becoming a widow, took to her second husband the Kyteler who

robbed the Outlaw, who was either her son, or her first husband himself. The good people of Kilkenny, not finding the story of Le Bond's entrusting his money to William Outlaw sufficiently marvellous, attributed the existence of the coin in Outlaw's house, and the rising prosperity of the Kytelers and Outlaws, to the witchcraft of Dame Alice. Every evening between compline and curfew, it was said, the dame went into the streets of Kilkenny, and swept the refuse dirt to her son William's door-step, whilst she chanted—

> "To the house of William, my son,
> Come all the wealth of Kilkenny town."

William de Ledred, Bishop of Ossory, who had an old grudge against Outlaw as one of the "gens pestifera novella," who objected to pay ecclesiastical dues, and aware that Dame Alice supported her son in his anti-ecclesiastical proceedings, readily believed the accusation against the Dame Alice, and summoned her, her son, and her two attendants, Petronilla and Basilia, before the spiritual court on charges of witchcraft.

The indictment was very minute in its charges, proving a wondrous acquaintance with Satan and his amusements, on the part of the accusers and their witnesses. The rhyming incantation was made much of, and a cross-road meeting with a familiar demon—a poor low dog of a devil, one "ex pauperioribus inferni," was included in the charges. Her diabolical friend seems to have had an odd taste; she feasted him on nine red cocks, and a Heliogabalus-like dish of peacock's eyes; and, in return, he taught her the secret of many a charm, many an unguent and potion. Her mixtures were after the approved recipes set forth in Ben Jonson's Masque of Queens. Herbs, which when used by licensed killers were called medicaments, became, in her hands, potent unguents, and heathenish charms. She could say, with the witch—

> "I had a dagger, what did I with that?
> Killed an infant to have his fat."

And, as she had a due fear of the sacraments, she preferred the children before baptism. Whilst the murderer swung backwards and forwards in his creaking chains, Dame Alice

> "Had bit off a sinew, and clipped his hair,
> And brought off his rags as he danced in air."

The murderer's scull she had made her boiling pot, in which she concocted—

> "The screech-owl's eggs, and the feathers black,
> The blood of the frog, and the bone in his back.
> * * * *
> Hemlock, henbane, adder's tongue,
> Nightshade, moon-wort, libbard's-bane.
> * * * *
> Horned poppy, cypress boughs,
> The fig-tree wild, that grows on tombs,
> The juice that from the larch-tree comes,
> The basilisk's blood, and the viper's skin."

Whilst these specifics were sweltering together in the murderer's scull, the dame was celebrating her awful parody of the Eucharist, partaking with her paramour of the Devil's bread, and excommunicating, limb by limb, and bone by bone, all her enemies, including such of her husbands as did not please her; for she had already had five; and was accused of reducing John de la Poer, one of the happy quintet, to such a state, that his hair and his nails fell from him, and he died miserably. Dame Alice seems to have had attendants of as low tastes as herself in the devil line, for when her paramour, who could not assume any more tasteful form than that of a negro, paid her a visit, he brought two brother devils in negro skins, for the amusement of Petronilla and Basilia.

William Outlaw sought the aid of his brother, the acting lord deputy of Ireland, and of Arnold de la Poer, the seneschal of Kilkenny. By their aid the warrants for the arrest of the witches were refused, and Dame Alice was allowed, despite the Bishop's remonstrances, to plead by her proctor. The Dame was soon found guilty and excommunicated, and then the Bishop summoned Outlaw on a charge of heresy. De la Poer tried to stop the citation, failed, and laid violent hands on the Bishop on a charge of fraud. He found he had gone too far, and, therefore, let the Bishop out again; who went out of prison in a triumphal procession, and left De la Poer to fight the battle in the courts at Dublin. Soon after his release, the Bishop turned sharp round on the seneschal, and summoned him in due form to lend his aid in extirpating sorcery from the country. De la Poer refused, and the matter came before the parliament. After a great deal of hard talking, the Bishop was supported by the parliament, and De la Poer denounced as a profane tyrant; whereupon he begged the prelate's pardon, and promised not to hinder any further proceedings against witches and sorcerers. The Bishop now began again against Dame Alice and her friends, but the accused had taken advantage of the late troubles, and got far away out of his reach, save poor Petronilla, who fell into his clutches. Six times was she scourged, to torture her into a confession, and, when she came to the stake, her mind had evidently sunk under the cruelties inflicted on her by the Bishop's officials. William Outlaw was at length caught, and shut up in Kilkenny Castle; but, as he was too well connected to be ill-treated, he got out again on a very humble confession of his errors; and received absolution, when he ceded to the Bishop certain lands of some worth, and made his promise to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; however, this last was soon commuted for money; Dame Alice and her son heard no more of witchcraft. The many troubles that the poor Bishop got into afterwards, cannot be enlarged upon in this place.

It was not the Roman or the English Church that alone believed in witchcraft, and sanctioned the condemnation of sorcerers and witches. The iron rule of the Scottish presbyteries was exercised with great severity in supposed cases of sorcery and witchcraft. The records of the Strathbogie and other presbyteries afford numerous instances. In

the two following extracts from the records of Strathbogie, we have the legend of the "Devil's field," and the lustration by "neid fire."

"Compeired William Sievright and George Stronach in Glass, and being accused of sorcerie, in allotting and giving over some land to the old goodman, (as they call it,) denyed the same; and because it was so allegit, they promised to manure the said land.

"Compeired Johne Gow, and being accused for saying he had Mr. Robert Watsowne, his warrant for going to raise neid-fyre in Grange, confessed he went to the said Mr. Robert, and told him that he was advised to cure his goodis after that manner, and so desired him to go and see quhat was done there; or if he wold not goe himself, send his sonne with him, which the said Mr. Robert refused to doe, but said to him, if he went, he would tak honest men with him to see quhat was done."

Watson's denial of the charge of practising this relic of Druidism, seems to have been believed by the presbytery, so, after a long lecture, he escaped free. Not so, however, a poor creature of Muirton, called Isabel Haldane, who was burnt on the charge of passing children through the witch's cake, drawing water in silence from a well, to wash a diseased person, and leaving a portion of the person's linen in the water. This is part of the evidence on which Isabel Haldane was burnt:

"May 19, 1623.—Compeared Stephen Ray in Muirton, and deposed that three years since, Isabel Haldane having stolen some bear forth the hall of Balhousie, he followed her, and brought her back again. She clapped him on the shoulder, saying, 'Go thy way, thou shalt not win thyself a bannock for a year and a day,' and as she threatened, so it came to pass, for he dwyned and was heavily diseased. The said Isabel confesses the away taking of the bear, and the disease of the man, but affirms that she only said, 'He that delivered me from the fairy folk shall take amendis of thee.' The said day she confessed that she made three several cakes, every one of them being made with nine curns of meal, which had been gotten from nine women that were married maidens. She made a hole in the crown of every one of them, and put a bairn through every cake three times, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. There were women present who put the said bairns thrice backward through every cake, using the same words. The said Isabel confessed she went silent to the well of Ruthven, and returned silent, bringing water from thence to wash John Gow's bairn. When she took the water from the well, she left a part of the bairn's sark at it, which she took with her to that effect. When she came home again, she washed the bairn with the water. She confessed that she had done in like manner to John Gowery's bairn. May 27.—The said Isabel confessed she had given drinks to cure bairns; among the rest, that David Morrice's wife came to her, and asked thrice help to her bairn for God's sake, because it was a shargie (a fairy child). She sent forth her son to gather fairy leaves, whereof she directed the bairn's mother to make a drink. But the bairn's mother deponed, that the said Isabel Haldane came to her house unrequired, and saw the bairn, and said it was a shargie taken away. She thereupon took in hand to cure it, and to that effect gave the bairn a drink, but shortly after the receipt of the drink, the bairn died."

By this time witchcraft had lost many of its honours, and sunk into a far lower class of society than in its earlier days. Instead of the Viscountess of Kilkenny, or the wife of the protector of the realm, or even the king's mistress, we descend to the old Mother Nobs, as Archbishop Harsnet says, who if she has called some house-girl an idle drab, or bid the devil scratch her, forthwith becomes a witch, whilst the idle

drab is owl-blasted. As we see in the confession of Isabel Haldane, witches did not always use their ill-acquired powers to work harm, but, as in the case of Bessie Dunlop, in 1588, the cure of diseases, and the performance of other benevolent acts, done by the aid, not of Satan, or any of his minor imps, but by the assistance of the venerable old man of Elfland, were quite enough to substantiate the charge of witchcraft against young and old.

The influence of witchcraft on society was terrible. It showed itself at one time in an almost implicit reverence for the suspected agents of Satan; at another, in the most wide-spread mania for their persecution and destruction. The most malignant passions found vent at one time, in a secret following of the forbidden act; at another, in multiplying accusations against enemies as sorcerers. When the mania of persecution became once developed, nothing was more difficult than to prevent people, not only from accusing others, but from volunteering the most extraordinary confessions against themselves, at the time when they knew that the gallows-tree was ever ready for their execution. Indeed, the confessions voluntarily made by many of the accused in witches' trials, are perfectly inexplicable. It is evident that, in very many instances, the confessors did not speak from the suggestions of others, from the fear of torture, or from the hope of escape; they seem to have so far deceived their own imaginations, as really to believe what they confessed. There are many instances of this in the following narrative of the great Puritan persecution of the Salem witches:

For above a quarter of a century after the founding of New England by James, no suspicion of witchcraft arose among the English colonists; the ten next years witnessed the rise of the suspicion, and the execution of more than one unfortunate person for the supposed offence. In the year 1646, several persons at Springfield, on the Connecticut River, were rumoured to be under the evil hand; but no one was brought to judgment until a poor woman of the name of Oliver, five years after, acknowledged her guilt, after a long examination, and only escaped death by her voluntary confession. About the same time three persons were executed at Boston on a similar charge, and died asserting their innocence. Another lustrum elapsed before the crime was again heard of; in 1655, the widow of a magistrate of Boston, a man of note in the city, of the name of Hibbins, was tried for the offence of witchcraft, before the Court of Assistants. The jury returned a verdict of guilty, which the magistrates refused to accept; but the General Court, to which the case was carried, affirmed the verdict, and the prisoner was executed. The next fourteen years produced two cases, in both of which the accused suffered; nor would the next witch, one Elizabeth Knap, who came out within two years of the last trial, have escaped, so much had she alarmed the good people of Croton with her ventriloquism, had not her dæmon proved himself a liar by railing against the minister, and thus saved his mistress's life, at the expense of his

own reputation. For nearly five and twenty years the witches were at peace, except one poor old woman, whom a military man chose to accuse of putting the evil hand on him; for which some young men dragged the old crone from her house, hung her until nearly dead, rolled her in the snow, and, eventually, buried her in it. The old woman, however, would not be killed; so she survived; and the man, on whom the evil hand was, died melancholy mad. In 1692, the delusion broke out in all its fury; in that year the "Salem witchcraft" commenced: and, though there had been but few instances of late years in the province, the minds of the colonists were far from unprepared for this sudden visitation. Much as the murder of Anne Hibbins had been questioned and disapproved of, there were not wanting those, among the better educated, who believed firmly in the prevalence of witchcraft. Circumstantial accounts of the chief cases began, after some delay, to be published in the colony, and many learned arguments were committed to paper to convince the country that the Devil always kept a certain number of witches in his pay, and was very familiar with such as he found to be fit instruments for the furtherance of his schemes. The cases tried before Sir Matthew Hale were also circulated in the country: and the entire colony was very greatly scandalized by the conduct of two brothers and three sisters,—the children of one Goodwin, "a grave man, and good liver in the city of Boston,"—who declared themselves tormented by an Irish witch, the mother of their laundress; and proved the Devil's interference in the case by delighting in reading Oxford jests, Popish and Quaker books, and the Common Prayer, and becoming deaf and dumb when the Assembly's Catechism, or Cotton Mather's Milk for Babes, were ever presented to their sight. These discriminating devils at last gave way before the fastings and prayers of the Boston and Charlestown ministers, and the execution of the poor Irishwoman; whilst their sayings and doings were registered by Cotton Mather, or some of his friends, and published, with a preface by Baxter, to tell men "that the evidence was so convincing, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee who would not believe it." On that point, there were very few Sadducees among the colonists, and not one among the ministers.

It was in the family of Parris, the minister of Salem, that the delusion or imposture originated. The bitter strife there had been between this man and some of his congregation made many, in after years, suppose that revenge, as well as blind enthusiasm, had instigated him to the course which he pursued. The first subjects were a daughter of his own about nine years old, his niece a few years older, and two other girls of his village, who complained of being tormented, and pinched, and subjected to a somewhat similar treatment to that endured by Goodwin's children only a few years before. The doctors, completely puzzled, pronounced them bewitched; and Tituba, an Indian servant of Parris's, proceeded to discover who the witch was, by experiments such as the pow-wows used in her country. The

attempt was fatal to her; she immediately became herself the witch. In despite of her asseverations that she only knew how to discover a witch, and was none herself, the children cried out against her, falling into fits at her presence, and declaring that she pinched, pricked, and tormented them. The malady spread, and two or three women and as many girls, old enough to be witnesses, united in being tormented and abusing not only Tituba but a distracted old woman, Sarah Osborn, and another bed-ridden old crone of the name of Good. This, however, did not satisfy the public appetite. In about three weeks two other women of good character were accused, and the mother of one of the children joined with them, in crying out against the last woman accused, and in complaining of her as her tormentor. To sum up the infatuation, a child of five years old was committed to prison as a witch, charged with biting some of the afflicted, who showed the marks of small teeth on their arms.*

The evidence required for a committal was almost childish. Mr. Parris preached a sermon on this text, "*Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a Devil.*" The sister of one of those who had been committed, conceiving it to apply to her sister's case, rose and left the meeting; it was enough,—she was a witch, and as such was examined and committed. Another time, this woman is accused by Parris's niece of being present at the witches' sacrament; struck with horror, she asked for water and sank down in a fit. "Her spirit is gone to her sister in prison," shrieked the afflicted; this was evidence. Against another woman the same child declared she had invited her to sign the Devil's book. "Dear child," said the accused "it is not so. There is another judgment, dear child." She was committed. The manner in which the examinations were conducted is enough to startle the most fanatic. Take this one from an eye-witness; Jonathan Carey, of Charlestown:

"Having heard, some days, that my wife was accused of witchcraft, being much disturbed at it, by advice we went to Salem village, to see if the afflicted knew her: we arrived there 24th of May; it happened to be a day appointed for examination; accordingly, soon after our arrival, Mr. Hawthorn and Mr. Curwin, &c., went to the Meeting house, which was the place appointed for that work; the minister began with prayer, and having taken care to get a convenient place, I observed that the afflicted were two girls of about ten years old, and some two or three others of about eighteen; one of the girls talked most, and could discern more than the rest. The prisoners were called in one by one, and as they came in were cried out upon. They were placed about

* More abstruse speculation has been devoted to the natures of the Devil's imps, by whom witches were said to act, than even to Alchemy or Astrology. From Plato to Cardan, men of great minds have argued learnedly, and disputed fiercely, how many orders there were in the diabolical hierarchy, whether the bodies of devils be mortal, whether they are not the souls of the departed, whether they have any shape of their own besides the power of Protean changes, some assigning to them the circle for their outline as the symbol of perfectness, others the square, on the principle of the τετραγώνος ἀνὴρ of Aristotle,—the "regular brick" of modern slang. Those who desire to be learned on these, in many respects, awful subjects, will find much curious information on them in the first member of the second section of the first part of Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy.

seven or eight feet from the justices, and the accusers between the justices and them; the prisoners were ordered to stand right before the justices, with an officer appointed to hold each hand, lest they should therewith afflict them; and the prisoners' eyes must be constantly on the justices; for if they looked on the afflicted, they would either fall into fits, or cry out of being hurt by them. After an examination of the prisoners who it was afflicted those girls, they were put upon saying the Lord's prayer, as a trial of their guilt. After the afflicted seemed to be out of their fits, they would look stedfastly on some one person, and frequently not speak; and then the justices said they were struck dumb, and after a little time would speak again; then the justices said to the accusers, which of you will go and touch the prisoner at the bar? Then the most courageous would adventure; but, before they had made three steps, would ordinarily fall down as in a fit. The justices ordered that they should be taken up and carried to the prisoner, that she might touch them: and as soon as they were touched by the accused, the justices would say, They are well, before I could discern any alteration; by which I observed the justices understood the manner of it . . . . . I had now an opportunity of speaking with the accuser of my wife, viz. Abigail Williams, a girl of eleven or twelve years old, but as we could not be private in Mr. Paris's house, we went into the ale-house, where an Indian man attended us, who it seems was one of the afflicted; to him we gave some cider; he showed several scars, that seemed as if they had been long there, and showed them as done by witchcraft; and acquainted us that his wife, who also was a slave, was imprisoned for witchcraft. And now, instead of one accuser, they all came in, and began to tumble about like swine; and then three women were called in to attend them. We in the room were all at a stand to see who they would cry out upon; but in a short time they cried out "Cary;" and immediately after a warrant was sent by the justices to bring my wife before them, who were in a chamber near by, waiting for this. Being brought before the justices, her chief accusers were two girls. My wife declared to the justices that she never had any knowledge of them before that day. She was forced to stand with her arms stretched out. I requested that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me;—then she desired she might lean herself on me, saying she should faint. Justice Hawthorn replied, she had strength enough to torment those persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. The Indian before mentioned was also brought in, to be one of her accusers: being come in, he now fell down and tumbled about like a hog, but said nothing. The justices asked the girls who afflicted the Indian; they answered, she, meaning my wife, and that she now lay upon him; the justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, lest, instead of curing, she should make him worse, by looking on him, her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the Indian took hold of her hand, and pulled her down on the floor in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought, —then her mittimus was writ."—*Chandler*, pp. 83—86.

When such evidence was admitted it is not to be wondered that the whole country was in consternation. Nobody was safe. Confession was the easiest, nay the only, mode of escape; and many there were who were driven to this refuge by their own fears or the urgent entreaties of their friends. There were not wanting those, who, when the afflicted fell down before them in seeming agonies, cried out against them, and received relief from their touch alone, believed that the Evil Spirit had indeed got possession of their bodies, and tormented these unfortunates in their shapes; impressed with this belief they hesitated not to confess their guilt. Such is the force of imagination. Torture was resorted to, and the effects were horrible: children accused their own parents, and witnessed their execution

without a pang of regret. At other times, the artful and severe examinations of the magistrates led many to implicate those of whom they knew no guile. One wretched woman, "through the magistrate's threatenings and her own vile heart," accused her own grandfather, and brought him and her minister to the gallows by her confessions, though she saved her own life by recanting between the first and second court sittings; admitting, with every expression of sorrow, now, alas! too late, that, "everything she had said against her grandfather, and Mr. Burroughs, the minister, was altogether false, which she did to save her life and her liberty." Against such proceedings, the strictest integrity, the purest life, the most solemn asseverations, were of no avail; a wife and daughter accused the husband and father, to save themselves; a child of seven years old gave damning testimony against its mother.

So rapidly had the prisoners increased under this system, that when Phipps arrived in May, as the new Governor, he found the jails of the colony filled with victims. Firmly believing in the offence, and impressed, under such belief, with the urgency of the case, the new Governor immediately erected a special court for the trials of the witches. Of the seven named in the commission two had been educated as ministers, two as physicians, one was a merchant, and the other two were influential men of property in the colony. The very day of the date of their commission saw the seven new judges engaged in their labours at Salem; the grand jury were charged by the chief of the Commission, Stoughton, that they were not to mind whether the bodies of the afflicted were really pined and consumed; but whether they did not suffer from the accused such afflictions as *tended* to their being pined and consumed. With such instructions, such witnesses, and minds well prepared for belief, the jury could not go wrong; doubtless no bills were ignored.

The proceedings before the Special Commission were, in many respects, similar to those before the committing magistrates. There was the same confronting of the accused with the afflicted; the same taking of the evidence of confessed witches against the prisoner; a proceeding, as a contemporary remarked, "never heard of in this world, that such as confess themselves to be witches, to have renounced God and Christ, and all that is sacred, should yet be allowed and ordered to swear by the name of the great God." After this came any volunteer evidence, whether to the case in question, or to any other act, however far remote, by which the general reputation of a witch might be established. Then came the searching for the Devil's marks, performed by a jury of the same sex as the prisoner, and conducted with minuteness, cruelty, and indelicacy. If a spot was found, a pin was driven into it; should the flesh be callous, it was an undoubted Devil's mark. The conduct of the accused at the previous examination was also adduced. To have said "Deliver us from *all* evil," or "hollowed" instead of "hallowed," in the Lord's prayer, was conclusive against the unfortunate prisoner. It was a

depraving of words, a making void of the prayer, and, therefore, a conversion of it into a curse. The last evidence was the most curious, perhaps the most conclusive. The accused were made answerable, not only for what the Devil might have done in their shape, but for whatever the witnesses might choose to swear the phantom or spirit of the accused had perpetrated. The pinches, the loss of their property, the making them languish and pine, the prickings, were all attributed to these spiritual visitations, and the identical pins by which the prickings were made, were not rarely produced in court. The Devil must have been very liberal of his pins, if he could afford to leave them in the bodies of the afflicted, or the possession of them was no bad evidence of the identity of the witch and the bewitched.

The first person on whom the commission exercised their judicial powers, was a poor old woman, named Bridget Bishop, whose violent temper had for many years bred ill-will between her and her neighbours, and given her the reputation of a witch. That the persons whom she was accused of bewitching were bewitched by some one, seems to have been considered too clear to admit of doubt, or require any proof; all that was requisite was to fix the charge on the old woman; that the afflicted had fallen into fits in her presence, and had been restored by her touch, and again overcome by her look, was, of course, proved to the satisfaction of the court; and the jury of matrons, after a rigid examination, reported the finding of a "preternatural tet" on the old woman's body; which, on a second search, some two or three hours afterwards, was not to be seen. Whether visible or not, the evidence was, in the eyes of the court, equally against the accused. Matters having proceeded thus far, the deeds of the old woman's ghost were brought in evidence against her. Several swore that the shape of the prisoner sometimes grievously pinched, choaked, bit, and otherwise afflicted them, urging them with threats to write their names in the Devil's book. Sometimes,—as one Deliverance Hobbs, a confessed witch, declared,—whipping them with an iron scourge to compel their signature, and, at other times, enticing them to the Devil's sacrament. Take the evidence of two of the witnesses:—

"John Cook testified, that about *five or six years ago*, one morning, about sunrise, he was assaulted in the chamber by the shape of the prisoner, which looked on him, grinned at him, and very much hurt him, with a blow on the side of his head; and that on the same day at noon, the shape walked into the room where he was, and an apple strangely flew out of his hand, into the lap of his mother, six or eight feet from him.

"Samuel Gray testified, that about *fourteen years ago*, he waked on a night, and saw the room where he lay full of light; and that he there saw plainly a woman between the cradle and the bedside, who looked upon him. He rose and it vanished; though he found the doors fast; looking out at the entry door, he saw the same woman in the same garb again; and said 'In God's name what do you come for?' He went to bed and had the same woman assaulting him. The child in the cradle gave a great screech, and the woman disappeared. It was long before the child could be quieted; and, though it was a very likely thriving child, yet from this time it pined away, and, after divers

months, died in a sad condition. *He knew not Bishop, nor her name; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her countenance and apparel, and all circumstances, that it was the apparition of Bishop which had troubled him thus.*"—Pp. 99, 100.

The conduct of an epileptic child of one of her neighbours, with a few other strange circumstances, were next brought against the old woman:—

"Samuel Shatlock testified, that, in the year 1680, Bridget Bishop often came to his house upon such frivolous and foolish errands, that *they suspected* she came, indeed, with a purpose of mischief. Presently whereupon, his eldest child, which was of as promising health and sense as any child of its age, began to droop exceedingly; and the oftener that Bishop came to the house, the worse the child grew. As the child would be standing at the door, he would be thrown and bruised against the stones by an invisible hand, and in like sort knock his face against the sides of the house, and bruise it after a miserable manner. Afterwards, this Bishop would bring him things to dye, whereof he could not imagine any use: and when she paid him a piece of money, the purse and money were unaccountably conveyed out of a locked box and never seen more. The child was immediately hereupon taken with terrible fits, whereof his friends thought he would have died. Indeed he did almost nothing but cry and sleep, for several months together; and at length his understanding was taken away. Among other symptoms of an enchantment upon him, one was that there was a board in the garden whereon he would walk, and all the invitations in the world could never fetch him off. About *seventeen* or *eighteen years after*, there came a stranger to the witness's house, who seeing the child said, 'This poor child is bewitched; and you have a neighbour living not far off who is a witch.' He added 'Your neighbour has had a falling out with your wife; and she said in her heart, Your wife is a proud woman, and she would bring down her pride in this child.' He then remembered that Bishop had parted from his wife in muttering and menacing terms, a little before the child was taken ill. The stranger would needs take the boy with him to Bishop's house, on pretence of buying a pot of cyder. The woman entertained him in a furious manner; and flew also upon the boy, scratching his face till the blood came, and saying; 'Thou rogue, what, dost thou bring this fellow here to plague me?'—Ever after the boy was followed with grievous fits, which the doctors ascribed to witchcraft; and wherein he would be thrown still into the fire or water, if he were not constantly looked after; and the witness verily believed that Bishop was the cause of it."—Pp. 101—103.

Supposing this man to have spoken what he believed to be the truth, how entirely does he fail in connecting the prisoner with the malady of his child! But, can we suppose that this witness believed he was speaking the truth? If so, how could he swear to the visit of this mysterious stranger, *seventeen or eighteen years after!* what? after his child was seized with these fits? after the year 1680, when he began to suspect that the visits of the old woman were for purposes of mischief?—the day on which he was, on his oath, swearing to the truth of this story, was in the month of June of the *twelfth* year from the commencement of the illness of his bewitched child?

But there was yet more evidence. John Lowder swore that Bishop tormented him all one night, after a dispute with her about some fowls; and that, soon after this, on the Lord's-day, when all the doors were shut, a black pig approached him; he kicked at it, and piggy vanished. Soon after, a black thing—not a pig this time—*jumped in* at the window, stood before him, and told him he was

to counsel him as to his troubles. He tried to seize this black monkey with cock's legs, but he felt nothing; and out of the ow it flew. In a little time, back came the black man through orch doors, and said, "You had better take my counsel;" he t it; his stick went through the figure, and broke against the nd; his arm was disabled, and the figure vanished. Doubtless, his was very like Diablerie, and not a little edifying to the ial commissioners; but what had it to do with poor Bridget op? Why, "he presently went," says Mr. John Lowder, t at the back door, and spied this Bishop in her orchard, going rd her house; but he had not power to set one foot forward unto

Another witness declared, that as his horse was passing the roman, drawing but a light load, all the gear broke, and the fell down; and when the witness went to raise a two-bushel sack rn, "he could not budge it with all his might;" *ergo*, the old an was a witch. Whilst two other fellows wound up the evi- e by declaring, that, when taking down a wall in the prisoner's r, "they found some puppets made of rags and hogs' bristles, headless pins in them, the points being outwards, whereof the ner could give no account to the court that was reasonable, or able;" *ergo*, Bridget Bishop was a witch.

ad not the consequences of this delusion been so truly awful, night indulge in a smile at the legal knowledge of the special nissioners, who could admit—and the credulity of the jury, who l believe—such evidence as this; and yet, upon such testimony he unfortunate creature condemned and executed, solemnly pro- g her innocence to the last.

he ministers now discovered how much easier it was tooriginate to check persecution; they had set the stone rolling, and now, they feared that, in its erratic course, it might roll even over them- s, they strove in vain to check its progress. When called upon, e adjournment of the court, to give their opinions to the gover- nd council on the present aspect of affairs, it was in vain that recommended "very critical and exquisite caution in the pro- ion of witchcraft, lest, by too much credulity for things received on the Devil's authority, there be a door opened for a long train serable consequences, and Satan get an advantage over us; for," hey, "'we should not be ignorant of his devices.'" Equally were their recommendations to use exquisite tenderness in con- ation of the nature of the evidence, and the previous unblemished ation of the accused. Their sixth opinion, if it had been tted, would have immediately closed the court of witchcraft.

Presumptions," say the ministers, "whereon persons may be committed, nuch more, convictions whereupon persons may be condemned as guilty chcraft, ought, certainly, to be more considerable than barely the accused s being represented by a spectre unto the afflicted; inasmuch as it is an bted and a notorious thing, that a demon may, by God's permission, , to ill purposes, in the shape of an innocent, and a vicious man. an we esteem alterations *made in the sufferers* by a look or touch of the

accused to be an infallible evidence of guilt, but frequently liable to be abused by the Devil's legerdemain."—Pp. 108.

This blow at the very root of all the accusations was too bold to be borne, even though the Devil's shoulders were made to bear the greater part of the burden; and, in spite of the inducement held out in the succeeding opinion, of *affronting* the Devils, by disbelieving those testimonies whose whole force and strength were from them. More attention was paid to the last article of their return, in which they humbly recommended the speedy and vigorous prosecutions of the obnoxious, "*according to the directions given in the laws of God*, and the wholesome statutes of the English nation, for the detection of witchcrafts."

The court had adjourned to the thirtieth of the month; on that day it met, and five women were accused, condemned, and ordered for execution. Again there was a respite for a few days. The next sitting sent six more unfortunates to the gibbet. Among the last sufferers was a minister of the name of Burroughs, in whose case a new species of evidence was admitted against the accused. Feats of strength were of the Devil; so thought the people of Salem, the jury and the judges. Besides the usual fits of the afflicted in the presence of the prisoner, and the evidence of the apparition to them of the phantom of Burroughs, and his application to them to sign the Devil's book, the ghosts of his two late wives were summoned against him.

"Anne Putnam testified, that, on the ninth of May, 1692, in the evening, I saw the apparition of George Burroughs, who grievously tortured me, and urged me to write in his book, which I refused. He then told me that his two first wives would appear to me presently and tell me a great many lies, but I should not believe them. Immediately there appeared to me the forms of two women, in winding-sheets, and napkins about their heads, at which I was greatly affrighted. They turned their faces towards Mr. Burroughs, and looked very red and angry at him, telling him that he had been a cruel man to them, and that their blood cried for vengeance against him. They also told him they should be clothed with white robes in heaven, when he should be cast into hell. Immediately he vanished away; and, as soon as he was gone, the two women turned their faces towards me, looking as pale as a white wall. They said they were Mr. Burroughs's first wives, and that he had murdered them. One of them said she was his first wife, and he stabbed her under the left arm, *and put a piece of sealing-wax on the wound;* and she pulled aside the winding-sheet and showed me the place, and also told me she was in the house where Mr. Paris now lives when it was done. The other told me that Mr. Burroughs, and his present wife, killed her in the vessel, as she was coming to see her friends, because they would have one another; and they both charged me that I should tell these things to the magistrates before Mr. Burroughs's face, *and if he did not own them, they did not know* (how cautious!) *but they should appear there this morning.* Mrs. Lawson, and her daughter, also appeared to me, and told me that Mr. Burroughs murdered them. This morning there also appeared to me another woman, in a winding-sheet, and told me that she was Goodman Fuller's wife, and that Mr. Burroughs murdered her, because of some 'ifference between her husband and himself."—P. 116.

With ghosts of such memories and discrimination, it will be thought that the prisoner's chance was worse than bad. There was yet, however, another arrow to be shot at him—his bodily strength—

or rather his and others' accounts of his feats of strength,—as neither of the witnesses were present at either of the deeds to which they witness.

"'Being at the house of Mr. Lawrence, at Falmouth, in Casco Bay,' swore one Simon Willard, 'he was commending the strength of Mr. George Burroughs, saying that none of us could do what he could; 'for,' said he, 'Mr. Burroughs can hold out this gun with one hand.' Mr. Burroughs being present, explained where he took hold of the gun to hold it out, but he did not hold it out then. The gun was near seven feet barrel, and very heavy. I could not hold it out with both hands long enough to take sight. In 1689, being in Captain Sargeant's garrison, Mr. Burroughs said he had carried a barrel of molasses, or cyder, from a boat to the shore.'"—P. 119.

The next witness explained the witchcraft of the barrel of molasses.

"'About eight years ago,' said this witness, Samuel Webber, 'I lived at Casco Bay, and George Burroughs was then minister there. Having heard much of his great strength, I conversed with him about it; he told me then that he had put his fingers into the bung of a barrel (bung hole ?) of molasses, lifted it up and carried it round him, and set it down again.'"—P. 120.

On such evidence as this, the jury found Burroughs guilty, and he was added to the list of victims. His solemn and serious address to the people from the fatal ladder was the admiration of the auditors; and when he repeated, in a clear sonorous tone, and with entire exactness, the prayer of our Lord, the people were so moved in his favour, that Cotton Mather, and the accusers, were obliged to denounce him as assisted by the Devil, even in his devotional exercises.

The next month witnessed the condemnation of fifteen more, most of them women; eight of whom died on the gibbet, whilst one, the husband of one of those who were ordered for execution, refused to plead, and was condemned to be pressed to death. As his aged frame—he was near eighty—yielded beneath the dreadful pressure, his tongue protruded from his mouth, and was thrust back again by the sheriff. With these last eight executions, the persecution may be said to have ceased. The special court never sat again; fifty persons had been found guilty, and above twenty condemned and executed by it. The frauds and impostures attending the trials began to be discovered; fear opened men's eyes, and the feeling of insecurity from the lax nature of the evidence which the court deemed sufficient, and the general spread of accusations, rendered the people sceptical. The wife of the wealthiest person in Salem was accused; she saw how little good it was to attempt any defence, and resigned herself to death. Eventually she escaped out of the state, but the accusation and the conduct of the accused worked the desired effect. When the grand jury met, they dismissed more than half the presentments made to them; and of the six and twenty against whom a true bill had been found, but three were declared guilty; they were all reprieved. When the reprieve arrived, Stoughton, the chief justice, exclaimed, "We were in a way to have cleared the land of these; who is it obstructs the course of justice, I *know not.* The Lord be merciful to

the country." Aware that his duties were concluded, he retired from the bench, and never came again to the court.

The causes of this sudden change in the public opinion have been a vexatissima quæstio from the time of its occurrence. By some it is attributed to the fact of the wife of one of the most active of the anti-witchcraft ministers having been accused; so near an approach to himself, rendered her husband open to conviction, and changed him from the firmest of supporters to the most violent of opponents. An action for slander, brought by a gentleman at Boston against an informer who had accused his wife of witchcraft, and in which the damages were laid at a thousand pounds, is cited by other writers as at least one of the causes. Such facts as these seem much more like the effects of the change of opinion than the causes of it. Until the public mind had itself began to waver, no minister would have dared to turn against the very creatures he had raised; and no man have risked an action for slander, lest the next witness should see his apparition, and witchcraft should be fixed on him also. Without attempting to discover a reason for this transient delusion, further than as one of the many superstitions of a superstitious age, and a nation of fanatics, may we not feel assured, that Almighty God, having accomplished that work which it was His pleasure should be performed, permitted the instinctive effort of self-preservation to resume its power in the human breast? Doubtless, the New-Englanders, as a people, still believed in witchcraft as a crime; fear did not take away the general belief; but it weakened, and finally eradicated, their belief in the individual cases; it impressed them with the dangerous consequence of their proceedings, and the hopelessness of combating the Powers of Darkness with the hand of man.

The change in the public mind was as complete and universal as the delusion had been. Bitter was the lamentation, and contrite the repentance, of all who had been actors in the awful scenes. Parris, the originator of the delusion, the chief agent in these acts of frenzy and folly, could not resist the popular indignation. No confession, even the most humiliating, could save him; it was not fitting that he should minister at the altar within sight of his victims' graves; he was compelled to leave his people. Cotton Mather, whose artful appeals and wilful suppression of the truth for a time deceived the people, and, perhaps, himself, (it would be charity so to think,) was properly appreciated long before his death. The jurors signed a solemn and humble declaration of regret for the part they had borne in the trials, expressing their fear that they had been the means of bringing upon themselves and the people the guilt of innocent blood, and humbly craving forgiveness for their misdeeds. Sewall, one of the special commissioners, confessed his errors before the congregation, the church at Boston; and the government concluded the work of paration, so far as penitence could repair such grievous injuries, by joining a special fast, and bidding all men offer up prayers to God, that He would show us what we know not, and help us, wherein we have

niss, to do so no more; and, especially, whatever mistakes on
and had been fallen into, either by the body of this people, or
rof men, referring to the late tragedy raised among us by Satan
instruments, through the awful judgment of God." One man
those concerned in these trials never pleaded his penitence, that
s Stoughton, the chief justice of the commission. "When he
udgment," he said, "he had the fear of God before his eyes,
e his opinion according to the best of his understanding; and,
h it might appear afterwards, that he had been in error, he saw
essity for a public acknowledgment of it." Let it be
ered by all, and especially by those who cavil at legal trials,
se enormities were committed by no packed court of lawyers,
uibbling and straining of points; but by a strictly popular
, on which not a single lawyer sat. The victims were
ed by the popular voice, and the law was not allowed to
its conservative influences in protecting the innocent.

may reasonably conclude this article with a few thoughts on
tion, and some notice of the carefully-veiled forms under which
, in these days, become its scholars, whilst we are congratulat-
selves on our entire freedom from its errors, only because we
from them in those forms in which our ancestors were subject
. Now to the two forms of superstition,—namely, the worship
gods, as of the heathen, or the Spirits of Evil,—we are not in
imes liable; but there is another form to which we are especially
—the worship of the true God under false emblems and un-
ized rites. The idolatry of the heathens was of the former kind,
; they worshipped false gods by their images of wood and stone;
one is so foolish as to believe that they worshipped the wood or
ne, as mere wood or stone; but they also worshipped, in a
r, the true God under false emblems. The Israelites both
pped the gods of the heathen, and also the true God with the
f the Canaanite deities. Since the preaching of Christianity, the
ling, not indeed the only, superstition, has been the worship of
hrough false emblems and unholy rites; sometimes the Christians
nquired of the nations around them, how they worshipped their
and have said the same worship must be given to our God;
er times they have transferred to the image that adoration of
they constituted it the medium; the idolatry, though we object
phrase in any sense, of the Romanists, even of the most illite-
f their faith, is of this latter description, and no more than this;
ally in their worship of the holy elements and of images.
was the idolatry which Bishop Lloyd was willing to admit as a
harge against the Romanists, at the time when he so strenuously
led them against that charge in its common acceptation. Theirs
latry of the true God through a false medium; not of a false
hrough a true emblem.

ut, without distinct enumeration, few will fail in making
long list, as well of general superstitions, especially in reli-

gious matters, in these times, as of individual tendencies towards such practices. And few will refuse to admit, that when the conscience whispers that such and such a practice is superstitious, we are too apt to quiet her warnings by the weak excuse, "an error on the right side;" "at least, I am more sure in overdoing than in falling short, either in faith or practice." We know that these times have been characterized as the times of scepticism and unbelief, and so, to a certain extent, they are; but yet who can read the diurnal accounts of frauds and impositions, especially among the poor in the country, and not acknowledge the prevalence of superstition among our people; and that, too, at times, when we should least expect it? The truth is, we do not dare to inquire into our hearts, and to ask each ourselves how superstitious we really are. Is it among the illiterate alone, that the sacramental elements, as well of baptism as of the eucharist, are regarded as infallible cures for certain physical diseases? We are afraid we should put this century sadly out of conceit of itself, were we to disclose a few facts gathered in many a wandering over England, and confined, not to the poor alone, or to the child that had not ceased to listen to its nurse's tales. Many a brave man, who has stood unblanched amid shot and shell, has feared to sleep in a haunted chamber, or to cross a churchyard to which the village gossips have attached a bad name. And when people boldly point to the inconsistencies in ghost-stories, and to the manifest falsehood of the evidence in the majority of the trials for sorcery; we too often catch at the objections with a joy that is based on the remembrance, that there is not an *à priori* reason against the Almighty permitting the Evil One to inspire mortals with a portion of his evil spirit, in order to perfect our trial on earth. Nine persons out of ten invert the order of superstition and false forms of religion: they talk of this or that religion introducing superstition, as if it was non-existent until that form of religion was created; on the contrary, superstition has been, and ever will be, the mother of false religion. Nothing can be more vain than to imagine that true religion will ever be promoted by superstition.

Let us not be misunderstood: it were nothing short of irreligion to deny Satan's empire; there may possibly be strange delusions which he exercises upon men's minds quite as powerful now as the charms of Egyptian magicians: if he could hinder St. Paul, we cannot, perhaps, over-estimate his power, certainly not his malice. Witchcraft and diabolic sacraments may not be altogether one vast system of negations; it is right to fear and to suspect these evils, and it is right also to meet their supposed existence with spiritual arms. Because Cotton Mather's views were not of the Church, he was permitted to believe in self-delusion, and to commit a tremendous sin: his error was not so much faith in witchcraft, as his attempts to exorcise without the Church's gifts.

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T quite an hundred years ago, the poet Gray, anathematizing a l book, described it as containing "whole pages of common-place ff, that for stupidity might have been wrote by Dr. Waterland, any other grave divine." Now Gray was neither an unbeliever, a flippant nor a shallow person; but he was a man of letters, looked on Theology as nearly any other man of letters in that would have done. How would it have astonished him, as well many between his time and our own, could it have been fore- l that a day would arrive, when, from no lack of literature, even very lightest—a day in which Poets were to have greater honour n ever he saw conferred on them; a day teeming with attractive tion of all sorts; a day in which whatever other faculties might be ctive exercise, the gift of humour most assuredly should—the pro- ent subject of conversation should be, the Theologians of the e, and their sayings and doings! And this not in one circle y, but in every cognizable one; in the West End of London, and, e have lately been assured, in the back-settlements of America, nce talk will naturally end in discussing the merits, or demanding latest intelligence, of Messrs. Newman and Pusey. The great rch movement which is so associated with those two names is, ing it merely as a Phenomenon, one of the most conspicuous ures of our times; all eyes, whatever be their faculty of mea- ng its dimensions, or of tracing its form, are constrained to gaze n it; and whether the attendant emotions be those of Triumph, , Uneasiness, Alarm, or Hatred, the subject is an uppermost one ll minds.

Of course, those to whom the whole matter is an annoyance, are ly enough with plausible explanations of this portent, such as an excited age must always want variety in its excitement, and Theology may take its turn as a fashionable stimulus, quite as well nything else. Now this may perhaps explain too much of the rest taken by the upper classes in the outward and superficial

aspects of the Oxford school; but it will not explain the vast progress of that school itself in all educated ranks; and still less the increasing hold that the high doctrines of the Church and the Sacraments are taking of minds unconnected with, and not always very kindred to, the Oxford writers. Make what you like of the less respectable concomitants of the phenomenon, find as many degrading explanations as you can of its more superficial manifestations, resolve the change and the seeming enthusiasm of the frivolous and the vain, into their original frivolity and vanity, as much as you please; when you have done all these things, you still leave a great portent behind. There is still a great Church movement which you may hate, but which you cannot despise—the Catholic Church is a word which is surely fast tending to have some great meaning, for good or for ill. Mighty powers are in action; the fountains of the great deep are opened. Whither we are tending, none may venture exactly to tell; nor need those who feel that they are moving, and that they are moving under the guidance of a Heavenly Light, care exactly to know. For them the words, "Lo, I am with you always," are enough. But it may serve to strengthen the Faith of such, that they are obeying no deception, and in itself it must needs be a pious and profitable work, to trace, as far as we can, the various causes which have been made in our day, to concur towards one end. If we find that the confluence has been from most distant sources, that all the great tendencies of our age have borne upon this one object —the Catholic Church—then we see enough to answer the man who sneers at those who are earnestly occupied with that object; then too we see enough at once to solemnize and awe as well as encourage and gladden our hearts; and then too, if we feel sure that this Catholic Church be indeed the Kingdom of God, do we see His manifold Wisdom and Might.

Before entering on this inquiry, there is a previous consideration which gives it additional solemnity. The time seems to have come for a further manifestation of the Catholic Church than we have seen for ages. Secular causes and considerations are bringing men together; geographical distance is losing more than half its power to keep them asunder: "Many are running to and fro, and knowledge is being increased." There is a secular gathering of men which, in order that it be blessed and sanctified, demands for them a spiritual Unity. The causes which were keeping them apart are being done away. This is an important consideration. It is undeniable that in the beginning of the Church, although we cannot ascribe her Unity to anything short of a spiritual principle, she was provided with a secular framework of society, which greatly aided her in its development. We do not mean to say that the Roman Empire was either the ideal of Human Society in earthly respects, or he best ally of the Church; our opinion being the very contrary. But almost commensurate with the Church, and combined, coherent, *bringing* men together from the most opposite regions as it was, it

became, as we have said, a great assistance to her in the development of her Unity, and, in virtue of the characteristics to which we have referred, would have thrown on Herself the whole blame of any stoppage of Communion, had such then arisen to any great extent, or in any serious permanence. After its fall, a new state of things began. The history of modern Europe is a history of the growth of nations out of the great mass of the Roman Empire. The confusion into which that was thrown, was not left unvisited by formative principles, which, gradually casting off on the one hand such Imperial traditions as continued to hold Europe secularly together, and on the other, gradually aggregating all such smaller tribes as tended by great natural affinities towards union, did by this process at once of contraction and enlargement, fix and shape the great countries of Europe in their present dimensions and aspects. How slow a process this has been, how comparatively recent are the completed formation and fixing of the Britain, the France, the Spain, the Austria of our own time, we need not say at present. It is a truth which every man may master by a little reflection, but which is seldom considered, remembered, or realized as it ought to be. Now this process, as far as it has been Divine, is to be reverenced; and the nations in which it has issued, are to be regarded as God's Ordinance, ordained for some high end. But, as in all history we observe God's Purpose and man's infirmity strangely mingled, so here, though we cannot doubt that the formation of nations each integrally independent was ordained for good, it is easy to see that of necessity it gave scope for whatever might be tending to division in the Church. And thus, other causes conspiring, did Christendom become miserably divided.

Now in such a state of affairs, although it must still have been every man's duty to be Catholic, and though the members of a really Catholic Church must have been furnished with all essential resources for being so to the salvation of their own souls, yet there cannot have been, taking the best people at their best, all the fruits of Catholicity as manifested in the whole range and tone of thought, and in all habitual sayings and doings. Men cannot have duties beyond their allotted range. And thus, miserable as is much of our English retrospect, we may console ourselves with believing that many of our fathers were better Catholics than they seem to us, or than we should be were our words and actions the same as theirs. They may not have been called on, and not very fit, to make definitions or statements of the Church or the Sacraments, and yet may have been ranging among the immunities and privileges of the one, and living on the Heavenly nourishment that flows through the other; and they may have had what we think a very narrow range and sympathy, may have spoken, and even felt about the Church as though it were limited to their own country, and been radically Catholic notwithstanding; our Catholic duties, as we have said, being determined by the precise *amount of* our practical knowledge

of men, and our range of feeling and action. He who really, and in a practical way, knows no more than three adjoining parishes, may be a good Catholic in his feeling and behaviour within them. He who has not a duty, nor even a practical thought or feeling beyond his country, may be a good Catholic within its boundaries. The day will come when the world itself shall be too little for the fellowship of the Church; when he would be a sectarian, were such a case possible, who should limit himself to our planet. If, therefore, even the elect spirits of the ages immediately preceding our own, who must of necessity have been radically Catholic, present us with many phenomena which would be unsuitable amid a generally diffused Catholicism, it is easy to see that in the absence of such, the majority must have been altogether un-Catholic. And it is equally easy to see that the state of affairs which, if it did not justify, at least in great measure accounted for, the divisions of Christendom, is passing away. The formation of Nations in Western Europe seems a completed work; our instinctive feeling is that each, be it Britain, France, or Spain, must through every vicissitude continue Britain, France, or Spain, for good or for ill. While, therefore, national development is a completed work, other processes are going on, which, drawing men together as they are doing, demand, as we have said, a Catholic Church, in order that their operation may be wholesome and blessed; and the duty of keeping this object before her is especially incumbent on England, as is indicated in a thousand ways, in the wide range of thought and feeling, in the facilities of movement, and consequent enlarged intercourse with mankind now opened to us, in our ever-increasing colonial empire, in the Missionary character which we are now bound, as we would avoid National Apostasy, to take up, and in others which cannot be dwelt on at present.

That we have good reason for believing that God is mysteriously training us for a more Catholic development than we have known for ages, and, consequently, for believing that He for His Part will not be wanting to us if we dutifully endeavour after such development, it will be the aim of the following remarks to show, by means of the argument which we announced at the outset—the confluence of People and tendencies amongst us—all bearing on this one point.

Recent disclosures would at first sight seem to assign to the great ecclesiastical movement at present in progress, the origin of a political emergency. This is the impression which is made at first, both by Mr. Perceval's and Mr. Palmer's pamphlets. On the latter, by far the most important piece of recent history which has appeared, we dwelt at length in a late number. Again, however, we must express our conviction that to ascribe the progress of Church principles to the emergency of 1833,—to represent the steady and clear proclamation of them which has ever since been *made merely* as a means of meeting that emergency, is not more

remote from the truth than from the intention of either of the writers in question. They merely tell us how the dangers of 1833 brought certain persons together, induced them to find out a line of decisive action, and at the moment when the Church seemed environed with enemies, to call renewed attention to her Divine origin and Heavenly authority. But the least consideration will suffice to show that, as the proclamation of these things could have had no virtue, had they been other than living truths of the highest concern at all times, so it could not have been made to any effect, except by men who had been long conversant with them, and had in the first instance approached them by some other road than a mere outward emergency. From which it follows, that the great advance of Church principles was a thing to be looked for anyhow, and in fact, we think it had commenced before the date, and independently of the origin, commonly assigned to it. We must now, therefore, as we have said, trace the sources from which, under God's blessing, we think it proceeded.

And the first of these that demands attention was one which proceeded directly from Him. The majority of the clergy had ever formally held the leading doctrines, from the practical consequences of which many of them now recoil. In the year 1820, it would not be too much to say that the whole body of those called the orthodox clergy, held Apostolical Succession and Baptismal Regeneration, and would not have turned away from even high statements of the grace of the Eucharist, so long as they were only brought forward to shut out the views of the Evangelical Party. Their High Church principles were held merely negatively, and, of course, coldly. They were only brought forward when needed for a purpose which one cannot much respect, and were probably seldom heard of, except in the University pulpits, and in visitation sermons. The ordinary preaching of those men bore too near a resemblance to that of the Jortins and Paleys of last century, even when not, as was very frequently the case, *identical* with it. But in the ensuing ten years a great change was taking place among this body, and serious religion becoming far more prevalent amid their ranks. They learnt, without seemingly abandoning any part of their old position, to feel the importance of the peculiarities of the Gospel *at all times;* they learnt to make the Cross of their Lord as much their watch-word as it had ever been that of their self-styled evangelical brethren. The "Dialogues on Prophecy"—a most interesting and curious record of the state of affairs at the time to which we are referring, and one which cannot be identified in any way with the clergy in question,—speaks of "the genuine piety which is rising in the High-Church party,"* and testifies to the important fact, that it was "of a more manly kind than is to be found in the ranks of Evangelicalism."† Now, if the truths previously held by those high churchmen, not perhaps altogether in unrighteousness, but yet in coldness and mere antagonism

* *Dialogues on Prophecy, vol. i. p. 361.* † Ibid.

to the inconvenient zeal of others, were the great and pregnant ones we think them, it seems to follow that it needed but the breath of a better spirit to make them start up into an activity and prominence which ought ever to have been theirs; that in the mere fact of serious and earnest Religion becoming more prevalent in connexion with them, we have a sufficient cause of the increased and increasing attention which they are commanding. Illustrations of the change to which we are referring might easily be found. The present Bishop of London may, without offence we trust, be adduced as a very prominent one; the churches under his sway supply us with another; the sermons of Mr. Le Bas and Mr. Evans, even those of Mr. Benson, will explain our meaning. Perhaps the late admirable Mr. Rose, before his entrance on the very course of action for which we are now accounting, may serve as the type of what we are referring to. He indeed was the first in our day, as far as we know, who in England called attention to the Apostolical Succession, as a truth, not of negative and antagonistic, but of positive and intrinsic importance; as one which enhanced the solemnity, while it increased the encouragement, of discharging the priestly office.

This first cause, then, may itself seem sufficient explanation of the phenomenon before us; yet it will not, we think, be unprofitable to trace the subordinate ones, which were made to conspire with this.

Obviously the state of affairs in which we of the nineteenth century find ourselves, is one which, as we have already said, gives us a much wider range both of thought and feeling than was known before, connecting us more with other countries, and opening the way for Cosmopolitanism or Catholicity, according as the spirit of Error or of Truth has possession of a man. This is effected at once by the politics and the locomotion of the time. We have come back to one of those great epochs which, whenever they occur, are portents, —epochs in which the children of men are gathered together. This portent has been thus eloquently described in connexion with another more awful subject than that which is now occupying us, though not altogether alien to it:—

"One of the most obvious" heralds of our Lord's coming "is the communication existing, and still increasing, both in extent and intensity, between all the sons of Adam, divided though they be by sea and by land, by tongues and by customs. They are again once more gathering to a common head. Even our own life-time suffices to see a manifest increase here; almost daily the widening prospect takes in at least a nook hitherto unexplored by sight; and every nook is an hour or a day embodied, as it were, and visibly taken from the delay of our Lord's coming. In looking with hope and joy on such a prospect, we cannot err; there is nothing in its widening extent which can nourish a carnal feeling; for it is obvious that such extent, if it be due to peace and commerce and goodwill amongst men, is also equally owing to wars, ruined empires, subjugated nations,— to pestilence, to famine, and the sword. Having received our sign from God, let us, like his prophets, be content with it; let us see in faithful hope the day of our Lord and be glad."*

* Evans's Church of God, pp. 94, 95.

In considering this great portent, let us at present, being unable to embrace all its features, confine ourselves to its most material, and, as many may deem it, most frivolous, one; we mean the travelling of the present day. We have never been able to join in that approved and accredited moralizing which affects partly to ridicule, partly to deplore, the extent to which our countrymen visit Southern Europe. It is easy to wax facetious upon the Cockney south of the Alps; to be humorous on his resolute demand for his beef-steak on the wildest shores of the Mediterranean; a demand which, after some experience of the facts, we pronounce to be seldom, if ever, made, the Cockney stomach being altogether ready and kindly in its reception of foreign diet; to describe the opening of bottled porter within the walls of the Coliseum,—a sight with which we are quite unable to charge our memory; or, passing from this safe and well-established sort of pleasantry, to get sentimental on a growing taste for foreign luxuries, and a growing adoption of foreign morals. Now, we are quite willing to admit that if shoals of our countrymen cross the Alps, there must be a great many who seem rather out of place in the city of Dante, or amid the sights and remembrances of Rome; many who only go to show how unsusceptible they are of the legitimate and desirable influences of such places; and not a few who have contrived only to carry back the very things which they would have been better never to have learned. We have as little mercy as anybody can have on the young gentlemen and ladies who come back from a year of Italy, feeling it next to impossible to live in England, wondering at the sluggishness of northern blood, as though any other were flowing in their own veins, and the crassitude of northern perceptions, persuaded that the arts of living, liking, and loving, exist not on this side of the Channel; and, in addition, whilst they give no symptom of anything short of perfect health, pretending to be withered by every breath of Cisalpine wind. But we submit that this is only a slight manifestation of coxcombry in persons who would be making some such at any rate, whether they had ever seen the south of Europe or not. There must alway be a certain proportion of fools in any numerous class of mankind; and travellers are by this time a sufficiently numerous class to come under this rule.

Again, we frankly admit that there are sentiments now and then expressed and felt (if there be any feeling in the matter) about Italy which amount to very bad morality; we mean such as Lord Byron announced and disseminated. Of such, it seems enough to say that they are not the natural or legitimate associations with that land, and that consequently their occasional expression cannot be fairly pressed as an argument against the practice of visiting it. As to one remaining objection to which John Bull always listens with a ready and complacent ear, and which appeals to all that is most honest and genuine about him, that travelling interferes with domestic tendencies; we may ask whether all *pleasure*, as distinguished from

happiness, does not this during its continuance? A three days' walk in Wales, or a tour to the Lakes, is not compatible with domestic life at the time we are engaged in it. A winter in Rome differs from these only in duration, and the real question is, whether such difference in duration be enough to leave behind it a permanent disrelish for domestic life. We say *no*, in the case of those who ever had a relish for it, or were not on the point of losing it at any rate. Those who make the objection would do well to ponder the fact, that the most travelling, is also the most domestic, of nations. Viewing the case with reference to those who turn the seeing of foreign lands to good use, (and what advantage or blessing is there which can be commended except with reference to such?) we say that travelling, where attainable, is a more important ingredient in the education of an Englishman, than of any other man; that our abundant means of it, seem a providentially appointed remedy for the evils otherwise incident to our island condition and character, and therefore an instrument of Catholicism. As a fact, we think that our increased intercourse with the continent has tended to promote Catholic feeling and practice among us. Of course we do not refer to any *sentimentalism* which may be brought back to England about the beauties of Romish devotion, for such we class very much with the forms of coxcombry to which we have been just referring. But thoughtful Englishmen can hardly make a long sojourn in a Roman Catholic country without discovering the existence of living piety, of real spirituality there, a fact which those who were not prepared for it, of whom there have been numbers, could not but ponder, and which could not enter into minds full of Protestant prejudices, without seriously disturbing, and at least modifying them. Further, the great fabric of the Latin Church, more especially as seen in its centre, can hardly fail to awaken important musings. So distinct, so massive, so ancient, so full of relation to the whole history of the world, so definite a triumph over the vast opposing forces, on the ruins of which it originally rose, so grand a reality in the present as well as in former days,—is it not a Kingdom indeed? And was it not this, perhaps, which the Prophets foretold, and the Baptist proclaimed, and the Apostles established, as the Kingdom of God? And if not this exclusively, nay, even if this be not in all things a worthy manifestation of it; if much of the attraction and power of this proceed from a carnal perversion of the principles and character of the Heavenly Kingdom; still, if we are to meet such attraction and power, and guard against such perversion, must it not be by seeing that we are indeed part of the Kingdom, and that we are manifesting its true principles? Thus the truth of a Kingdom of God upon rth is one which a pious and teachable mind, that has but faintly sessed it before, may well learn from the sight and contemplation Rome, awakening, as that ought to do, some such thoughts as we ve been expressing. And when this has been learnt, another sson may well follow in its train. Our own Church can only

st against Romish perversions of the truth of the Kingdom; she ot protest against Rome, in respect of the Kingdom itself, or hing she may have fairly developed out of it, any manifes- n of spirit or conduct really congenial to its principles. From she must rather be willing to learn. He who has given to member his own place and gifts, has made a similar distribution g the different branches of His Church: one makes a greater festation of one kind of virtue, or develops more successfully lass of powers and resources, than another. Each, therefore, d be willing to study and copy that in which another most s; and there is much in the Latin Church from which ours t borrow with advantage. Thus, while fortified in his Anglican ion, may our traveller be preserved from a merely Anglican ; *i. e.* may be made more of an English Catholic than before. such, we feel sure, has in fact been the influence of Rome on of the best and most dutiful children of our own Church.

rther, the effect of travelling on a thoughtful man is, we think, ve an increased reality to his mind; and Catholic sentiment must ish in an atmosphere of reality. This reality travelling produces ny ways, specially by stimulating a love for that which is the intellectual instrument of it, we mean History. Disquisition or may not be conducive to it, but *facts*, moral facts, facts con- d with social or national life and character, must be so. A his- l habit of mind forces us to look at things in their connexion the past; he to whom it belongs can never be contented with a paper constitution; things are not sure to him till they are out of the region of mere disquisition, and made external to, ndependent of, the workings of the human mind. The reli- scheme will of necessity come under this law; it will not satisfaction unless it be connected with History; unless it link th the past; unless we can feel it to be an objective reality, as the nation and the civil polity are objective realities.

e great literary revolution which has accompanied the political of the age, has been a conspiring cause, and no slight one, of urtherance of Catholicism; indeed that furtherance may be pronounced to be at once its end and justification. In the important of the works with the titles of which we have headed rticle, it is very elaborately shown how the schemes of philosophy arose in Germany during the last century, and are coming to destined sway in this, issue in a demand for a Catholic Church. uthor finds the same want expressed in the more mystical poetry followed in its train. Commending to our readers' careful atten- he interesting chapter to which we refer, we must, for the present, the large questions suggested by the subject, and confine our- s to one or two of the broader features of the literary change, as ested in England.

ere, as all the world knows, Poetry was the great agent of its plishment. Not till Wordsworth and Coleridge had wooed

their countrymen's attention by song, did the philosophy of the latter gain any ground. These two great men have, in a very remarkable way, promoted the cause of Catholicity. So important has been their influence in that direction, that the conductors of a very useful series, the Leeds Miscellany, have thought it worth while to devote a number to each, the titles and purport of which our readers will see by looking at the head of this article. Against such citations from their works we have no objection to make; they are certainly striking testimonies to a class of truths with which the public has not yet learnt to associate the two greatest minds of the age, and we therefore gladly recommend them to notice. But we shall greatly err and underrate the influence of Wordsworth and Coleridge in the direction of Catholicity, if we imagine that it principally consisted in the orthodox statements of doctrine scattered over their works, and carefully selected in the pamphlets in question. The later poems of Wordsworth contain much indeed, in this way, which it is most satisfactory to hear him saying; but full as they are of wisdom and beauty, they neither are now, nor will they hereafter be, the instruments of his sovereignty. His wizard power comes over us, when we are studying those of his poems which were written before the year 1820. It was by their means that he became a prime agent in an intellectual and moral revolution. Now these poems are less orthodox than those of his later years, and therefore of course less Catholic, as far as logical propositions, or even directly religious sentiments, are concerned. Nay, there are states of mind to which they might be dangerous, for some of them *seem* to have a Pantheistic meaning. Yet on the whole, it is by means of them that Wordsworth has forwarded the cause of Catholicity, rather than by the more strictly religious of his compositions. They are deep expressions of a longing after something truer and better than the intellectual food on which England was regaling at the time; passionate complaints of the hollowness of her worldly and Mammon-worshipping condition; great assertions in one form, of the principle that "man doth not live by bread alone." To come to particulars, their spirit is that of Humanity; or a deep, reverent interest in all that appertains to Man, when every conventional distinction is laid aside. Now, if the Church be the great human society, the brotherhood of Mankind, the society that looks at Man simply as Man, and proposes to itself, not the cultivation of anything conventional or accidental, but of the essential Manhood of her members, it is easy to see that transcendent poetry, animated by such a spirit as we have ascribed to Wordsworth's earlier poems, will do more in awakening Catholic desires, thoughts, and sentiments, than poetry, however beautiful, of inferior pitch, but more directly concerned with Catholic doctrine or practice. For example, such lines as those from the Old Cumberland Beggar—

> "———Many, I believe, there are,
> Who live a life of virtuous decency:
> Men who can hear the Decalogue, and feel

No self-reproach; who of the moral law
Established in the land where they abide,
Are strict observers; and not negligent
In acts of love to those with whom they dwell,
Their kindred, and the children of their blood.
Praise be to such, and to their slumbers peace!
But of the poor man ask, the abject poor;
Go and demand of him, if there be here,
In this cold abstinence from evil deeds,
And these inevitable charities,
Wherewith to satisfy the human soul?
No—man is dear to man; the poorest poor
Long for some moments in a weary life,
When they can know and feel that they have been
Themselves the fathers and the dealers out
Of some small blessings; have been kind to such
As needed kindness, for this single cause,
That we have all of us one human heart"—

nd no less than impassioned as they are, produce sentiments rise up at the assertion of a Catholic Church, and respond to a glad welcome.

ain, that seemingly Pantheistic element to which we have d in Wordsworth's earlier poems, that idolatry of Nature we have admitted to be capable of mischief to many minds, is iewed under more favourable aspects, without its bearing on licity; for, however wrong it may be to set up external re as an object of worship, yet that earnest and reverential ny into its character, that wistful search into its hidden mean- of which Wordsworth has set the example, are surely due to the work of God, as "the shadow of His might," the result of idea. And such a faith as that the world around us cannot be matter, or a mere combination of mechanical forces, that it is erfully adjusted to the world of mind, and full of fruitful ings, tends obviously to prepare him, of whom it has taken full ssion, for the Catholic doctrine of sacraments, and for the nental scheme of thought. It leads people not to scorn and the visible as unspiritual, but to revere and cherish it *because spiritual.* Thus beautifully has our great poet done his part in dvance of good; thus, without quitting his appointed post, ut merging the poet in the dogmatist, has he gently led us on a state of Conventionality, Caste, and Selfishness, to one that st asks for Reality, Humanity, and Brotherhood.

he poetry of Coleridge, though exceedingly different in its cter, has had, as far as it has gone, precisely the same sort of ence as Wordsworth's. "Beautiful exceedingly," however, gh it be, there is much less of it than there is of Wordsworth's, it is much the least part of Coleridge. It is through his that this latter has shaped the thoughts of more choice and st minds than any other man of his time; and however people differ in their precise estimate of him, few will now deny that fluence has seldom, *if ever, been unfavourable.* Of him indeed

one knows not what to say. Such a combination of magnificent strength and deplorable weakness the world perhaps never saw. But with the latter, surely we, his survivors, have nothing to do; nor have we much patience with those gentlemen who every now and then show off some detached piece of learning, which may enable them to add one humbling fact more to those which we already knew of the mighty departed, and which, taken at its worst, can hardly fail to come under the law which we had long learned to apply to the similar ones that we knew before. *Requiescat in pace.* Enough for us now to know and be thankful that the richest gifts bestowed on any man of this age were used to the glory of God, and the illustration of His Eternal Truth, and to trace, as we are now trying to do, the services he has rendered to the cause of Catholicity.

Coleridge differed from Wordsworth in exercising a directly theological influence. In addition to all his other faculties and functions, he was a divine; a deeply read, and we need scarcely say, a profound and earnest one. It will therefore be important, not merely to see how great, like Wordsworth, has been his indirect influence, but to show that as a theologian he was actually orthodox and Catholic. But before doing so, let us look at the results of such parts of his labours as were not actually theological.

Such of his prose works divide themselves into two classes—those designed to introduce into England and establish the transcendental metaphysics, and those illustrative of the English constitution. These classes are not to be found in distinct works, but in different parts of the same, and often they interpenetrate so as to render material separation impossible.

The devotees of German metaphysics consider Coleridge as having gone no further than their portal, and, we believe, as not having very accurately understood even the prospect open to him there. This is probable enough, for we think that he scarcely ever looked into them except with English eyes, or applied them otherwise than for English purposes. We mean that he saw in the Kantian Philosophy one great truth, the practical application of which would illustrate every English inquiry, remove every English perplexity, clear English doubts, and re-establish English faith. The distinction between the Reason and the Understanding was welcomed by him as a theological acquisition, and applied to theological ends. We do not think he would otherwise have succeeded in impressing his countrymen with its importance, or in calling any considerable amount of attention to it. Such importance however he has impressed us with, such attention to it he has procured, and whether or not we be led to investigate it more accurately than he, or whatever modifications of his claims to originality in expounding it an acquaintance with German Philosophy may lead us to make, it remains true that a principle has been widely circulated among us by him, which not only in its application to Theology, but even in its intrinsic character, has a necessary tendency to ripen the minds which

embrace it for the reception of Catholic truth. We say in its intrinsic character, for Mr. Maurice has shown in a very elaborate argument that the Kantian doctrine of the Reason, followed up to its legitimate conclusion, must issue in that same demand for a Catholic Church and Faith to which every thing vital and energetic in the present age is conspiring. It is enough for our present purpose to say, that whatever points to that which is common to Humanity, instead of leaving men to fancy themselves as apart from each other as they seem various; whatever lays greater stress on such common element than on the points of diversity between man and man, or race and race; whatever finds the true dignity and blessedness of Man in the development of such a common element, must pave the way for the assertion of a Catholic Church. This is done by the transcendental doctrine of the Reason; and therefore the wide dissemination of that doctrine through Coleridge's instrumentality, to say nothing at present of the subjects to which he applied it, was one among the many influences put forth among us for the furtherance of that mighty end.

We need not dwell long on Coleridge's political writings. In as far as they taught us to revere the past, the traditionary, the authoritative, —to retain and cherish ancient ordinances,—to look with awe on the mysteries of a nation's life; in as far, in short, as they taught us not to make our own conceptions the measure of right public conduct, and to see the spiritual in a nation's organization, in so far they must have been influences favourable to Catholic sentiment in a way too obvious to require illustration here.

It remains, then, that we look at Coleridge as a theologian. In this capacity few things were more conspicuous about him than his rare love of Truth. He pursued a study, which, beyond all others, is beset by the snare of partizanship with the most entire freedom from anything of the sort. He never can be caught special-pleading. His faith in Truth, in the certainty that nothing was better than Truth, that no dread of consequences could make it other than a crime to pervert or hide it, preserved him from such an evil. Hence his writings are continually baulking the spirit of partizanship. Hence much was admitted into his mind in the way of inquiry, which one would be sorry to think of as established there, to which fainter spirits, we do not say unwisely, give no entrance into theirs, and which, indeed, required a large influence of the Spirit of Truth to hinder from operating unwholesomely. We frankly admit there being things in his writings neither reverent nor safe, but it must be considered that they occur in the volumes of his Literary Remains, which are almost entirely collected from his copious pencillings on the margins of books, recording feelings and surmises to which we have no right to suppose that he would have deliberately adhered, or that he would ever have addressed in his own name to the public. They are very valuable when read with this caution, very injurious to his memory if read without it, but taken

at their worst, not absolutely incompatible with the Catholic Faith, admitted, as they were, into the mind of one who does not seem ever to have *preached* them to others.

When we come to Coleridge's deliberate writings, we find, as we might have expected, that his transcendental metaphysics reconcile him to mystery in religion, and lead him to enforce such reconciliation on others. But further, his orthodoxy on the subject of the Trinity is conspicuous in all his works, and we know in what high favour with him were both Bull and Waterland. Our own pages this month show how well he understood the relative functions of Scripture and the Church; and the mock superstitious reverence which the religionists of the present time pay to the former, he has elsewhere denoted by the happy term, *Bibliolatry*. The Leeds Miscellany likewise contains some important citations from his works on this subject.

On the subject of Sacramental Grace, indeed, a beginner in Coleridge will encounter some variety of statement. The doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is expressly denied in the Aids to Reflection; but it is denied on grounds which show that he did not then understand what was meant by it. Indeed, the whole discussion on Baptism in the work in question, is more unsatisfactory than any other dissertation in all Coleridge's writings. But his views on this subject seem to have greatly risen afterwards, as must be inferred from his beautiful letter to his godchild,—perhaps the most admirable statement of Baptismal benefit to be met with out of Holy Scripture. But whatever might be his views of Baptism, he seems to have long upheld the high doctrine of the other Sacrament. We know his assertion, that Arnauld's great work on this subject was "irresistible against the Sacramentaries;" and such testimonies as his against low views of the Eucharist are especially valuable, since not even the *Record* could succeed in connecting him either with the Oxford school or with the ordinary race of High Churchmen. But of far more consequence than this, is his discussion on the Grace of the Eucharist towards the end of the "Aids to Reflection." Perhaps nothing in the whole compass of English theology has thrown so much illustration on a subject, which may, though one cannot but hope and pray that so great a calamity be averted, become the battlefield of Catholicity in this Church and Kingdom.*

Such potent influences conspiring with those more direct ones to which we have already referred, were well calculated to introduce

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* We have confined our remarks on the influence of contemporary literature, to Wordsworth and Coleridge, because round them has centred the whole intellectual evolution which this century has witnessed in England; and whatever literary influence has contributed to Catholicity will come, we think, under the considerations which we have connected with those two great men. More than enough in this way, has, we think, been elsewhere attributed to Scott. Beyond stimulating a taste for what was picturesque in the middle ages, we have never been able to see wherein he has been an especial instrument of Catholicity. There was nothing very earnest or wistful in his cast of thought; he has therefore been popular rather

Catholic thought among us; and no one who knows what was going on fourteen or fifteen years ago in Cambridge will doubt that the phenomenon must have appeared in the Church somehow or other, even though no Tracts for the Times had issued from Oxford, or though that university had been the scene of no combined exertion in furtherance of a theological movement. Those tracts and that exertion never could have told as they have done, were the case otherwise.

It may therefore be worth while to point out a little of the Catholic thinking which has been exhibited before, or altogether independent of, the Oxford school. The students of Prophecy, of whom we heard so much some years ago, were very often led to High-Church doctrines, partly from a growing sense of the rottenness of their self-styled Evangelical adversaries; partly doubtless from getting possessed with the thought of a Kingdom of God as the great end of the Gospel, to which even the salvation of individuals is subordinate; partly from being led to feel that the notion of "the Church's expectation" involves the notion of a Church to expect; partly from becoming more occupied with the Person of our Lord, than the most zealous religionists of the time immediately preceding. This tendency to Catholicism became very apparent, indeed, in the body of Irvingites, who we believe have now developed the true scheme of the Church in great perfection, but with this one fatal draw-back, that it is but the scheme, and not at all the reality.* But they belong not to our present inquiry, which relates only to Churchmen. Among many proofs of their minds being led, through the study of Prophecy, to orthodox and Catholic doctrine, we may adduce a book not nearly so well known as it deserves to be, entitled Letters on National Religion, by the Rev. C. Smith. This issued from the university of Cambridge, in the year 1832; and though disfigured by much eccentricity of style, and not a little of thought, and though containing some judgments on matters through which we cannot but think the author did not then see his way, bears the Catholic stamp deeply imprinted, and it is well worth reading as one of the most thoughtful and original dissertations on its subject which we possess.

Leaving the Millennarian school, we come to a writer who rose into conspicuous notice before an Oxford Tract was written, or the members of the Oxford school were brought together. It may seem

than adored; his influence has been wide, but not deep or potent. Still that influence, such as it was, was in the same direction as the others, by reason of the one circumstance to which we have alluded, combined with the fact that historical romances, if read with delight, strengthen a taste for History, which we have already pronounced to be a great ally of Catholicity. Before bidding adieu to the subject of Coleridge, let us call attention to the gratifying fact, that a son of his is now placed at the head of an institution, from which we hope for greater things in the direction of English Catholicity than from any other single influence at present in operation.

* The present Irvingites, dating it from a new Pentecost in which they unhappily believe, hold concerning their own body, all that Catholics, dating it from the true Pentecost, hold concerning the Church.

startling after to say that Mr. Evans's writings have not yet received either the praise or the attention which are their due; but so we think it is. Books may be very popular without being appreciated, for the public mind may misconceive their true excellence. Were we to ask people generally what is the character of Mr. Evans as a writer, from nine out of ten we should probably hear that he was an amiable sentimentalist; because the Rectory of Valehead is a sentimental book, and because, in addition thereto, he has written some tales, and indulged rather more of his fancy than is very desirable respecting the possible feelings and circumstances at certain times and conjunctures of some of the personages whose biographies he has undertaken. Granting all this, we say that sentiment though the most obvious, is no more the principal, than it is the most valuable, characteristic of the Rectory of Valehead. We consider it a hard thinking book. It is far more a treatise than a tale. The author had caught hold of a great principle, of which this little book is the exposition—the relation of the Family to the Church. Beautifully and profoundly does he trace the Divine principle of union, given to counteract Satan's work of discord, through its successive and ever-widening spheres, of family, diocese, and nation, up to the universal Church; and most practically wise are the canons and usages of the ideal family which he sets before us, not as an example to be followed to the letter, which might be often impossible, but as an image of what the Family is in the Church. And this leads us to observe, that such a method as is here pursued has been by far too much neglected by most modern writers on the Church. All the argument, and all the authority in the world, will be apt to fall dead on many minds, who might hail with delight a teacher who should point out to them that religion is an essentially social principle, and that just what a family is for our secularly childish training, is the Church for that of our spiritual childhood.

But the Rectory of Valehead was but the prelude to a far more elaborate work, which must always be a standard one in English Divinity. The Church of God is a treatise on the subject, than which our language contains few more philosophical or profoundly thought out. Without any parade, it is obviously the result, of much ripe learning; it is saturated with the sentiment and spirit of sacred Antiquity, and unites severe reasoning with the liveliest illustration, and the most glowing eloquence. We do not believe that it has been at all read in proportion to its deserts; but much of it was delivered from the university pulpit, to breathless audiences; and when we remember how young and old flocked to St. Mary's, to hear Mr. Evans, whenever he filled the post of select preacher, it becomes impossible to doubt that by him much Catholic seed has been sown.

Although its author is not merely numbered, but has long held, a foremost place among the Oxford school, we may consider the Christian Year as having exercised an influence, not merely anterior to, but independent of, it. And to those who fancy that

startles them in the Oxford Theology is all owing to inflamed
s, rapidly catching each other's infection; who conceive that
rs. Keble, Newman, and Pusey, have each been rapidly hurried
the others; it seems a sufficient answer to refer to that little
ne of poetry which came out in the year 1826, and will be found
amination to enunciate or imply nearly every important feature
hat can fairly be called the Divinity of the Oxford Tracts.
, we cannot think that the great hold which the Christian
took on the public mind, is to be attributed to a mere senti-
al fancy for religious verses; for its obscurity, the difficulty
lelicacy of most of its thoughts, and the depth of its Theology,
have seriously stood in the way of any such influence. Its
g been then so gladly received and cherished, surely indicates
having been abundant capacities of entering into its spirit.
ever ill-defined might be the doctrines avowed by many of its
rs, they could hardly have loved the book, without some relish
hat true and healthy form of Religion whereof it is an em-
nent.

'e need not do more than refer to the correspondence of Bishop
and Alexander Knox, and the posthumous works of the latter,
hey obviously bear on our argument; such Catholic results as
arrived at having been reached, not only independently of the
rd school, but of any living one, by mental processes rather
the sympathies and contagions which accompany outward action,
e dependence of juniors on their seniors and superiors. It is
while also to remind our readers of the time when Mr. Knox's
and thoughts were first made publicly known: how completely
contributed to obtain for them a hearing, and invest them with
terest, which might not have been their fate had they been
r known; and how completely, too, being the hour of need, it
ght the great subjects of Church Communion and Sacramental
e before readers who might not then have come in contact with,
ight have turned away from, the Oxford writings. Of course
re speaking merely of those points wherein Mr. Knox was
olic, there being others on which his claim to the title will be
y denied by some, and questioned by many more.

it we must now come to a work far more remarkable than any,
f Coleridge, which has yet been occupying us. Mr. Maurice's
dom of Christ is perhaps one of the greatest treasures of the
So few are competent to read it, and so few even of those
ious enough for the purpose, that many may think, that, with
s value, it can scarcely serve the present argument, or be
n of as an illustration of the many lines which are now con-
ng to the one focus of Catholicity. But such a book can
be still-born; there are minds of which it must take a mighty
ssion—which it must greatly mould—and who will work as
alous interpreters to the many whose reasoning powers are
nexercised to receive such a banquet of pure concentrated

thought. Now, Mr. Maurice is a witness for, and propagator of, Catholicity, notoriously independent of the Oxford school. It would be saying more than could by possibility be true, to allege that, being their contemporary, and with such a mind as his, he had not come in contact with their thoughts, or in anything been influenced by them. But the traces of either are astonishingly slight, considering all the circumstances, and the identity of most of their general conclusions. He may, therefore, be cited as an independent witness, the more so that in spite of the identity of general doctrine, to which we have just referred, there are some far from unimportant points of diversity between him and the Oxford divines, and still more perhaps of difference in temper, spirit, and mode of looking at facts and events. With these, however, we are in no way concerned at present, our wish just now being to show how, independently of the Oxford writings, and by different methods and processes, Mr. Maurice arrives at the doctrine of a Catholic Church, set up in the world as a visible polity, organized by an apostolical priesthood, developed in sacraments, holding one unchangeable creed, by fellowship with which we join in the eternal fellowship of the blessed, by separation from which we separate ourselves from the promises of God.

It would be quite impossible at the end, or even within the compass of, an article, to give any worthy account of a work, which, however else it may be estimated, must be admitted by all who know it, to be vaster in its scope than any of the present day, and to carry the reader over a much greater variety of ground. We must, therefore, content ourselves with endeavouring to point out the diversity of method between Mr. Maurice and his contemporaries, in arriving at what we will call the doctrine of the Church. We may view it as the inductive or *à posteriori*, in opposition to what may perhaps be called the *à priori* method. By the latter we designate such a process as the following:—

When we look into the primitive, and as such, the true, form of Christianity, we find that it was a visible and organized polity—a polity designed to be universal—a polity founded and arranged by the Apostles, from whom alone the right to bear office in it was held to come. This was the Catholic Church, and as unbounded duration in Time was one of its characteristics, as well as extension in Space, it must still be to be found now. Where, however, can it be, except in those bodies which continue to hold the original faith, and have carefully preserved the derivation from the Apostles? This, which is the method of the Oxford Tracts, and perhaps that of High-Church writers generally, we have called the *à priori* one, as interpreting present facts by an antecedent principle (though, of course, that principle is gained inductively), rather than arriving at such principle by the investigation of present facts.—Their argument comes to this,—there must be a Catholic Church now, because Christianity at the beginning came in the form of, and was altogether bound up with, a Catholic Church.

Mr. Maurice's is the latter or inductive method. He surveys all the mental and moral facts around him, and finds this common element in them all, whether they be facts of Religion, or of Philosophy, or of Politics; that they have all issued, however unconsciously on the part of such as exhibit them, in a demand for an universal constitution,—a constitution for Man as Man,—a constitution, moreover, which while it must be distinct, must be spiritual also. He then looks into early ages, and sees that the nation which confessedly was under a spiritual education, was carefully trained to cherish the thought of precisely such an universal constitution. Returning to the present, he asks whether there be any signs in the world of such a constitution, and he finds two Sacraments that originated from the very beginning of what was regarded by those who first solemnized them as an Heavenly Kingdom; one Creed, though embodied in more than one formula; one Divine volume as a storehouse of teaching; and one Apostolical ministry to expound that volume, guard that creed, and dispense those sacraments. Every one of these features has universality stamped upon it, is adapted to Humanity as such, can enter into every accidental phase of that Humanity, mingle with every local variety of constitution or usage, and remain the while essentially unchanged. Is not this, then, the Catholic Church in which all these excellences are combined, and is not this Catholic Church that which satisfies what we have seen to be alike the craving of our religionists, our philosophers, and our politicians?

Now, of course, each of these methods has its especial advantages; neither can say to the other, "I have no need of thee;" nor is there any reason why an individual inquirer should not avail himself of both. Mr. Maurice obviously presumes the investigations and their results of the *à priori* reasoners: at the same time his plan has these advantages, that it looks at present facts more unflinchingly than theirs; that it starts with sympathy with all that is around him; and that it furnishes us with a better clue to distinguish between what was accidental and ephemeral, and what essential and to endure, in the phenomena of the apostolical age.

Having placed the second edition of the Kingdom of Christ at the head of our article, we are bound, as reviewers, to tell our readers who may be in possession of the first, that on the one hand they need not dread finding the value of that first superseded by the appearance of *a new and improved edition;* on the other, that they will be mistaken if they imagine that having read the first, they can have little occasion for the second. In truth, what Mr. Maurice has called two editions, we call two separate works—on the same subject indeed, and by the same hand, but still distinct, and each well worth being read by him who has mastered the other. What the second has lost in respect of the liveliness which belonged to the epistolary form of the first, of the allusions to co-temporary facts and persons which ran through it, and many passages of most thrilling eloquence, it has gained in system and completeness, in purity and

accuracy of style, in the absence of any personal asperity, and in the accession of much valuable matter.

We have now, as far as our necessary limits would permit, completed our view of the strange gathering together of various forces upon one point which is characteristic of our day. Many, many others might be added; the experience of each individual who recalls the recent past, may throw its own tinge, and introduce its own groups, into the picture. We might have dwelt, too, on the sterner teaching which is conveying the same lesson; the way in which our thoughts are carried to a Catholic Church, from ever multiplying experience of the vanity of all else, from the distress and perplexity, the fainting, weary vanity into which men's forgetfulness and abandonment of it have brought them. But we have said enough to suggest what we mean.

Neither have we dwelt on the piety, and zeal, and labours of some who held and proclaimed Catholic principles in the worst of times; and who are now enabled to breathe a freer air, and range amid more extended sympathies than were vouchsafed to them at the beginning of their course. Their names and their case are equally obvious; nor do they bear directly on our present argument, which has related rather to the thoughts awakened, the spirits evoked, the tendencies determined in the present age. Whereas such men as Dr. Hook and Mr. Churton, though most honoured and effective instruments in promoting the present revival of Catholic feeling and practice, constitute a different, but in its place very forcible, argument for the depth and value of their principles. They can testify to having *received* them from a former generation; they are *witnesses* to no mean or worthless fact,—the fact, that neither such principles, nor their realization in practice, can be stigmatized as new. On this fact we may have more to say hereafter. It would be a delightful, and we are sure a very practicable, task to show that our Church possesses an unbroken succession, not merely of Apostolical ordination, but of Apostolical sentiment, and that, like the shadowy creation of romance, she has been begirt with a sacred girdle, which, though it has at times seemed to wax fainter and fainter, has never been dissolved, and has now again enlarged its breadth, the omen of coming spiritual prosperity.

We have written, be it observed, to exhibit signs of Hope, not to lay grounds of satisfaction. The latter spirit we deprecate as strongly as we implore the cultivation of the former. Far be it from us to say that things are right as they are. Surely we, who have ever protested against setting up any past age of the Church as an ideal, would be most inconsistent were we to try and do that for the present one. If we have warned men against such an idolatry of the beautiful and venerable Past, mellowed by time and distance, with all that must have been base and earthly removed into the back-ground, and the great Images of Holiness and Heroism standing out in full relief and unsoiled purity; surely we shall not encourage an idolatry of the Present, where

y and earthliness are near and around whatever that is fair, re, and lovely, and of good report may be contained in it where we see the good in all the imperfection which must rise the *progress of* their course, and the bad in all the deformity spicuous and unsoftened intrusion. No; at no time must the , any more than her individual children, count herself to have nded: she must *press forward*, and woe to the man who fain make her loiter! Woe to the man who cannot part with ling of comfort in the mere present organization around him; the man who cannot bear the thought of movement, and is by the Heavenward progress of the Church! Woe to the ho says, who dares to say, that *things are well as they are!* ould endeavour to say from our hearts, God speed the move- o something higher, and better, and more Catholic! And we couraged to believe that He will speed it from a conviction is His own cause, and from the phenomenon which has been ring our attention,—itself the most encouraging of all signs. ne scanty rivulet alone, but the waters from a thousand springs l rushing forward to the same mighty sea; and for the most ach new sweep in their course is bringing them nearer to each as well as to their common goal. Having such a sign, we can with high heart and hope; we can bear with much that seems ary and discouraging,—with the opposing forces of this world, eir energy but manifests the rightfulness of our cause,—with ndiscretion, the eccentricity, the perversity of some who might wise serve us well, for such things are in their very nature neral,—yea, even with the uneasiness and temporary alienation g many of the truly good, for that, calamitous though it be, ot be more than temporary, can proceed but from misap- ension, and will vanish under the hand of Time the gradual htener, of Providence making all things work together for good, Divine Grace, the increasing sway of which ever brings and s its subjects into one.

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shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England? y James Craigie Robertson, M. A. of Trinity College, mbridge, Curate of Boxley. London: William Pickering, p. 190.

shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England? surely a question of great importance in itself to every Anglican rchman; and one of especial interest at the present time, when e is scarcely a possible form that it could assume, in which it is suggested to us, and scarcely a degree of importance derived

from the authority or lack of authority of those who discuss it, with which the answer is not from time to time invested. For good or for ill; to direct his own conduct, or to cavil at that of his neighbours; in humility or in self-conceit, every one is asking this question. The ladies of Mr. Such-an-one's congregation: the five travellers with whom one happens to make a sixth on the railway: the "Record," and the "Christian Remembrancer," the clergy at visitation, from the deacon who seizes the auspicious moment to ask the question of his elder brethren, to the ordinary who speaks with authority from his chair: churchmen and dissenters:* men, women, and children,—all echo the question, and almost all answer it apparently to their own satisfaction, "How shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?" The subjects under discussion are somewhat different, but for the obtrusiveness of ill-assorted controversialists, it is much as it was when

> "The oyster-women lock'd their fish up,
> And trudg'd away to cry, 'No Bishop.'
> The mouse-trap men laid save-alls by,
> And 'gainst evil counsellors did cry;
> Botchers left old clothes in the lurch,
> And fell to turn and patch the church;
> Some cried the covenant, instead
> Of pudding-pies, and gingerbread;
> And some for brooms, old boots and shoes,
> Bawl'd out to purge the Common House;
> Instead of kitchen-stuff some cry,
> A Gospel-preaching ministry;
> And some for old suits, coats, or cloak,
> No surplices nor service-book;—
> A strange harmonious inclination
> Of all degrees to Reformation."

It is far from our wish to deny that while what is seen upon the surface is overcharged with uncharitableness, presumption, and meddlesome impertinence, there is on both sides an undercurrent of earnestness and sincerity: indeed it is the reality of these higher principles, which has called this mere bustle and obtrusion into activity, and irritated the self-conceit and uncharitableness into malignity; but who is there that does not feel ashamed for his kind, when he sees how mixed a medley of passions are ever ready to be excited by controversies upon the most grave and solemn subjects?

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* The interference of dissenters with questions which cannot concern them, but which they are too ready to use as occasions of sowing or irritating discord in the Church, must have been observed by every one who watches the signs of the times. If an unhappy young clergyman, with half a dozen of the more humble and reverent of his flock, have scandalized the rest of the congregation, by bowing at the name of JESUS, or turning to the East at the Creed,—by "nodding of heads, and whirling about till their noses stand eastward," as Peter Smart, one of the great persecutors of Bishop Cosin calls it,—or by any other equal enormities, the dissenters of the parish, and the "organ" of the dissenters in the next county town, are sure to be among the *first and the loudest* in discussing the delinquency and condemning the criminal. *This may be wise* warfare, but it is not Christian peace and love.

ıd yet the question must be asked, and that not only by the
but by the laity also. The laity are too apt to forget, and
ps the clergy are not careful enough to remind them, that the
:h is not a hierarchy only, but that the laity are as essential a
in its constitution, as living and active a part in its faith and
ances, as the clergy. We fear that in nine cases out of ten the
ın asks the question, "How shall we conform?" only to find
ion of praise or blame to his pastor; forgetting that it has really
ıswer to himself, involving conduct and duty, to which he ought
of all to listen. If the priest were absolutely perfect in his
ence and in the spirit of his obedience, yet his Church could
present a fair picture of what our Liturgy requires, so long as
e people, or the greater part of them, are careless or rebellious.
more than this, the priest cannot, in all points, conform even
nally, without the concurrence of the people. He cannot, for
ıce, "openly in the church instruct and examine so many
ren of his parish, sent unto him, as he shall think convenient,"
s "all fathers, mothers, masters, and dames shall cause their
ren, servants, and apprentices, to come to the church at the
appointed, &c.!" * He may admonish the people "that it is
convenient that Baptism should not be administered but upon
ays, and other Holy-days, when the most number of people
together, that the congregation then present may testify the
ving of them that be newly baptized into the number of
t's Church;" but unless "the godfathers and godmothers, and
eople with the children be ready at the font" at the appointed
he cannot obey the rubrics by which he is bound, in fact and in
ience, in "the ministration of public baptism of infants to be
in Church." And so in many other cases. The people also
conform, or the priest is driven to inconformity,—how sorely
r against his will. Surely, then, there ought to be more
athy between priest and people on this question than one
ally sees; and if it be right enough that a jealousy on the part
e laity should prevent the possibility of their being "brought
bondage" of obsolete, new-fangled, or superstitious usages; it
ually just that the clergy should not be forced into bondage to
ken law, by the carelessness or superstition of those who will not
them their share of obedience. "It is impossible but that
ces will come, but wo unto that man through whom the offence
th!"—a denunciation which is ready enough upon the lips of
who cry out conscience against an ordinance *observed;* but
ı is surely rather to be directed against those who are the cause
ordinance being disobeyed,—to the wounding of his conscience—
ıe who would obey it most readily, if he were but permitted by
on whom it is in fact as binding as on himself.
ow, these remarks, of course, are not intended to set the ques-

* Rubrics 1 and 2, after the Church Catechism.

tion, "How to conform?" at rest, either by answering or by checking the inquiry; but, indirectly, the principle on which they are founded would tend, if (which, alas! is but too improbable,) they might but be accepted as a practical lesson by those whom they most concern, to hasten the time at which the question shall be settled, and to smooth the controversy through which the answer may be attained. Moreover, if the great body of the Church, clergy and laity, would act on such principles, and make them the rule of their judgment, the answer would perhaps be different from what it may by possibility become in the present state of feeling. If we seek a high standard, it must be by high aspirations, and in meekness and love, or we shall assuredly seek it in vain. If the standard which the Church proposes to herself in the Liturgy be above and beyond any we have yet attained to,—and none can gravely deny that it is,—we must not think to raise ourselves up to it by descending to low, uncharitable, rebellious, self-willed conduct. If we would attain to uniformity, and that which is the soul of uniformity, truth, and love, it must be by exertions which have truth as their object, and charity as their measure. Truth may be the result of conflicting arguments, but those arguments must have truth for their object, not victory;—still less, hatred and partizanship. No; let us, if it be possible, draw together, not in opinions, perhaps, at first, that will come;—not in external observances, for the present we are not worthy so much as to seem united;—but let us have one aim towards which we would work;—obedience. If we could all alike, clergy and laity, of one party or another, seek this in sincerity, the question, "*How shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?*" would not be far from its solution.

But why is the question difficult? Is there not a written form, and rubrics, to direct the minister and the congregation in almost every minute point? Are these so vague in their meaning, or so inconsistent one with another, or so insufficient in number and exactness, that the question is rendered necessary by their defect? Whether or not there is any such defect, it certainly is not from thence that the question actually arises. It is not the doubtfulness of laws, but the differences of preconceived opinions, and the diversities of temper, that occasion questions and disputings; and where there are those differences, just in proportion to the authority of the law, and without the smallest reference to its perfection or plainness—will be the questions arising out of it. *Because* it is of paramount authority in its own sphere, an act of parliament affords matter of discussion to a thousand lawyers, and it may be for as many years. *Because* the vow of obedience is on him, and the stringency of the law ought not to be denied, the rubrics are not simply accepted or rejected, but submitted to processes of interpretation; and canons and injunctions are explained, or explained away, or modified in a thousand different ways. Not the very highest authority can rescue its behests from this *treatment*. We revenge ourselves on the authority which we must

admit, by questioning the meaning or the application of its requirements; and so, under the form and pretence of a more cautious obedience, render the greatest homage after all to ourselves. Thus it is with the Word of God;—and if the source of all authority is thus treated, what can any subordinate authority expect. All men admit the authority of the sacred Scriptures, yet each understands them according to his own bias. It follows of necessity that some at least reject *the thing revealed*, while they reverence *the words of the revelation*, and adore the Allwise and Almighty Lord God, who thus speaks His will to man. The true qualification for a right understanding and obedience in all these cases is moral and not intellectual. *The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him: Love is the fulfilling of the law.*

Hence, then, the question proposed by Mr. Robertson, is a moral question, as well as a question of the authority and interpretation of our Liturgy; and without assuming, for the present, on which side the ritual itself should be ranged,—on the side of ceremonies instinct with life and truth,* or of a cold and puritanical meagreness, misnamed simplicity,—this at least we may assume; that its worthiest and most successful expounder will be the man who most feels with its spirit. Even *opinion* is less important here than *feeling*; the two may be opposed, and if *opinion* be right and *feeling* wrong, the practical result will follow the worse guide. The question proposed may be, "How shall we conform?" The *opinion* may be *by a more literal and strict obedience*, yet the *feeling* may be, *by submission to the prevailing customs of the day:* and then the question may as well have been, "How shall we excuse inconformity?"

We do not mean to insinuate that he is conscious of it, but we do mean to assert, and we shall prove it, that this is very much the case with Mr. Robertson in the book before us. His question is one worthy of most diligent attention. His *opinions* of what is right are, perhaps, more frequently than not, on the side of obedience; but his *feeling* is singularly against conformity, in the only sense in which the word is not a mere quibble: the consequence is, that while he has collected authorities with some care, which may be very useful in other hands on the right side of the argument, the practical result of his work on the reader's mind is sadly against obedience to the ritual of the Church. We shall exemplify this incongruity by following Mr. Robertson through part of his argument.

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* But there would seem to be little difficulty in deciding on which side the Anglican Church would rank herself, since, in the account "of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained," by way of apology for the disuse of some, she says that the gospel is "content only with those ceremonies which do serve to a decent order of godly discipline, and such as be apt to stir up the dull minds of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified." And again; giving the reason for retaining others: "They be neither dark nor dumb ceremonies, but are so set forth that every man may understand what they do mean." It may be worth noting, that this article is in both the prayer-books of Edward VI., as well as in the present book.

In his introduction he thus states his view of "our engagements," and evidently believes that he is about to support his view through the following pages.

"That the Book of Common Prayer expresses, what is for the present the ideal of the Anglican system, rather than any thing which has been generally realized; that, while a conscientious clergyman will strive after the realizing of it, he is not bound to put every thing in practice at once, if there be difficulties in the way from the circumstances of the time, from prevailing notions and tempers, but is at liberty to go to work gradually and cautiously; and, that those who are over us in the Lord, *have* an authority (different, it is conceived, from that contemplated in the last charge,* but yet)—sufficient to warrant us in any such variations as do not contradict the spirit of the Prayer Book, and proceed, not from any unwillingness to conform, but from a desire to work prudently and effectually towards a conformity entire, general, and lasting."—P. 9.

How thankful should we be to any one who would really lead us to this conclusion, in such a way that our hearts might be warmed towards it, and our arm nerved for it as we went along. How just a thought, how full of the occasions of energy and courage:—that the Book of Common Prayer expresses an *ideal* towards which we may and should strive; one which, even to the framers of it, was only an *ideal*,—for the present distant, yet still to be reached after; so that their imperfection, the discrepancy, if there were any, or rather the disparity between the liturgy and their ministrations, should not teach us to sit still as being no worse, no less consistent than they; but should animate us with the thought that we are one with them in a struggle. And yet even that *ideal*, much as it was beyond their reach, and our endeavours, though we ought to have been striving for it these three hundred years, was even as an *ideal* only *for the present*.† A better and brighter was, and is beyond. Let us at least labour to attain "a conformity *entire* and *general*" to the *interim*, if we may so call it for argument's sake; which is only not permanent because it is to be perfected into, not superseded

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* The Charge of the Bishop of Worcester, in which his lordship, with the greatest tenderness for the parochial clergy, takes all the burden of inconformity upon his own order; and in which he says, among other things of the like tendency, "when you sign a declaration that you will conform to the Book of Common Prayer, and to every thing contained therein, you bind yourselves to use in general that form—rather than the Missal of the Roman Catholics on the one hand, or the Directory of the Puritans on the other; and not that you will with more than Chinese exactness make a point of conscience to adopt every expression, and implicitly to follow every direction therein contained, notwithstanding any changes which altered habits of life, or altered modes of thinking may have rendered expedient."

† We subjoin Mr. Robertson's own note to these words, but not without a remark which it seems to demand. "I say *for the present*, because the Church herself, in the Commination Service, acknowledges a want of discipline, and expresses a wish for its restoration. And this may be considered as a kind of sanction to my argument, that we are not bound, because something appears desirable in itself, to establish it forthwith, without regard to any consideration of circumstances."

Surely Mr. Robertson forgets that from the moment that a thing, good in itself, is so commanded, it ceases to be *merely* good in itself. In truth, there is no parallel between the declaration of the Church to which he refers, and the partial nonconformity (*to say no more*) which he would make it indirectly sanction.

omething better, as the bud is expanded into the blossom, and lossom ripened into the fruit.

t in the very next page we begin to find symptoms of a much d tone. With considerable *naïvete* he introduces his argument a passage from Bishop Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, which has little indeed, if any thing to do with the subject:—

> occurred to him that he might do well, and even might be of service to s, by inquiring into the history of the manner in which the orders of the r Book had been obeyed; and before proceeding far, he was much pleased et with the sentence printed in the title-page, and which shall be here ted, as giving the sanction of a great divine and casuist to the course he has pursued. 'Nothing,' says Bishop Taylor,* 'is more reasonable, *ations concerning the interpretation of a law*, than to inquire how the ce of people was in times bygone; because, what they did when the and sense of the law were best perceived, and *what the lawgiver allowed to do in obedience of it*, may best be supposed to be that which he in-i.'"—P. 10.

e have directed attention to the words printed in italics, because ct, so far is Mr. Robertson from maintaining his argument, as he he does, on evidence such as Bishop Taylor speaks of in this ge, that there is seldom a question of *interpretation* to which op Taylor's words refer, but of *obligation*, which is quite another ; and besides, Mr. Robertson does not adduce what *was allowed y of obedience*, but what *was taken*, in *disregard of the law, and in contempt of it*, as the staple of his reasoning. Thus much rs without opening Bishop Taylor's work, but if the reader will to the passage adduced, he will find that the whole "rule" r which it occurs, is clearly subversive of the argument which is ved in Mr. Robertson's book. The "rule" is, "A custom can pret a law, but *can never abrogate it*, without the consent of the me power." And the Bishop shows at length, that even though m can originate a law, yet "when a law is established and is ," [and surely we are not now to prove that the law of the liturgy ablished and good,] "the force of custom is not sufficient, of itself, nul it, and to cancel the obligation of conscience." This is all we contend for. But almost the next words offer a very useful in arriving at a fair presumption of what the custom may have for which we seek. "*It is to be supposed that the law was d.*" Now, the whole of Mr. Robertson's argument is that the was not obeyed; and unless there is express testimony to ience, he will not admit that it was given: whereas the rule of op Taylor would certainly have us presume that obedience was , and not admit the contrary without flagrant proof.

it we are keeping the reader too long from Mr. Robertson's argu-, which is something of this kind: At no time was the Book ommon Prayer ever fully obeyed: "obedience [to it] without

* Ductor Dubitantium. III. vi. 6.

abatement was never required or given;"* not even by those who compiled it, nor by those who may be supposed to have been most anxious to carry it out; therefore entire conformity is not necessary. Nay, the argument is so managed as almost to leave an impression that at no previous time was it, on the whole, better obeyed than now; therefore we need not be very earnest to get rapidly nearer to the *ideal.*

The whole argument, then, is historical. It is of two parts; the general history of the Church, so far as conformity is concerned, and the history of particular usages, as obtaining more or less since the Reformation.

"The first English Prayer Book was set forth in 1549; the second in 1552. This latter, as is well known, was more agreeable than the earlier to the principles of the foreign Reformed, and of those who afterwards became known at home as *Puritans.* Among the changes, were the omission of some vestments which had been retained before, and the substitution of the surplice as the only attire to be worn by priests and deacons in their public ministration.

"We find, however, that while the first book was still in force, the *copes*, which were vestments prescribed to be used at the administration of the Holy Communion, were taken away from Westminster Abbey, by an order of the Council, (Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 239;) and that during Edward's reign, the offices of the Church, including the celebration of the Lord's Supper, were very commonly performed by ministers who wore only their ordinary dress. No one, of course, would wish to bring back such a state of matters: but it is plain, from these circumstances, that the first compilers of our book allowed people to do things very inconsistent with that rigid interpretation of the ordination-vow, which some would now force upon us. For be it observed, that the pledge already quoted, was in our ordinal from the first."—Pp. 11, 12.

In like manner, we are reminded that when Archbishop Parker was consecrated, no pastoral staff was delivered to him, though a rubric was then in force which required it; and it is said with a sneer, "it is very doubtful whether any eyes, from that day to this, have been more fortunate than Dr. Hook's, who 'does not remember to have seen an English Bishop attired as this rubric directs.'" † We

* Page 126. We give his own words, though we cannot tell how he uses, or would have us understand, the word *required.* To plain men, the very act of promulgation seems to be a *requiring* of obedience; the imposition of vows, and the framing of canons in support of the authority of the liturgy, seem to be a *cumulative requiring*: and for the very matters which are at present most in question, the article on ceremonies at the beginning of the Prayer Book expressly says, "although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing; yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God, 'Let all things be done among you,' saith St. Paul, 'in a seemly and due order:' the appointment of which order pertaineth not to private men; therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter any publick or common order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereunto."

† "At the end of the Common Prayer Book, established in the second year of Edward VI., which is referred to as still obligatory, so far as the ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof are concerned, in the rubric immediately before the Morning Prayer it is ordained, 'Whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the

nded that Coverdale, at the same consecration, wore only cloath gown." That Parker never succeeded in subduing rmanical natures" of the Puritans. That even Archbishop succeeded only partially in enforcing conformity, and that "died the uniformity of the Church of England." Now ot question the statements here made; but is not this the of the argument; the framers of Edward VI.'s first book consistent, Parker, Bancroft, Abbott, all were inconsistent, edient, or missed their ideal, why then should we strive to get o it than they did?

, Laud, Wren, and Andrewes are thus mentioned, and lone without *some* sympathy, because he was the most exact er to the Common Prayer. The *animus* of such a passage enough, and surely it tends to excuse inconformity, not to conformity.

d and Wren, in fact, do not appear to have had any notions more than those of Andrewes; but there can be little doubt that, if that hop had been raised to the primacy when Laud was, he would have different way of bringing the face of the Church to agree with his ideas at pursued by his less discreet admirers. It by no means follows, from ing drawn up the rules just quoted,* with a view of producing an favourable to the English Church, among a people devotedly attached tomish worship, ceremonious even in their common life, and prejudiced our Reformation by the most extravagant fables,—that he would have ted to establish a similar form of worship, as general in a land where er heads had come to understand the indifferency of some things, while judices of the multitude were in favour of Puritanism. Nay, it will appear likely that he may have erred in an opposite direction, if we lieve what is stated of him by Fuller, (Ch. Hist. Book xi. p. 127,) that esoever he was, a parson, a dean, or a bishop, he never troubled parish, , or diocese, with pressing other ceremonies on them than such which nd used there before his coming thither.' Indeed, Laud himself seems e been exceeded by some of his friends. 'The compliancy of many, to favour,' says Bishop Hackett, 'did outrun the archbishop's intentions, opinion deceive me not.' (Life of Williams, p. 100.) And he himself s, (Troubles, p. 345,) 'That his own articles of enquiry were not excepted t, while he was treated as if accountable for those of Bishops Wren and gue.'"—P. 19.

e should have thought that the struggles of these holy men, ssors and martyrs as they were, might have read us a different . It is too cold to make their efforts and sufferings only cry to the slothful or the coward, "There is a lion without, you be slain in the streets."† And again, it is too much to bring

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Communion, or execute any other public office, he shall have upon him, besides chet, an alb, and cope or vestment, *and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else by his chaplain.*' The writer of this article does not remember to have seen an h Bishop attired as this rubric directs. Most, if not all of the Bishops pro- omit this observance in condescension to the superstition of those whose con- es, though not offended at a transgression of a command of the Church, might nded at ornaments which many pious persons reverence as emblematic."—*Dr. Church Dictionary, Art. Crosier.*

Those for the arrangement of Prince Charles' Chapel in Madrid.

†See Proverbs xxii. 13.

in the methods by which such men as Sanderson, Jeremy Taylor, and Bishop Bull, continued to maintain a service as nearly like that of the Church as possible, without incurring extreme penalties, as proofs that rigid conformity cannot be a matter of conscience, or, at least, did not seem so to them. There are circumstances under which authority loses a part of its prerogative, and cannot shield those who obey it from destruction; and then surely it willingly relaxes its rule in things not in themselves essential, but only right because they are appointed; and a man need not fear to be justly drawn into an example of inconformity, although he may freely confess, with Archbishop Sancroft, that he does not "count himself obliged to go to chapel and read Common Prayer till his brains be dashed out."

So much for the use which he makes of the general history of ritual conformity. The first of the particular usages which Mr. Robertson touches, is the daily service, and it is that perhaps on which he has most freely expressed an opinion in favour of conformity. He says:—

"Let me state clearly that I am fully convinced of the desirableness of daily public prayer, and rejoice to think that our people are becoming prepared for it, and that it is growing more general. In what follows, I only wish to establish on historical evidence, the principle that we are at liberty to use caution and consult expediency in striving after the fulfilment of our Church's intentions in this respect.'"—P. 32.

Yet, in the next page, we find him saying,—

"It is, *as I hope to show*, a mere imagination to suppose that daily service was ever general in England."

Now, however stubborn the facts might be, and however inflexible the argument derived from them, yet one who longed for conformity in this great matter, would rather *hope to show* that daily prayers were once very general in England; especially if he feared that the finding it otherwise would suggest an argument against their very general adoption now. This is, in fact, the opposition between opinion and feeling. I *think it desirable;* I *hope to show* that there are reasons *against pressing it.* We need not say whither, practically, the subsequent reasoning tends.

The next subject on which we shall follow Mr. Robertson, is that of "*Lights on the Altar:*" in which conformity is desired on higher ground indeed than as *a matter of taste*, on which Mr. Robertson himself would not unwillingly see them restored; yet "not so much," even by the most rigid ritualist, "for the sake of the things themselves, as because the principle of obedience is involved."* On this subject, the ground that Mr. Robertson takes, is, that the authority on which they are pleaded for, extends not to parochial churches; though there is surely no law which can be urged for their use in cathedrals, that does not equally affect all other churches; and Cranmer, in his articles of visitation framed upon the injunction

* Page 50.

which appoints their use, certainly presumes that the law is for all churches alike. But let us follow Mr. Robertson in his argument.

"The argument," he says, "for lights runs thus:— By an act of parliament in Henry the Eighth's reign, the authority of law was given to his proclamations, and those which should be issued in the minority of his son. While this act was in force, injunctions were published in Edward the Sixth's name, (1547,) whereby it was ordered that the clergy 'shall suffer from henceforth no torches or candles, tapers or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still.' This, *it is said*, was law in the second year of Edward; the Rubric,* therefore, *we are told*, now binds us to adorn our altars with the lights here sanctioned."—P. 55.

This statement of the argument is clear enough, although the "*it is said*," and "*we are told*," show that it is about to be attacked. The answer given to it is, that by "*the sacrament*" in the injunction is meant the consecrated wafer suspended in a pyx over the altar; so that *the sacrament* being taken away, its attendant lights would have now no more authority than those which were the accompaniment of the rood-loft and the sepulchre.

But it is singular enough that it has never been understood in cathedral churches, and royal and college chapels, (as Mr. Robertson would admit,) that this injunction is thus avoided, so far as the lights upon the high altar are concerned; and we must have a special reason why they still have authority in cathedrals, though *the sacrament* is removed, and yet have lost all authority in parochial churches because *the sacrament* is removed, or we shall scarcely admit the conclusion.

It is strange, too, that all the commentators on the Prayer-book, so far as we know, to whose judgment churchmen are wont to defer on other points, agree in stating that the two lights ought still to remain on the high altar, in obedience to the Rubric and injunction above referred to. And canonists are not wanting to maintain the same opinion.

But may not the injunction be allowed to speak for itself, and to give the reason upon which the lights were retained? If there be no trace of any farther meaning than an act of adoration to *the sacrament*, then we may admit that the lights should depart, albeit the high altar remains, and the sacrament also, in its true sense and glory. But the first year of Edward VI. was not likely to be marked with any such ascription of homage to *the sacrament*; and in the first book of Edward VI., it is expressly declared that there shall be no "elevation or showing the sacrament to the people."†

* Viz.—The Rubric immediately preceding this order for morning and evening prayer daily throughout the year, which stands thus:—

"And here it is to be noted that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof at all times of their ministration shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of Edward VI."

† Rubric after the prayer of consecration.

Some other reason then, and one which need not necessarily, even if it could possibly, be connected with *the sacrament*, in that sense in which it is taken away, is to be sought, for the continuing of the lights upon the high altar. Now the injunction actually gives the reason; and it is the more remarkable, because although in the article of ceremonies, it is declared in general terms that the things retained "be neither *dark nor dumb* ceremonies, but are so set forth that every man may understand what they do mean, and to what use they do serve;" yet this is the only instance in which the symbolical meaning of the rite retained is actually given. The reason then is this, "*for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world.*" Surely we may allow the injunction to defend itself thus clearly, against all the explaining away to which it may be subjected.

Mr. Robertson requires proof that the lights were retained in parochial churches before the Puritan ascendency. Surely if the law be admitted, (and Cranmer certainly understood it as we do,) obedience to it ought to be supposed, and the *onus probandi* lies on those who deny that they were retained. This is reasonable in itself, and according to the letter of Jeremy Taylor's rule, to which we hope Mr. Robertson will defer, even when it makes against him. "*It is to be supposed that the law was obeyed.*" However, we do not shrink from proof; and here the *Hierurgia Anglicana* steps in to our assistance, and proves that, in several cases, lights were used in parochial churches, and that whether or no the "Puritans never complain of being obliged to set up candles;" they do rail against the setting of them up, as if it was, to say the least, very general, and certainly extended far beyond the cathedral and royal chapels. Thus we have (page 1,) items of expense connected with the candlesticks and candles in the churchwarden's account of the parish of St. Martin's, Leicester, anno 1548. In 1637, the Puritans of Ware, now again, after an interval of two hundred years, embittered against the Church on some such reasonable grounds, were scandalized by *tapers*, among other things:—

"But see the practice of these times. They will have priests, not ministers; altars, not communion-tables; sacrifices, not sacraments: they will bow and cringe to, and before their altars; yea, they will not endure any man to inquire after what manner CHRIST is in the sacrament, whether by way of consubstantiation, or transubstantiation, or in a spiritual manner; yea, they will have *tapers*, and books never used, empty basons and chalices there: what is this but the mass itself, for here is all the furniture of it?"*

And again,—

"Placing *candlesticks on altars in parochial churches in the day-time, and making canopies over them with curtains*, in imitation of the veil of the temple, advancing crucifixes and images upon the parafront or altar-cloth, and compelling all communicants to come up before the rails." †

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* Retractation of Mr. Charles Chancey, formerly minister of Ware, in Hertfordshire; *written* with his own hand before his going to New England, in the year 1657.

† *Neale's History* of the Puritans, 1640, 1641.

And some other proofs there are of the use of lights in parochial churches; as many, indeed, as can reasonably be expected; for it is not generally considered how difficult it is to find proofs of such things even where the fact is undoubted. Suppose that the general laxity of the age should discard, and suffer to be destroyed, the fonts of stone, which are certainly required by the canon, and as certainly still exist in most churches; and that it became a matter of importance to find out whether they were generally in existence between the times of Edward VI. and Charles I. We may reasonably doubt whether the direct contemporary proofs would be very numerous. Of late years such things have become a subject of antiquarian research,* and the *Archæologia* and the like works record fonts which must be of a very remote antiquity; and just at present we have them figured and described in every variety of form; but, we repeat it, the contemporary direct evidence of their existence at any specific time, some generations past, would be extremely scanty. Yet in this case there is no doubt. Why, then, just for want of a large amount of direct contemporary proof should we doubt of the existence and use of what are equally with the font appointed by authority?

Perhaps, however, we have given too much space to the question of "*Lights on the Altar*," which we confess we had thought was settled long ago, and the more effectually since the *present Dean of York* discarded a pair of candlesticks presented to the altar of York Minster by *Archbishop Sancroft*.

And we have not space to carry farther the detailed examination of Mr. Robertson's argument. We must, however, note a few more instances of the *animus* which pervades his book.

It will be found then, throughout, that though his question is, "How shall we conform?" his arguments are, almost all of them, directed against those whose real desire it is to conform; and that his sneers are expended altogether on those who think themselves honest in wishing for a perfect conformity, and in seeking it in the wisest and best way. He does, indeed, more often agree with them on the meaning and authority of a rubric, than with the puritan faction; yet still the discouragement of banter and ridicule is cast entirely upon them: showing once again the strange opposition between opinion and feeling. Neither does he fairly represent their principles and habits of mind. Which of the most ardent lovers of ritual conformity would say or feel thus?

"I cannot pray unless I may turn my face eastward, unless I may kneel on encaustic tiles, unless the light which falls on me be tinted by the rich hues of holy figures and emblems in surrounding windows, unless two fair candles of purest wax flame in sight amid jewelled plate on a garlanded altar."—P. 151.

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* For example, the contemporary print, reproduced in Markland's Remarks on English Churches, of Cromwell's soldiers desecrating a church, is that of a *parish church*; here the altar is decked with tapers, a crucifix (most probably, but certainly a cross), and a triptych; a more direct proof that these symbolical ornaments were actually in use before the *revolution cannot be expected.*

Surely the feeling is different from this, and intelligibly different, too,—"I would dedicate, where it is to be had, the best to God; and where there is wealth and pomp to be expended, I would not have the church alone desolate; but if all be poor, the church poor though it be, is richer than all palaces of cedar, gold, and vermillion, because it is the house of God. Yet *everywhere* I would see an

'*ordered* pomp,
Decent and unreproved.'*

I would see obedience, even where there may be little circumstance; and to this I can see no bar in the poorest and most retired country church."

But it should seem that, contrary to the proverb concerning other laws, rubrics are made only for the great, and not for the little:—

"Mr. Poole tells us, in his argument for lights, that 'cathedrals are regulated by no authority which does not equally bind the most private chapel, or the most remote parish church.' Buttermere must be a mimic York Minster, Capel Curig as ceremonious as Canterbury! I cannot understand on what grounds this is said."—P. 130.

Mr. Robertson's assertion that he cannot understand on what grounds this is said, should have followed the position he does not understand, and not his own ludicrous exposition of it: and then he would have himself seen that he was forgetting the difference between the same authority binding, and that authority binding to the same thing. But surely this is sufficiently intelligible: the canon and the rubric which regulate the ritual of the cathedral, regulate also the ritual of the remotest chapel, though, in some things, with a specified difference: but when there is no specified difference, the rule as well as the authority is the same. And there is no danger that Buttermere and Capel Curig shall become so ceremonious, or ape the splendour which is or ought to be in the solemn offices of York Minster. The same authority required an earl to attend the king's banner with so many men at arms, while it required of the yeoman only his personal attendance with his bow: surely John in the Wood, or Richard Cowherd, did not therefore ape my lord of Warwick or of Salisbury. The truth seems to be, that Mr. Robertson has written with the prior conviction, that there can be no sound sober sense in those whom he thinks

"Too ceremonious and traditional,"

and so that they are fair game for polemical ridicule.

But to be serious, it does seem to us, that whatever was his intention, he has written a book which will not greatly subserve the cause of conformity. He himself tells us for whom he has written; for those "who, without going so far, at least in practice," as the more rash upholders of ritual, "have felt the impulse of the time, and wish to do their duty in this respect to the best of their ability;

* Wordsworth.

while this wish is accompanied by some perplexing uncertainty as to what their duty really is."* Now, let us appeal to the experience of such persons. Is there not a little temptation to subserviency to the superstitious fear of obedience which they see around them, and of which perhaps they have, already, even for their slight efforts, been the victims? Is there not a little whisper of indolence, or cowardice, or prudence, as it would fain be called, dissuading them on all sides from doing that which they yet feel to be incumbent on them? Now these temptations should be opposed and checked, and these whisperings answered at least, if not silenced: we do not mean utterly, but that the tendency of our own heart is to listen and to yield; and therefore we want help on the other side to restore the balance. Now, it is this which Mr. Robertson's book might have given, and which it ought to have given. As it is (it is a grave thing to say, yet we are constrained to say it) it is a very forcible and vivid embodying of the temptations and whisperings to which we ought to listen with suspicion at best. It is such that a man will get up from the perusal of it, not determined to conform with prudence, but reconciled to the worse alternative, of prudently remaining as he is.

But we shall be greatly misunderstood if we are thought to deny the necessity of wisdom and prudence in every step that we take. But when is it that this prudence is to be most prominently set forth? Not, surely, when all the clamour and odium are against ritual obedience, so that those who are purposed in their hearts to obey, want encouragement and sympathy. On whom is this prudence, not to say timidity, to be pressed? Surely on those too forward spirits who are as self-willed and self-opinionated, and perhaps even as superstitious (though this were difficult) in their observance, as the puritanical are in their fear of ritual and hatred of order. It is to such as these, and some such we confess there are, that the line of argument which Mr. Robertson adopts, or any line of argument which can tend to the same practical result, ought to be addressed; and not to those who are willing, but with prudence enough, and with caution and consideration, to commence or maintain an upward course.

Nor will we deny that there are some who stickle for canons and rubrics with a temper as little worthy of the cause of ritual conformity, as that of its loudest opponents; in whom, in fact, self is still the mainspring of action, and to whom the prospect of an impending struggle ministers occasion rather of vanity than of humiliation. In reasoning with these, or rather in rebuking them, we should not indeed pursue the same line or tone, which Mr. Robertson has adopted, which seems rather likely to irritate than to allay the bad elements of their character, and against which they will, without any great effort, reason triumphantly; but against the conceit, affectation, and coxcombry, which he fears, we will ever protest, not only as mean and frivolous in themselves, but as among the worst enemies of *ritual conformity*.

* *Page 2.*

1. *A Treatise on Roads.* By Sir HENRY PARNELL, Bart. London: Longman & Co. 1838.

2. *English Pleasure Carriages.* By W. B. ADAMS. London: Knight. 1837. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. 315.

"A ROAD," says Mr. M'Adam—who has been designated by professional joke-makers, "the Colossus of Roads,"—"ought to be considered as an artificial flooring; forming a strong, smooth, solid surface, at once capable of carrying great weights, and over which carriages may pass without meeting any impediment."

The very earliest roads may be said to have been formed involuntarily. Successive footsteps on the same track leave an impression behind them; yielding soils become indurated, and grassy meads become barren, along the line of march. According to traditional superstitions,—the unwritten poetry of unlettered hinds,—even fairy footsteps, as they weave their sportive dance beneath the soft light of the unclouded moon, impress a mystic ring on the spot which has witnessed their cheerful revels. It is only under the influence of that impassioned desire which finds utterance in hyperbole, that even the classical queen of love ventures to commend the absolute lightness of her tread:—

> "Bid me discourse, I will enchant thine ear,
> Or, like a fairy, trip upon the green,
> Or, like a nymph, with long dishevell'd hair,
> Dance on the sands, and yet no footing seen:
> Love is a spirit all compact of fire,
> Not gross to sink, but light, and will aspire."

But we must leave these gentle paths to those who love to thread the simple tracks which intersect our fields and meadows; or wind, with capricious yet delightful undulations, through our woods and coppices. Our present concern is with roads of a much more hard and utilitarian nature; with those artificial paths which are the intentional creations of the hand as well as the foot of man; who is scarcely less nomadic in his civilized than in his savage state. The hand must assist the foot, and the head the hand, before we can obtain those paths, which, by their hardness, width, and definiteness of direction, constitute roads, properly so called.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the social value of roads. "Let us travel," says the Abbé Raynal, "over all the countries of the earth, and wherever we find no facilities for travelling from city to town, or from village to hamlet, we may pronounce the people barbarians." Although, indeed, in such cases, the "cities" and "towns" would themselves but little deserve these ambitious names, according to present notions: but would correspond, rather, to the description given by Cæsar of the earliest British towns, "A thick wood surrounded by a ditch and bank;" or, at best, to Strabo's more flattering description, "Woods of a broad circuit, in the midst of

they (the Britons) clear away a part of the trees, and build in which they and their cattle live together."

ccustomed to these means of easy and rapid transit, we can y picture to ourselves the condition of a country destitute of . Yet many years have not passed, since the northern and ern parts of our own island, in consequence of the absence of ways, were hardly less separated, than if the waters of ocean had l between, and made them as mutually insulated geographically, ey were isolated in regard of social and commercial relations. while a ship can plough its way through the pathless but yielding s, the weary foot of man and beast forces itself, with toil and and ever-growing difficulty, over the rugged surface of the orn earth, or wades through a treacherous morass, more toilsome perilous than the hard irregular rock. At the period to which efer, weeks were required for the passage of a conveyance. In parts, wheel-carriages could not travel at all. Passengers and s, and even articles so little able to bear any heavy expenses of it, as grain, coal, manure, &c., were obliged to be transported on acks of horses. A waggon, with but a moderate load, travelling a few miles a day, required eight or ten horses to draw it over oft and unequal ground. And it would be easy to multiply ples of the almost total absence of internal traffic, in numerous icts, in consequence of absence of roads, or the excessive badness ch as happened to exist. "Around every market-place," says Anderson, "you may suppose a number of concentric circles to rawn, within each of which articles become marketable, which not so before, and thus become the sources of wealth and pros- y to many individuals. Diminish the expense of carriage but farthing, and you widen the circles; you form as it were a new ion, not only of stones and earth and trees and plants, but of also, and, what is more, of industry and happiness."

a more detailed history of roads than our limits will allow us to h, some notice would properly be taken of the roads of ancient ece; of Egypt, where, however, during its more prosperous ds, roads were in great measure sacrificed to canals conjoined the navigation of the Nile; of Phœnicia, the land of com- e; of the fertile regions of Syria; of the vast empires of Assyria Babylonia; of Persia, extending into India; and of all or most hich sufficient historical records, and some few actual memorials, exist, to attest their importance, and to shed a faint gleam of eological light upon their obscure histories. But with the excep- of the wonderful Roman roads, there are but few remains of the s of antiquity.

nd yet the Romans were but learners in an art which they wards carried to such an extraordinary degree of perfection; ng derived their knowledge of road-making from the Carthaginians. s Tyrian colony, while, from their origin, they were essentially a mercial people, were *remarkably attentive* to agriculture; and as

their nation advanced in prosperity, the wealthy citizens employed their surplus revenues in the cultivation and improvement of their estates. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of Carthage, and indeed all that tract which formed its real territory, and which corresponds to the present state of Tunis, was thoroughly cultivated. "When Agathocles landed in Africa, (B.C. 308-7); and when Regulus, half a century later, and Scipio Africanus, half a century later still, and Scipio Æmilianus, another half century after that, invaded the Carthaginian territory, their march lay through rich fields covered with herds of cattle, and irrigated by numerous streams; vineyards and olive-grounds were spread on every side; innumerable small towns and villages were strewed over the country; and as they drew near to '*Magna Carthago*' herself, the neighbourhood was thickly studded with the country-seats of the wealthy citizens." In such a country, the art of road-making must have attained considerable maturity; and it is to the Carthaginians that we are indebted for the invention of paved roads.

The Roman roads present an interesting subject of study. Several thousand miles of highway were constructed in Italy alone; while every country which this iron-handed people brought under their control, was more or less intersected by these channels of communication. Although originally constructed for military purposes only, they became, to a great extent, the arteries and veins, as it were, of the whole body politic, through all its gigantic limbs. They were, in many respects, very characteristic of the resolute spirit of the nation that planned and executed them. "*Aut inveniam, aut fiam,*" was the maxim of the old Roman road. Like an arrow from a bow, like a bolt from a catapult, onward it went through the heart of every obstacle; now cleaving its straightforward course through the bowels of the earth, by means of tunnels, which were often of considerable length; now converting the marsh into a solid pathway; and again, spanning opposing rivers with bold bridges. So firm were they in their construction, that many of them have borne the traffic of nearly two thousand years without material injury. The strength of the Roman pavements is shown by the fact, related by a modern traveller, that although the substratum of one still in use has been completely washed away by a current of water sweeping beneath, the surface remains undisturbed, and is still so secure that carriages pass over it as over a bridge.

The Roman roads were principally designed for military purposes and the immediate affairs of state. The roads constructed for this end were called Prætorian roads, being under the immediate government of the Prætors; and were strictly confined to their original purposes. For the purposes of commerce, and the ordinary intercourse of the Romans and strangers, Consular roads were constructed; and where military and commercial communications both took place between the same places, the two kinds of roads were *found, often* running side by side, as may be seen amongst ourselves,

in the not unfrequent parallelism of roads, railroads, and canals. These roads usually bore the name of the consul under whom they were first made. Thus the *Via Appia* was so called, because constructed during the consulate of Appius. In addition to these two great classes of roads, there were the *Viæ Vicinales*, or bye-roads, which branched off from the Consular roads to places in their vicinity, or which lay between places lying out of the range of the great lines.

The Prætorian roads were, for the most part, at least sixty feet wide; of which space the elevated centre occupied twenty feet, and each of the slopes twenty more. Only a part of this appears to have been paved. These roads were crossed, at right angles, by the *Viæ Vicinales*, or *Viæ Patriæ*, (that is, the neighbouring or country roads, or, as we should term them, the cross-roads,) and where four roads thus met, square gate-houses were erected, having arches opening upon each side.

The Consular, or high-roads, claim from us a more detailed consideration. Many remains are still to be seen. The *Via Appia*, lying between Rome and Naples, and extending to the distance of 350 miles, had a causeway, (as we by corruption call it,) or pavement, twelve feet broad. This pavement was composed of square blocks of freestone, each, for the most part, a foot and a half in measure; and this road, now 1800 years old, is still, for several miles in uninterrupted succession, along many parts of its line, as sound as when it was first laid down. Not indeed that it is the smoothest of roads; but this it probably never was:—

"—— Minùs est gravis Appia tardis,"

says Horace, speaking of the Appian road in his day; and this was probably the character of most of the Consular roads. They were solid enough; but perhaps not even a modern corduroy road can surpass them in the property of jolting. These Consular roads were of considerable breadth; although not equal, in this respect, to our own roads, thirty feet being the ordinary width of the carriage-way of English high-roads, exclusive of the foot-paths on either side, for the use of passengers.

Solidity, however, was the great quality aimed at by the Roman engineers. They first rammed the ground with small stones, fragments of bricks, and the like; then they spread upon it layers of flints, pebbles, or sand; and upon this carefully-prepared foundation, they would deposit, when necessary, a pavement of large stones, firmly set in cement; the stones being occasionally squared, but more commonly of irregular shapes, although in all cases accurately fitted to each other. For this purpose, many varieties of stone were used; but basalt seems to have been preferred, when it could be had. In many instances, basalt was employed when other materials might have been procured *with less labour* and expense. Where

large blocks could not conveniently be obtained, small stones of hard quality were sometimes cemented together with lime, forming a kind of concrete; masses of which, extending to a depth of several feet, still exist. In the neighbourhood of Lyons, there exist remains of Roman road-making, composed of beds or masses of flint-stones not bigger than eggs, laid in mortar, from twelve to fifteen feet in depth, and as hard and compact as marble. After a period of 1600 years from their formation, it is almost impossible to penetrate or dislodge these ancient masses by any force of hammers, mattocks, or other instruments, that have been brought to bear upon them.

Another kind of Roman road was the subterranean. These roads were carried under-ground, like our modern tunnels, and were constructed for the purpose of shelter from the sun;—subterranean parasols, first invented, it is generally considered, by the Egyptians, and afterwards adopted by the self-indulgent sons of Italy. They prevailed among the Romans during the period of their luxury, with their consequent national decay; and numerous vestiges of them still remain.

The earliest Roman roads in Great Britain do not date further back than about A.D. 45, under the reign of the emperor Claudius; but there existed native British roads anterior to the invasion of Great Britain by Julius Cæsar. That invasion was unquestionably the beginning of a great social revolution in our island; but Britain, long before ever Roman foot trod her soil, or Roman civilization cast her manners into a new mould, had her cities, towns, and villages; her roads for internal communication; her ships for the sea, as well as her wicker coracles for the river and the lake. Four great roads departed from London, before the time of the Romans in Britain, in the respective directions of southern, south-western, eastern, and north-eastern; namely, Watling-street, Ikenild-street, the Foss-way, and Ermin or Herming-street. It is exceedingly probable that London Stone was the standard, or point of departure, of these ancient roads. Watling-street is that most known to travellers in England of the present day. This street was probably a *via patriæ;* and is supposed to derive its name from the same root as the rustic word "wattle." A wattle is the same as a hurdle, and, like it, used as a kind of fence; it is sometimes made with the small osier, in the manner of basket-work, sometimes with stronger pieces of wood, such as we see in the hurdles composing sheep-pens, and in yet larger and stronger fences. According to Cambry (Monumens Celtiques,) Watling-street was so named by the Britons because it was a paved road leading to a sacred enclosure: "Chemin pavé de l'enceinte sacrée," he observes, "de *Wattling*, substantive et participle présent de *Wattle*, 'claie,' 'fermer de claies:' d'où le plurier *Wattles*, 'parc fait de claies.'" Ikenild, or the Essex road, left London in an eastward direction, and penetrated into the country of the Iceni, corresponding nearly to the modern county of Essex. *Herming* or Ermin-street was a considerable one, and it is supposed

ave run first to Colchester, (which was a place of rank under Britons, as well as under the Romans,) and thence to Carlisle Chester. Its name is not improbably derived from Ermin, subject of the celebrated monument of stone, the Erminseul. Ermin-säul, or Irminsul (Heer-man-saul, the pillar of the War-), destroyed by Charlemagne, in his zealous wars against the hen Saxons, appears to have been the same, in many respects, the statue of Mercury, or Hermes, among the Greeks and the nans, which was erected in the market-places, the gymnasia, and re several roads met.

While the Roman roads, as we have already observed, proceeded ght on, without regard to natural obstacles,—the engineer's skill g exercised in raising causeways through marshes, throwing ges over rivers, levelling mountains, and filling up valleys,—the ish roads generally wound along the ridges and high ground, wing the natural inequalities of the soil. A foundation of gravel, ie verdant turf, were preferred; the sides of hills and ridges of were chosen for the sake of dryness; and the natural openings een hills were made subservient to the general purpose, because ie facilities of passage which they afforded, and because roads of accommodating nature required less science and skill in their truction, and were laid down with much less expenditure of r and cost than those in which art triumphed more fully over re. The beautiful Pilgrim-Roads to St. Thomas' of Canterbury remain; and we know not more lovely English scenery than e they dip down into, or skirt the noble Weald of Kent.

With the decay of the Roman power, the roads began to be neg-d; until at last their ruins alone remained to attest their former ness. From that time, the art of road-making appears to have quite dormant, until its revival in periods of comparatively very t date. In our own country, from the time of the departure of Romans, to the revolution of 1688, foreign invasions and intes-commotions distracted our ancestors so much from the arts of and order, as to make them incapable of improving their means ternal communication. The roads over which merchandise was d on horses' backs, seem to have been little better than foot-, or well-beaten sheep-tracks. The subject of highways had, ver, occasionally engaged the legislature for many years. In ear 1285, the first act of parliament was passed relating to roads. 346, a toll was levied on carts or carriages travelling from St. 's-in-the-Fields to Temple-bar.

t it was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that the first ed attempt at improvement was made; by an act allotting to es the care of the roads passing through them, and appointing surveyors. The funds were to be obtained from a pound-rate, on the landholders, and assistance in labour was enforced. , however, was done until the reign of Mary. The first really tant act passed on this subject was the statute 2 and 3 Philip

and Mary, c. 8. This was the first legislative enactment in which a regular provision was made for the repair of public highways. At common law, every parish was bound to keep its own roads in good serviceable condition. But as this duty was not assigned to any particular person, it was much neglected; so that in the preamble to the above act, the roads are declared to be "tedious and noisome" to travel on, and dangerous to passengers and carriages. The description of the streets of London, in the act for improving and paving the city, passed in 1532,—that they were "very perilous and noyous, as well for all the king's subjects on horseback as on foot, with carriages,"—was not less applicable to roads in general. By the act 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 8, it was enacted that in every parish two surveyors of the highways should be annually chosen by the inhabitants in vestry assembled, and that the inhabitants of all parishes should be obliged, according to their respective ability, to provide labourers, carriages, tools, &c. for four days each year, to work upon the roads under the orders of the surveyors. Although the great lines of road have long been exempted from the operation of this act, its principles still regulate the construction, repair, and police of the cross or parish roads throughout England.

This system was improved and consolidated by acts passed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; and worked sufficiently well, until the great increase of population and wealth under the Stuarts, bringing with it an increase of travelling and internal communication generally, rendered this mode of road-keeping quite inadequate to the maintenance and repair of the great roads, especially in the neighbourhood of London. This led to the establishment of a toll, to be paid by passengers and carriages travelling along the road, in order to defray the whole or a portion of the expense incurred in keeping the road in repair. An act was passed to this effect, 26 Charles II. c. 1, which imposed tolls, payable at toll-gates (called turnpikes); ordaining the justices of the peace to appoint persons to take "sumes of money in the name of toll or custome, to be paid for all such horses, carts, coaches, waggons, droves, and gangs of cattell as shall pass that waye." This act did not apply, in the first instance, to England generally; but was confined to the Great Northern Road, passing through Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.

For a long time this system was very unpopular. This unpopularity was anticipated in the original statute so far, that it was enacted, that if any person refused to pay the toll, the horse, coach, or whatever else the mode of conveyance might be, should be detained and distrained until the toll was paid. More stringent clauses were introduced into subsequent acts; but the resistance to the payment of tolls long continued. Mobs used to collect for the purpose of destroying turnpike gates, as we have seen in our own days, in the "Rebecca" riots of Wales; and the military were not unfrequently called out. A penalty of seven years' imprisonment was attached to these acts of violence; and when improved turnpike roads were made

in 1754, it was found necessary to pass an act making it felony to destroy a toll-bar.

It was not till after the peace of Paris, in 1763, that turnpike roads began to be generally extended through all parts of the kingdom. Since that time they have ramified in all directions; and the turnpike roads of England and Wales, now extend to the distance of more than 23,000 miles. The roads of Scotland, originally among the very worst, have now become about the very best in the world.

The early history of the Highland roads is interesting. During the rebellion of 1715, the government was led to see the policy of rendering the fastnesses of the north accessible, by means of military roads. At that time the royal troops were unable to penetrate beyond Blair, in Athol. But, in 1725, General Wade was appointed by George I. to draw up a report on the state of the Highlands generally. In this report, the General observes:—"Before I conclude this report, I presume to observe to your Majesty, the great disadvantage which regular troops are under, when they engage with those who inhabit mountainous situations. The Savennes in France, the Catalons in Spain, have at all times been instances of this truth. The Highlands in Scotland are still more impracticable, from the want of roads and bridges, and from the excessive rains that almost continually fall in those parts; which by nature and constant use become habitual to the natives, but very difficultly supported by the regular troops. These, being unacquainted with the passages by which the mountains are traversed, are exposed to frequent ambuscades, and are shot at from the tops of the hills, which they return without effect; as it happened at the affair of Glensheal."

In consequence of this report, General Wade was appointed, with several regiments under his command, to construct certain military roads in the Highlands, adapted to the conveyance of troops and stores. The first line of road which they formed was from Stirling, across the Grampians, to Inverness; and from thence along the chain of forts, including Fort George, Fort Augustus, and Fort William, between the east and west seas. By means of this line, troops and artillery were carried into the central Highlands in '45, and the disturbances were repressed with comparative ease.

"These roads," says Pennant, "were begun in 1723, under the directions of General Wade, who, like another Hannibal, forced his way through rocks supposed to have been unconquerable. Many of them hang over the mighty lakes of the country, and formerly afforded no other road to the natives than the paths of sheep and goats, where even the Highlander crawled with difficulty, and kept himself from tumbling into the far subjacent water, by clinging to the plants and bushes of the rock. Many of these rocks were too hard to yield to the pickaxe, and the miner was obliged to subdue their obstinacy with gunpowder, and often in places where nature had denied him footing, and where he was forced to begin his labours suspended from above by ropes, on the face of *the horrible* precipice. The bogs and

moors had likewise their difficulties to be overcome, but all were at length constrained to yield to the perseverance of our troops. In some places I observed that, after the manner of the Romans, they left engraven on the rocks the names of the regiment to which each party belonged, who were employed in these works. These roads, began at Dunkeld, are carried on through the noted pass of Killicrankie, by Blair, to Dalnacardoch, Dalwhinie, and over the Coryarich, to Fort Augustus. A branch extends from thence eastward, to Inverness, and another westward, over High Bridge, to Fort William. From the last, by Kinloch Leven, over the Black Mountain, by the King's House, to Tyendrum; and from thence, by Glen Urquie, to Inverary, and so along the beautiful boundaries of Loch Lomond, to its extremity."

These roads now present but a poor specimen of road-making, according to modern ideas, and when estimated by the standard of modern improvements; but still they deserve much praise, as having greatly contributed to the present comparatively advanced condition of the Highlands of Scotland. Our readers are doubtless familiar with the encomiastic epigram upon their maker:—

> "Oh! had you only seen these roads before they were made,
> You'd lift up your hands, and bless Marshal Wade!"

"The epigram on Marshal Wade," says a modern querulous topographer, "is well known, but we might easily make a Marforio to it, and turn up our eyes at the manner in which the roads are made. If Fingal was a far greater hero, he was unquestionably, also, a much better road-maker; and really it is somewhat marvellous how the Marshal could have imagined, how he could have adopted the best of all possible plans when he formed the heroic determination of pursuing straight lines, and of defying nature and wheel-carriages both, at one valiant effort of courage and science. His organ of quarter-masteriveness must have been wofully in arrear, for there is not a Highland Donald of them all, nay, not even a stot or a quey in the country, that could have selected such a line of march. Up and down, up and down, as the old catch says, it is like sailing in the Bay of Biscay. No sooner up than down, no sooner down than up. No sooner has a horse got into his pace again, than he is called on to stop; no sooner is he out of wind than he must begin to trot or gallop; and then the trap at the bottom which receives the wheels at full speed. The traveller, says some sentimental tourist, is penetrated with amazement and gratitude, and so forth, at General Wade's road:—the amazement is probable enough. Pennant, who, if he is not very sentimental, is at least the very pink of good-humoured travellers, supposes the General had me valid military reasons for his hobby-horsical system; this is very id."

The Lowland roads of the last century, were as bad as possible. Persons are still alive," says Mr. Buchanan, "who remember per-

fectly the carriers between Edinburgh and Glasgow, going regularly with five or six horses in a train; and so narrow was the track, that the leading one had a bell at his head, to give warning of their approach to the party travelling in the opposite direction, that the one might have time to get out of the way, while the other was passing." Robertson, in his Rural Recollections, informs us that the common carrier from Selkirk to Edinburgh, thirty-eight miles distance, took two weeks for his journey between the two towns, going and returning. His fellow-townsmen, on the morning of his departure, took an anxious leave of him, fearing every time that their farewells might be final. At this time the mail between Edinburgh and London was conveyed on horseback, and required six days for its transmission: but so little communication was there between the two capitals, that when an order was sent, in '45, in consequence of the rebellion, to intercept and open all letters, not above twenty were found in the London bag. Between 1750 and 1760, a coach travelled from London to Edinburgh in thirteen days. The late London mail performed the journey in forty-three hours and a half. The first coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow was started in 1765, and occupied twelve hours on the road. Shortly afterwards "The Fly"—so called from its reputed great velocity—was started, and performed the journey in ten hours. Coaches can now complete the distance in five hours.

We can hardly expect that our readers would follow us with much interest into the details of the art of road-making; and we will confine ourselves to a few general notices; referring those who may be desirous of prosecuting the subject, to Sir Henry Parnell's very complete and valuable "Treatise on Roads." A perfect road ought to be straight, level, smooth, and hard; and that is considered to be the best practical road, which conforms most closely to these four theoretical conditions, or which makes the best compromise, in those cases in which it is impossible to satisfy them all.

And yet it may reasonably be doubted, whether a long line of road which exactly conformed to all these conditions, would be the most desirable. In the first place, the arrow-like straightness of the old Roman military road would not find favour in the England of to-day. A gentle curve adds greatly to the beauty of a road; and even in these degenerate days of hard utilitarianism, the absence of the beauty thus obtained, would be deplored. "These little turnings," says Dupin, in his comparative work on England and France, "produce an agreeable effect with reference to the surrounding scenery; so that the road becomes an ornament to the country, and the country itself is exhibited to the best advantage to the eye of the traveller, who, by the course of the road, is led to those points which command the most pleasing prospects. Why should we neglect this mode of enhancing the enjoyment of the beauties of nature, when in our cities we expend such considerable sums in futile amusements, and in pleasures less pure and *positive*?" In the second place, a perfectly

level road is found to be much more fatiguing to man and beast, than one that occasionally and moderately undulates. A horizontal road requires the unvarying action of the same muscles; but the alternation of ascending, descending, and level ground, by bringing different muscles into play in their turn, affords relief, and creates an agreeable diversity of action.

These two first qualities of rectilinearity and horizontality, belong to the laying out of a road, or *the line of direction*; the qualities of hardness and smoothness belong to the execution of the road, and the materials of which it is composed, or *the line of draught*. Between these two sets of conditions there ought to be a very careful adjustment. Modern engineers are, in general, of opinion, that the line of direction has not been made sufficiently subordinate to the line of draught. One of the greatest impediments in travelling on a soft road is, that the wheel forms a ridge in front as well as at the sides, which has been calculated to create a resistance never less than one-seventeenth, and more frequently equal to one-ninth of the weight. Roads were formerly made unduly convex, in order to allow water to drain off; but Mr. M'Adam would make the road as flat as possible, consistent with effectual drainage; and Mr. Telford, in his celebrated road, has given no more for the transversal inclination, than that which is produced by a rise of eight inches in a width of thirty-three feet; or rather, we should say, he has made the convexity elliptical, the fall being half an inch at four feet from the centre, two inches at nine feet, and six inches at fifteen feet.

We will now endeavour to give our readers a popular account of the principles and methods of constructing the chief kinds of roads. And first, with respect to metalled or broken-stone roads. As there are some differences in principle, as well as in detail, between M'Adam and Telford, we will confine ourselves chiefly to the plans of the second and greater engineer. The characteristic feature of Telford's system is a *pavement* composed of hand-laid stones, placed on the natural bed of the road, technically called the foundation, for the purpose of supporting the small broken stones of which the surface is composed. M'Adam considered paving to be unnecessary; and even preferred a soil consisting of a mixture of hard and soft materials to one quite hard. His reason for this preference was, that an elastic bed was, as he presumed, more durable than an unyielding one; as an anvil will last longer when mounted on a block of wood than when mounted on a block of stone. But experience has not confirmed Mr. M'Adam's opinion; and Mr. Telford's plan of interposing a pavement between the natural soil and the superficial road, is decidedly and justly preferred. The foundation is first well rammed with chips of stone, especially if it is of a wet or spongy texture; then the pavement is laid down; consisting of a stratum, from five to seven inches deep, of stone of moderate and *uniform* size, broken into angular pieces, and placed with their broadest ends *downwards*. These stones, which are technically called *metal*, have

ng tendency to bind together into a solid, compact, tenacious
The quality of a road depends essentially on that of its pave-
The absolute necessity of a firm bottoming of this kind was
ıgly shown in the case of the Highgate Archway-road. That
rests upon a subsoil of sand, clay, and gravel, and is much
ed to the influence of water. It originally consisted of gravel
and, covered with broken flints and gravel; and when this
, the road was taken up, pieces of waste tin were laid on the
il, and over these were spread gravel, flints, and broken stone.
plan also failed. Twelve hundred cubic yards of gravel were
ınnually over an extent of a mile and a half in length; but in
In 1829, the road was placed under the management of the
ıead-road Commissioners. As paving-stones could not be
ıed, except at a great and undue expense, the Commissioners
ı coating of Roman cement and gravel, as a pavement or bed;
he experiment was completely successful. In the first winter
the cement was laid, four horses were able to trot a heavily-
coach; while before these improvements were made, six horses
lifficulty performed the same work at a walking pace. "Well-
roads," says Mr. Macneill, "formed of clean, hard, broken
placed on a solid foundation, are very little affected by atmos-
changes. Weak roads, on the contrary, or those which are
fectly formed with gravel, flint, or round pebbles, without a
ning, or foundation of stone pavement or concrete, are much
ed by changes of weather. In the formation of such roads, and
they become bound or firm, a considerable portion of the sub-
ixes with the stone or gravel, in consequence of putting the gravel
thin layers; this mixture of earth or clay, in dry warm seasons,
by the heat, and makes the road loose and open. The conse-
e is, that the stones are thrown out, and many of them are
ed and ground into dust, producing considerable wear and
ution of the materials. In wet weather, also, the clay or earth
with stones absorbs moisture, becomes soft, and allows the
to move and rub against each other, when acted upon by the
f horses or wheels of carriages. This attrition of the stones
t each other wears them out surprisingly fast, and produces
quantities of mud, which tend to keep the road damp, and by
ıeans increases the injury." Although, as a general rule, hard
is the best for road-making, yet it is found that such stones
ımes wear out more rapidly than stones of a softer but tougher
y. The best kinds of road-material, according to Sir Henry
ll, are basalt, granite, quartz, syenite, and porphyry rocks.
ıus stones, being of a slaty and argillaceous structure, make
h roads, but are rapidly destroyed by wet. Limestone also is
in this respect. Sandstone makes a good pavement, but is
eak for the surface of a road. Hard flints are nearly as good
ıestones; but the softer flints soon yield to the grinding
ıre of wheels, and make the roads dirty and heavy. Gravel is

a good material, when it consists of hard and large pebbles, which admit of being broken; but when it consists of limestone, sandstone, or flint, it is too friable to be an effective material for roads. "Throughout Scotland," says Mr. Stevenson, "and even as far south as the approaching sources of the rivers Tees and Ribble, good road-metal is generally to be met with, containing the numerous varieties of granite, greenstone, basalt, porphyry, and limestone. South of this boundary, as far as the Trent and the Dee, in Cheshire, the formation is chiefly coal, sandstone, and the softer varieties of limestone. In the southern counties, chalk and gravel soils chiefly occur, affording flint and gravel, both of which, under proper management, make excellent roads. In North and South Wales we have all the varieties of road-metal which are common to Scotland. In Ireland they have excellent road-materials, as granite and limestone are pretty generally distributed."

From metalled we pass to paved roads. The construction of paved roads appears to have been well understood by the Romans, who were very careful to secure those two essentials to a successful pavement,—a good foundation, and an accurate fitting of the stones. Some of the modern stone-pavements of Italy are constructed upon these ancient models; and the stones are set with such accuracy in mortar, on a concrete foundation, that they have been designated *horizontal walls*. The *chaussée*, or roughly-paved causeway, which is used in the principal highways of France, and some other parts of the continent, is also considered to be derived from the Romans. In Holland, pavements of brick, probably suggested by the practice of the Roman engineers, are used for footpaths and for roadways for light vehicles. "Two kinds of pavement," observes a recent writer on this subject, "are chiefly adopted in the capitals of Great Britain and Ireland; the one is termed the *rubble* causeway, and the other the *aisler* causeway. In the rubble form, the stones are slightly dressed with a hammer; in the aisler form, the stones are nearly of determinate dimensions, varying from five to seven inches in thickness, from eight to twelve in length, and about a foot in breadth. A good specimen of the aisler causeway is to be seen in the Commercial-road, leading from Whitechapel to the India Docks, at Blackwall and Poplar. This road is seventy feet wide, and two miles long. The footpaths are laid with Yorkshire flags, and the roadway with granite. The tramway consists of large blocks of stone, eighteen inches wide by twelve inches deep, and from two-and-a-half to ten feet long. These are placed in rows, four feet apart, on a hard bottom of gravel, or on a concrete foundation; and their ends are firmly jointed together, so as to prevent any kind of movement. As an example of the value of this road, it is stated that a loaded waggon, weighing ten tons, was drawn by one horse from the West India Docks, a distance of two miles, with a rise in the road of 1 in 274, at the rate of nearly four miles an hour. In English towns generally the carriage-roads, if paved, are covered with blocks of

, more or less resembling cubes; while the footpaths are covered broad thin flag-stones. In Florence, the whole breadth of the s is paved with flag-stones, placed diagonally; and in Naples urfaces are nearly as smooth. In both these cases, it is neces- o roughen the stones frequently with chisels, wherever there is or bridge, to prevent horses from slipping; but in both cities, orses, from habit, are sufficiently sure footed, even when running some rapidity. In Milan, both kinds of pavements are mixed her in the same street; the smooth kind in two double lines e wheels of carriages coming and going, and the rougher in the nediate parts for the feet of the horses."

ads of asphalte, and pavements of wooden-blocks, have been luced of late years, with varying degrees of success. The lte appears to be well suited for side pavements for foot- ngers; the wooden blocks promise well, but are still in the of experimentalizers.

om the subject of roads we pass, by an easy transition, to that rriages. The sedan-chair, the palanquin, and the litter, were g the simplest and earliest modes of conveyance, in which some of carriage was made use of in addition to animal power. The -litter, a native of Bithynia, was introduced into this country e Normans. The body of William Rufus, as we learn from sbury, was placed upon a "*rheda caballaria,*" which Fabian rs, "a horse-litter." King John, in his last illness, was con- l from the abbey of Swinstead in "*lectica equestre.*" Froissart with reference to Isabel, the second wife of Richard II., "La Royne d'Angleterre en une litiere moult riche qui etoit ordonée elle." When Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII. visited and, she rode upon a "faire palfrey;" but two footmen followed ith "one vary riche litere, borne by two faire coursers vary drest; in the wich litere the sayd queene was borne in the ng of the good townes, or otherwise to her good playsher." litter continued in use long after the introduction of coaches. mother of Henrietta, queen of Charles I., entered London in a having previously travelled from Warwick in a coach. These s were seldom used except on state occasions, and were often rich and gorgeous description, as may be seen in Holinshed's iption of the litter in which Queen Katherine was borne at her ation.

heel carriages were at first of the very simplest description. carts used by the Chilian peasantry are probably among the t: they are constructed of wood and hides, and are sometimes with canes and straw; not a particle of iron or any other being employed. The *essedum* of the ancient Britons, re- l to in Cæsar's Commentaries (lib. iv. c. 29), was one of the est vehicles belonging to the class of chariot. As the Britons, engaged in battle, used to run along the pole, the chariot must been low in front; while *the war-chariots* of the Romans were

there breast-high, and the front was called ἀσπιδίσκη, or the shield-part. Strutt describes a kind of chariot in use among the Anglo-Saxons, as closely resembling the old British *essedum*. This rude contrivance was improved upon by the Saxons. In the Cotton Library there is a valuable Saxon illuminated MS., attributed by some to Cicdna, by others to Elfricus, Abbot of Malmsbury. In this, a slung carriage is represented, the delineation being an illustration of the meeting of Jacob and Joseph. The chariot in which Joseph is seated is a kind of hammock, (most probably made of leather, which was much used by the Anglo-Saxons,) suspended by iron hooks from a frame-work of wood; the whole resting on four wheels. Jacob is seated in a cart only, of the most primitive simplicity.

Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, contend for the honour of having first introduced private carriages. Beckman states that when Charles of Anjou entered Naples, (towards the end of the thirteenth century,) his queen rode in a *caretta*, covered without and lined within with sky-blue velvet, interspersed with golden lilies. In 1294, Philip the Fair, of France, issued an ordinance forbidding the general use of "cars," "chares," or "charats," as they were afterwards called. In the "Anciennes Chroniques de Flandres," a manuscript of the date 1347, there is an illustration of the flight of Emergard, wife of Salvard, Lord of Rousillon; where she appears seated in a "chariette" of a sufficiently clumsy and cumbrous construction, but curiously carved and fitted up with purple and crimson hangings. The "chare" was soon known in England. In "The Squyr of Low Degree," the father of the Princess of Hungary says:—

> "To-morrow ye shall on hunting fare,
> And ride my daughter in a chare.
> It shall be covered with velvet red,
> And cloths of fine gold all about your head;
> With damask white, and azure blue,
> Well diapered with lilies new:
> Your pomelles shall be ended with gold,
> Your chains enamelled many a fold."

Coaches were known in France and Spain sooner than in England. Stowe, in his Summarie of the English Chronicle, says that coaches were not used in England until 1555, when Walter Rippon made one for the Earl of Rutland: and that the same builder made one for Queen Mary in 1564; and, again, that he built, in 1584, "a chariot throne with foure pillars behind, to beare a crowne imperiale on the toppe, and before two lower pillars, whereon stood a lion and a dragon, the supporters of the arms of England." Taylor, the Water Poet, in his life of old Parr, says: "He (Parr, who was born in Edward the Fourth's reign, 1483) was eighty-one years old before there was any coach in England: for the first ever seen here was brought out of the Netherlands by one William Boonen, a Dutchman, who gave a coach to Queen Elizabeth, for she had been seven years a queen before she had any coach."

As coaches began to increase, a general outcry was raised against them. In 1588, Duke Julius of Brunswick issued an edict, forbidding his vassals to ride in coaches; because by that means "the useful discipline and skill in riding had been almost lost." In 1668, Philip, Duke of Pomerania Stetten, expressed his disapproval of coaches: and in the Churmark Archives there is an edict still preserved, in which the use of coaches is prohibited under pain of incurring the punishment of felony. But these and all similar prohibitions shared the natural and necessary fate of all sumptuary laws. In London, the watermen, led on by Taylor, the Water Poet, already referred to, were lustily clamorous in their opposition. Taylor's logic appears to have been on a par with that of the worthy who traced relations of cause and effect between Tenterden steeple and Godwin Sands. Hackney coaches, he says, "never swarmed so much to pester the streets as they do now, till the year 1605; and then was the gunpowder treason hatched, and at that time did the coaches breed and multiply." He is more successful in his direct vituperations; when he launches out in this strain:—"The coach is a close hypocrite; for it hath a cover for knavery, and curtains to vaile and shadow any wickedness. Besides, like a perpetual cheater, it wears two bootes and no spurs, sometimes having two pair of legs to one boote, and oftentimes (against nature) it makes faire ladies weare the boote; and if you note, they are carried back to back, like people surprised by pyrats, to be tyed in that miserable manner and thrown overboard into the sea. Moreover, it makes people imitate sea-crabs, in being drawn sideway as they are when they sit in the boote of the coach; and it is a dangerous kinde of carriage for the commonwealth, if it be considered." In 1635, Sir Saunders Duncombe obtained a patent for sedans; which were intended to diminish the use of coaches. There is a lively tract, dated 1636, in the Archæologia, entitled, "Coach and Sedan: a pleasant dispute for precedence, the brewer's cart being moderator." "Sedan was in a suit of green, after a strange manner, windowed behind and before with isinglasse, having two handsome fellows in green coats attending him; the one ever went before, the other came behind. Their coats were laced downe the back with a green lace suitable; so were their half-sleeves; which persuaded me at first they were some cast suites of their masters. Their backs were harnessed with leather angles cut out of a hide as broad as Dutch collops of bacon." Then comes the description of Coach. "The other was a thick, burly, square-sett fellow, in a doublet of black leather, brasse-buttoned downe the breast, back, sleeves, and winges, with monstrous wide bootes fringed at the top with a net fringe, and a round breech guilded, and on the back an achievement of sundry coats in their proper colours, &c. Hee had only one man before him, wrapt in a red cloake, with wide sleeves turned up at the hands, and cudgelled thick on the back and shoulders with broad shining lace (not much unlike that which mummers *make of strawen hats*); and of each side of

ıdilly. "What coach, your honour?" says a ruffianly-looking
w. "I wish to go home to Exeter," replies the old gentleman,
y. "Just in time, your honour, here she comes—them there
horses—where's your luggage?" "Don't be in a hurry," ob-
s the stranger; "that's a gentleman's carriage." "It ain't! I
ou," says the cad, "it's the Comet; and you must be as quick
htning." The old gentleman is hurried in, gasping with appre-
ion lest his luggage should be left behind, and finds a clergy-
and one of the proprietors of the coach as his fellow-passengers.
-and-thirty minutes bring them to the noted town of Brentford;
riend's alarm at the rate of travelling having hardly been dissipated
ıe proprietor assuring him that they "never go fast" over that
. "Hah!" says the old man, becoming young again, "what,
nprovement in this filthy place? Is old Brentford still here?
ational disgrace. Pray, sir, who is your county member now?"
s name is Hume, sir," was the reply. "The modern Hercules;
eal cleanser of the Augean stable." "A gentleman of large
erty in the county, I presume?" said the man of the last century.
ot an acre," replied the communicative proprietor, "a Scotchman
the town of Montrose." "Aye, aye; nothing like the high
to London for these Scotchmen. A great city merchant, no
ot, worth a plum or two." "No such thing, sir," quoth the
r, "the gentleman was a doctor, and made his fortune in the
es." "No quack, I warrant you," said the ancient, doubtingly.
proprietor was silent; but the clergyman in the corner muttered
ething, which, however, was lost, owing to the coach coming at
instant, at the rate of ten miles an hour, upon the vile pavement
rentford.

We must give our next extract entire; it is too graphic to be
hed by any other pen than that of "Nimrod."

In five minutes under the hour the Comet arrives at Hounslow, to the great
ht of our friend, who by this time waxed hungry, not having broken his
before starting. 'Just fifty-five minutes and thirty-seven seconds,' says
from the time we left London!—wonderful travelling, gentlemen, to be
but much too fast to be safe. However, we are arrived at a good-look-
ouse; and now, waiter! I hope you have got breakf—.' Before the last
ble, however, of the word could be pronounced, the worthy old gentleman's
struck the back of the coach by a jerk, which he could not account for,
fact was, three of the four fresh horses were bolters,) and the waiter,
nn, and indeed Hounslow itself disappeared in the twinkling of an eye.
r did such a succession of doors, windows, and window shutters pass so
ly in his review before—and he hoped they might never do so again.
vering, however, a little from his surprise—'My dear sir,' said he, 'you
me we were to change horses at Hounslow? surely they are not so inhuman
drive these poor animals another stage at this unmerciful rate!' 'Change
s, sir!' says the proprietor; 'why we changed them whilst you were put-
on your spectacles, and looking at your watch. Only one minute allowed
at Hounslow, and it is often done in fifty seconds by those nimble-fin-
horsekeepers.' 'You astonish me; but really I do not like to go so
'Oh, sir, we always *spring* them over these six miles. It is what we
the hospital ground.' This alarming phrase is presently interpreted; it

ght,—she flies along the springing, varying surface, at a rate h sadly discomposes the solitary tenant of the "backgammon d." Whoever is acquainted with the principles of mechanics, vs that under the circumstances we have just described, the er part of the coach would swing more than any other part; so our resuscitated traveller was worse off than ever. At the time the Regulator was in one of her best gallops, and the "back-mon board" was oscillating fearfully, she was met by the Comet oach, driven by the "artist" whom we parted with a short time and who thus describes the situation and appearance of his dam passenger.

He was seated with his back to the horses—his arms extended to each extre-of the guard-irons—his teeth set grim as death—his eyes cast down, as if he ht that the less he saw of his danger the better. There was what was called heavy load,—perhaps a ton of luggage on the roof, and, it may be, not quite dience to the act-of-parliament standard. There were also two horses at wheel whose strides were of rather unequal length, and this operated fully on the coach. In short, the lurches of the Regulator were awful at oment of the Comet passing her."

t Hertford-bridge, our friend is only too happy to part company the Regulator; and as he descends from his perilous elevation, nanimously resolves to *walk* into Devonshire; while at the same he indignantly dismisses the coachman shillingless, accounting "dangerous." But his hasty resolve to pedestrianize passes with his tremour and wrath, and when he finds that he cannot it for less than twenty pounds, he concludes to trust himself to ch once more. As luggage had been the chief source of his r, as he swung to and fro on the backgammon board of the tful Regulator, he now inquires anxiously for a coach that s no luggage whatever upon the roof.

Have you no coach that does not carry luggage on the top?' he asks. es, sir,' replies the waiter, 'we shall have one to-night that is not allowed ry a band-box on the roof.' 'That's the coach for me; pray what do you ?' 'The Quicksilver mail, sir; one of the best out of London,—Jack and Tom Brown, pick'd coachmen, over this ground,—Jack White down ht.' 'Guarded and lighted?' 'Both, sir, blunderbuss and pistols in the -case; a lamp each side the coach, and one under the footboard,—see to p a pin the darkest night in the year.' 'Very fast?' 'Oh no, sir, just time, and that's all.' 'That's the coach for me then,' repeats our hero; I am sure I shall feel at my ease in it. I suppose it is what used to be the old Mercury.'

nfortunately, the Devonport (commonly called the Quicksilver) mail, is mile in the hour faster than most in England, and is, indeed, one of the les of the road. Let us, then, picture to ourselves our anti-reformer y seated in this mail, on a pitch-dark night in November. It is true she o luggage on the roof, nor much to incommode her elsewhere; but she is in the hour faster than the Comet, at least three miles quicker than the lator; and she performs more than half her journey by lamp-light. It is ess to say, then, that our senior soon finds out his mistake; but there is medy at hand, for it is the dead of night, and all the inns are shut up. ust proceed, or be left behind in a stable. The climax of his misfortunes

on a stage which is called the fastest on the journey,—it is four miles of ground, and twelve minutes is the time! The old gentleman starts from his seat, having dreamt the horses were running away with the coach, and so indeed they might be. He is, however, determined to convince himself of the fact, though the passengers assure him 'all's right.' 'Don't put your head out of the window,' says one of them, 'you will lose your hat to a certainty.' But advice is seldom listened to by a terrified man; and the next moment a stentorian voice is heard, crying, 'Stop, coachman, stop; I've lost my hat and wig!' The coachman hears him not; and in another second the broad wheels of a down wagon have for ever demolished the lost head-gear. But here we must take leave of our adventurous Gilpin of 1742. We have taken a great liberty with him, it is true, but we are not without our precedent. One of the best chapters in Livy contains the history of 'an event which never took place.' In the full charm of his imagination, the historian brings Alexander into Italy, where he never was in his life, and displays him in his brightest colours. We father our sins then upon the Patavinian."

We had intended to have traced, in connexion with our account of mail-coaches, the history of the successive arrangements for the conveyance of letters. But our limits forbid our entering upon this subject in our present paper; and, indeed, it may very fitly lie over until we resume the general subject, and treat of the rise and progress of railroads; which have now, for some years, cast all the ancient glories of "the road" into Cimmerian darkness, and involved them in hopeless eclipse.

We conclude, for the present, with a short account of private carriages. "Nimrod" has furnished a rapid and lively sketch of their later history; their earlier history we have already given. "Nimrod" *loquitur*:—

"As a fac-simile of the gentleman's family coach of fifty years back is now become difficult to produce, we will describe it. It had a most comfortable and roomy body, quite fit to contain six portly persons, and suspended by long leather braces, affixed to nearly upright springs. To enable the body to hang low, the perch of a bent form, called the compass-perch, was used, and the carriage was of great length and strength. In fact, it was, coachman and all, in strict accordance with the animals that drew it, and came under the denomination of 'slow and easy.' The fashionable open carriage of this day was a still more unsightly object,—the high, single-bodied phaeton, all upon the fore-wheels, and looking as if the hinder ones had nothing to do but to follow. This was the favourite carriage of the late king (George IV.) when Prince of Wales, and was commonly driven, by such as could afford it, with four horses in hand. Indeed, it may almost be said to have given birth to our gentleman-coachmanship, as well as to the well-known epigram:—

'What can Tommy Onslow do?
He can drive a phaeton and two.
Can Tommy Onslow do no more?
Yes; he can drive a phaeton and four!'

"The phaeton was succeeded by the no less classically yclept curricle—carriage, when properly appointed, and followed by two well-dressed and well-appointed grooms, of singular elegance certainly. It had a long run in the fashionable world, but being, like the phaeton, only calculated to carry two persons, and requiring no less than three horses, taxation and economy put an end to it. Then came the reign of the gig. The curate's wife, a gouty attorney, or a rich old farmer, fifty years ago, might be seen boxed up in

a whiskey—which being hung on hind and fore braces, with a head to protect its inmates from weather, made a convenient family conveyance, and, with a steady dobbin to draw it, a safe one. Economy induced a leader of *ton* to cast favourable eyes on this snug whiskey—and hence the airy gig, with a hundred-guinea horse in it, has been the best friend to doctors and undertakers they have ever yet found. The race has multiplied, and many names and varieties have been adopted in succession. The quiet movement of their wheels, the nice equilibrium in which they are placed on the axle, the evenness of their motion by reason of their being detached from their shafts, and the ease with which they follow the horse, make gigs delightful carriages to ride in, and we could wish they were not so dangerous. The Stanhope, so named after the Honourable Fitzroy Stanhope, who planned it, succeeded the Tilbury, so called from the well-known coachmaker. . . . The Buggy, Stanhope, Dennet, and Tilbury, have all, during some seasons past, been supplanted by the cabriolet for town work. . . . But this is now rather on the decline; and the light and airy Tilbury is making its appearance again."

Our limits will not allow us to take any notice of the cariole, britzscka, droitzschka, carriages introduced from Norway, Germany, and Russia respectively; nor of any other of the very various vehicles which throng the streets of the metropolis.

THE LIFE OF TORQUATO TASSO.

PART III.—FROM 1577—1586.

Tasso having left Ferrara in this deplorable state, avoided the great towns and even the high roads, for fear of being pursued and recognised. He arrived in a few days in the Neapolitan states: his design was to seek his sister Cornelia, who then dwelt in their native town, Sorrento. After the death of her mother she remained at Naples, under the care of her uncles, who resisted all Bernardo's entreaties that she might be sent to him. They gave her in marriage to a gentleman of Sorrento, named Serrale; she had been a widow many years, but it seems with an independent fortune. Though the brother and sister had not met since their infancy, they retained their affection for each other, and Tasso had no reason to doubt that he should be well received. However, the distrust natural to the unfortunate, suggested the idea of making an experiment on her affections. He exchanged his dress with a shepherd, and presented himself to his sister, as a person who was commissioned to bring her news of her brother. Her extreme emotion on hearing his misfortunes left no doubt on the mind of Tasso. He made himself known to her, and found in the affection of this beloved sister the sweetest consolations he had experienced since his distress.

There, in one of the most beautiful spots on earth, in a pure atmosphere, and watched over with the tenderest care, he soon found relief. The melancholy and dark fears which haunted him abated, and he began naturally to perceive that he had quitted Ferrara on too slight grounds, and to regret that he had excited the duke's displeasure. He

passed, as is commonly the case in this fearful malady, from one extreme to the other. He wrote to the duke and the princesses, entreating to be restored to his place, and, above all, to their favour. Neither Alphonso nor the duchess made any reply. Leonora's was calculated to deprive him of all hope. His next idea was, that it would be a noble action to place his life in the hands of the duke. Cornelia's entreaties were of no avail; and, whilst yet scarcely recovered from a dangerous illness, he left Sorrento to execute this design.

When arrived at Rome, he wished to give a public proof of his confidence in the duke, by going instantly to his agent: the agent and the ambassador of the duke both received him with kindness, and wrote to their prince to intercede for him. Scipio Gonzaga and the cardinal Albano, who was nearly as much attached to him as Scipio himself, recommended him not to return to Ferrara till he was invited thither; that he should only ask Alphonso's forgiveness, and request to be allowed to have the property and papers he had left in the palace at Ferrara. The cardinal wrote to the duke to this effect, who replied that he had given orders that all the papers Tasso had left behind him should be collected and remitted to him; but he expressed himself vaguely as to the rest. The papers were never sent, perhaps because the duke and the princesses having lost the poet, wished to retain possession of his valuable works. Tasso was not discouraged; he addressed fresh entreaties through the agent and the ambassador. At last the duke yielded to the request of his ministers, and consented that he should re-enter his service; but that he must first acknowledge that all his fears and suspicions originated in his disordered mind. He must submit to proper medical treatment; and, if he should again annoy him as heretofore with his complaints, the duke on his part was resolved not to admit him to his presence; and, should he refuse to follow the advice of his physicians, he would be immediately banished for ever from Ferrara.

Notwithstanding the dryness of this answer, and the indifference it betrayed, Tasso submitted to everything, and returned to Ferrara with the ambassador whom the duke had recalled. He was received kindly, and had the same access to the duke and his sisters as before; but he soon perceived, or fancied he perceived, that his talents were no longer held in the same estimation; that they sought to draw him aside from the pursuit of fame, and encourage him to lead a life of luxury and idleness. Probably this arose from a kind though mistaken idea, that amusement and rest from his wonted occupation would restore the balance of his mind. However, his manuscripts were still withheld; in spite of his repeated applications, they remained under the custody of one of the great officers of the household, which Tasso justly complained of as abitrary treatment. He appealed to the princesses, to the duke; they refused to listen to him—to their confessor, who would not interfere. Such treatment would have exhausted the patience of one in the best state of health and reason. At length he grew weary of remaining where he could obtain neither compassion nor justice, and, abandoning his books and manuscripts, he again left the court, to seek under the protection of some other prince, an asylum, and the means of repairing his shattered fortunes.

He first proceeded to Mantua, hoping that the duke, his father's and his own former friend would be disposed to receive him, but he there experienced much the same treatment as at Ferrara. He was destitute of money; and, in order to proceed, he was obliged to sell the valuables he had in his possession. It was with great reluctance he parted with a gold chain and the ruby given him by the duchess of Urbino. Advantage was taken of his distress, and he could only obtain for them a third of their value. He went to Padua and to Venice, where he met with little kindness. Maffeo Viniero, a patrician, wrote in his favour to the grand duke of Tuscany; but before a reply could reach him, he had quitted Venice for Urbino, and here at last he was received with the respect due to his genius and his misfortunes.

It is remarkable that his poetical powers never forsook him; he gave a proof of this on arriving at Urbino. The duke was in the country; Tasso wrote to him from his palace, and whilst waiting there for his reply, he began the celebrated Canzone :—

"O del grand 'Apennino,
Figlio picciolo sì, ma glorioso." *

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* CANZONE AL METAURO,

FIUMICELLO DEL CONTADO D'URBINO.

O del grand 'Apennino
Figlio picciolo sì, ma glorioso,
E di nome più chiaro assai che d'onde!
Fugace peregrino,
A queste tue cortesi amiche sponde
Per sicurezza vengo, e per riposo.
L' alta Quercia che tu bagni e feconda
Con dolcissimi umori (ond' ella spiega
I rami sì ch' i monti e i mari ingombra;)
Mi ricopra coll' ombra;
L'ombra sacra, ospital, ch' altrui non nega
Al suo fresco gentil riposo e sede,
Entro al più denso mi racoglia e chiuda;
Si ch' io celato sia da quella cruda
E cieca Dea; ch' è cieca e pur mi vede,
Bench' io da lei m'appiatti in monte o'n valle,
E per solingo calle
Notturno io muova, e sconosciuto il piède;)
E mi saetta sì, che ne' miei mali
Mostra tanti occhi aver quanto ella ha strali.
Oime! dal dì che pria
Trassi l'aure vitali, e i lumi apersi
In questa luce, a me non mai serena.
Fui dell' ingiusta e ria
Trastullo e segno, e di sua man soffersi
Piaghe che lunga età risaldà appena.
Sassel la gloriosa alma Sirena
Appresso il cui sepolchro ebbi la cuna.
Così avuto v'avessi o tomba o fossa,
Alla prima percossa!
Ma dal' sen della Madre empia Fortuna
Pargoletto divelse; ah! di que' baci,
Ch' ella bagnò di lagrime dolenti,

This son of the Apennines was the small river Metaurus, which flows through the duchy of Urbino. The poet goes on to say, that he is come to repose under the lofty oak that overshadows this river. (The duke bore an oak on his escutcheon.) Under this hospitable and sacred tree he hoped to find shelter and protection from the cruel goddess who, though painted blind, pursues him day and night, on plains and mountains, with her unerring darts. This stanza is poetical, but the two following, perhaps, surpass any that even Petrarch ever wrote, in truth and depth of feeling, as well as in poetical beauty. He retraces the misfortunes that had assailed him from his youth—his separation from his mother—his grief for the loss of his father. The arrival of the duke, who hurried back to welcome Tasso, checked this burst of poetry and feeling, and he never afterwards resumed the poem. It is to be regretted that the duke returned so soon, especially as all his kindness could only soothe for a moment the over-excited imagination of the sufferer. His melancholy increased in spite of every effort to remove it. Some able physicians recommended cautery; and an affecting little incident testifies the regard and interest he excited in the ducal family. The young and beautiful Lavinia della Rovere, a relation of the duke, prepared with her own hands, and assisted in applying, the bandages to the wound. His gratitude was expressed in a madrigal:—

"Se di si nobil mano
Dibben venir li fasche all' mie piaghi."

But nothing could check the impulse which led him to restless change of place, and to rush into real danger in order to avoid imaginary ones. Believing himself no longer safe at the court of Urbino,

---

Con sospir mi remembra, e degli ardenti
Preghi, che sen portar l'aure fugaci,
Ch' io giunger non dovea più volto a volto
Fra quelle braccia accolto
Con nodi così stretti e sì tenaci.
Lasso! e seguii con mal sicure piante
Qual Ascanio, o Camilla, il padre errante.
In aspro esiglio e in dura
Povertà crebbi in quei sì mesti errori;
Intempestivo senso ebbi agli affanni
Ch' anzi stagion matura
L' acerbità de' casi e de' dolori
In me rendè l' acerbità degli anni
L' egra spogliata sua vecchièzza; e i danni.
Narrerò tutti, or che non sono io tanto
Ricco de' propri guai, che basti solo
Per materia di duolo:
Dunque altri ch' io da me dev' esser pianto?
Già scarsi al mio voler sono i sospiri,
E queste due d'umor si larghe vene
Non agguaglian le lagrime alle pene.
Padre, o buon padre! che dal ciel rimiri
Egro e morto ti piansi, e ben tu'l sai
E gemendo scaldai
La tomba e 'l letto; or che negli alti giri
Tu godi, a te si deve onor non lutto
A me versato il mio dolor sia tutto.

* * * * *

luke of Savoy appeared to him to be the only prince in Italy
ble of affording him protection. To him, therefore, he resolved to
nd secretly took his departure on a hired horse. He bent his
e towards Piedmont; and years afterwards he recorded in one of
ialogues *(Il Padre del Famiglio)* an incident which befel him
at occasion, and which seems to have made a pleasing impression
s memory. In the beginning of this dialogue, he thus describes
dventure: "It was in autumn, that, as I was travelling on horse-
between Novara and Vercelli, seeing the clouds collect, and the
arken around me, I began to press forward, in hopes of reaching a
r before the storm came on, when I suddenly heard a confused
of dogs and hunters; looking back, I saw a hare, followed by two
greyhounds, which fell breathless close beside me. In a few
nts a youth tall, active, handsome, and well-proportioned, came
nd calling off the dogs, gave the game in charge to a country-
Then turning to me, he begged to know whither I was travel-
To Vercelli, I replied, which, if time will permit, I hope to reach
ght. 'It would have been easy to do so,' said he, 'but for the
d state of the river which divides Piedmont from the Milanese,
which will make the passage difficult, if not dangerous; let me,
fore, request you to become my guest for the night.' As he
, I was struck with his noble air and the courteousness of his
anour. He was on foot, and I therefore dismounted, and, return-
ay horse to its owner, who accompanied me, I told him that, when
me to the river, I would be determined by his advice whether to
pt to cross it, or to accept his hospitable offer. Seeing that he
his eyes on me, as if desirous to learn who I was; I said I was
nger. Not satisfied with this, he inquired from whence I came,
what induced me to come into that country. I replied, I was
in the kingdom of Naples; my name is too obscure to be known
u, were I to mention it; I fly from the frowns of fortune and of
es, and intend to take refuge in Savoy. 'You could not seek the
ction of a more just and generous prince,' he observed, and, see-
was unwilling to say more, he forbore to press me. We soon
d at the river, which shot along with the swiftness of an arrow,
verflowed its banks. Some peasants assured me that the passage
l be attended with danger; so, turning to the youth, I said, 'Neces-
ompels me to accept your hospitality, which, indeed, I feel no
to decline.' 'I rejoice in the accident that makes you my guest,'
plied, 'though I should rather have been indebted solely to your
nation.'

Our home is close at hand,' continued he, pointing out a house
ar from the river. 'The mansion is elegant,' I observed, 'and be-
s that its lord possesses in this retreat the taste and refinement of
rt. Are you the owner of it?' 'No,' returned he; 'it belongs
y father, and long may he live to possess it! he is not unknown
e world, though he has spent the greater part of his life in this
ment.' As he spoke, a youth younger, but not less prepossessing,
pearance, approached, and announced his father's return, who
ntly arrived on horseback. He appeared to be about sixty,

though his silver hair and beard spoke a still more advanced age, and increased the dignity of his appearance. I saluted him with the respect his years and demeanour claimed. 'From whence comes our guest?' said he to his son; 'his person is unknown to me.' 'From Novara,' answered the youth, 'and he is on his way to Turin;' then drawing nearer to his father, he spoke in a low voice. The old man desisted from any further inquiries, saying, 'Whoever he may be, he is welcome.'"

He goes on to relate that, during the repast, the conversation happened to turn on astronomy; and that his host, astonished by the knowledge he displayed on the subject, observed, "that he was now convinced he was a person whose fame had reached those parts."

The next day he pursued his journey, escorted by the good old man and his sons to Vercelli, and from thence continued it on foot, through rain, and rugged, and miry roads; thus he arrived at the gates of Turin. The guards, seeing him in such a wretched plight, and without a passport, roughly refused him admittance. In this dilemma, Angelo Ingegneri, a literary man whom he had known at Venice, chanced to pass by, and, recognising him, procured him leave to enter the city, and conducted him to the palace of the Marquis Filippo d'Este, then General of the Horse to Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and high in his favour. He received him with kindness, and provided him with every accommodation.

Here Tasso began to feel at ease; the Archbishop of Turin, a friend of his father's and the Marquis d'Este, disputed the pleasure of entertaining him, and he was presented to the Prince Charles Emanuel, who wished to engage him in his service on the same footing as he had been in the Court of Ferrara. His compositions at this time prove that his genius retained all its former energy. It was at Turin that he wrote his "Discourse on Nobility;" and there, also, that charming Canzone addressed to the Marchioness D'Este, on seeing her dance with four of her companions. The last stanza betrays that, if all were beautiful, one far surpassed the rest in his eyes, and awoke in him those sweet emotions to which he had formerly been so prone to yield. We cannot see without pleasure this ray of light gilding, for a moment, the dark cloud that hung over his mind.

It was of short duration. The recollection of Ferrara, his attachment to the duke, his anxiety to recover his manuscripts, again took possession of his mind. It seemed as if an invincible destiny impelled him to seek in that court the extreme point of his misfortunes. He employed the Cardinal Albano to negotiate his return, and was informed that the duke would receive him with pleasure if he would attend to the directions of the physicians, and refrain from any aggression on the persons attached to his household.

The duke was making preparations for his second nuptials with Margaret di Gonzaga, a daughter of the Duke of Mantua, and Tasso was assured that, if he returned to Ferrara in so auspicious a moment, he would not only regain possession of his books and manuscripts, but probably receive marks of favour which would enable him to live honourably at the court. His joy and impatience to set out were

unded. In vain the Marquis D'Este advised him to wait till the
g, when he promised that he would himself conduct him to
ra; in vain did all his other friends at Turin, join in entreating
o listen to this advice—a fatality seemed to urge him on.
arrived at Ferrara the 21st February, 1579, on the eve of the
hen the bride was to make her entrance. The whole court was
ied in preparing for her reception; no one had leisure to an-
e his arrival to the duke or the princesses. His acquaintance
e palace, from whom he expected a welcome, treated him with
ess and unkindness. We may imagine what were his feelings
t the general joy, condemned to wander through the palace, in
no apartment was assigned him, unnoticed, and almost unrecog-
seeking in vain some place where he might obtain a short
. The festival lasted many successive days, and when at last it
, his situation did not improve. Excluded from the presence of
ke, and his sisters, neglected by his friends, rallied by his ene-
derided by the domestics, he lost all patience, his natural gentle-
orsook him, and he vented his fury in a torrent of reproaches on
onso, the house of Este, and the whole court, cursing the years he
pent in their service, and retracting all he had written in their
.

e duke, on being informed of his violence, instead of acknow-
g that he had given him cause of complaint—instead of feeling
kindness for a man whom he had caressed and flattered in his
er days—to whose talents he had for eleven years owed his chief
from the cares of state—gave orders that he should be in-
y conducted to the Hospital of St. Anne, in which lunatics were
ied, and there kept under restraint as a furious madman.
is stroke plunged Tasso into a kind of stupor; he remained thus
any days. Bodily illness was added to the disorder of his mind;
when the fever which his agitation had produced abated, he felt
more acutely the misery and disgrace to which he had been
cted.

ery thing marked his degraded situation: deprived of even the
s of personal cleanliness, to which he had always been scrupu-
attentive, his hair, his beard, his dress, the cell in which he was
ied, in a state that excited his disgust; condemned to solitude,
h he had always disliked, and which was now insupportable to
the ill-treatment he experienced from the subordinate attend-
of the Hospital, and even from the prior himself, plunged him
he most pitiable state. A letter written at this time to Scipio di
aga gives so simple and touching a description of his sufferings,
I have inserted it in a note.* Even the consolations of reli-

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Oimè misero me! Io aveva disegnato di scrivere, altre due Poemi Eroici
ilissimo ed onestissimo argomento, quattro Tragedie, delle quali aveva già for-
a tavola, e molte opere in prosa, e di materia bellissima e giovevolissima alla
gli uomini, e d'accoppiare con la Filosofia l'eloquenza in guisa che rimanesse
eterna memoria nel mondo; e m'aveva proposto un fine di gloria e d'onore
no. Ma ora oppresso dal peso di tante sciagure, ho messo in abbandon ogni
ro di gloria e d'onore, ed assai felice d'esser mi parebbe, se senza sospetto
i trarmi la sete, dalla quale continuamente son travagliato; e se com' uno di

gion were denied him: in a letter to Buoncompagno, in the fourteenth month of his captivity, he complains that the chaplain of the Hospital had never visited him, and that his request to be allowed to confess and to receive the eucharist had been constantly refused.

The prior of the hospital, Agostino Mosti, had been a disciple of Ariosto, to whose memory he had erected a monument. Capable, as he was, of feeling the charms of poetry, and educated in such a school, it might reasonably have been expected that he would have pitied the misfortunes of a poet, and sought by every means in his power to soothe and alleviate them. On the contrary, he seems to have taken pleasure in inflicting on him every species of persecution, and making him acquainted with all the horrors of his prison. There appears to be only one way of accounting for this. His admiration for Ariosto approached to idolatry; in Tasso, he beheld a successful rival to his fame. Incredible as this solution may appear, party spirit has, even now, aroused passions equally malevolent.

Tasso would, perhaps, have sunk under this treatment, but for the kind offices of Giulio Mosti, a nephew of the prior, who sought by every means to make amends for his uncle's severity. He was well educated, and capable of appreciating the charms of Tasso's conversation; he passed many hours of the day with him, listening with interest to the verses he recited, and occasionally writing them from his dictation. He also undertook to convey the letters he wrote, and to bring him the replies. Tasso was touched with his attention, and took much pleasure in his society.

While thus confined as a dangerous madman, and subjected to treatment calculated to aggravate rather than to cure his malady, Tasso's greatest mark of insanity was the obstinacy with which he clung to the hope of obtaining either pity or justice from the Duke of Ferrara. He wrote the most submissive letters; he addressed verses to him and the princesses, in which he described his sufferings in the most lively and affecting manner. Sometimes he could playfully allude to his privations. Being left one evening in darkness, a cat entered his cell, whose eyes shone in the obscurity; he addressed a sonnet to her, comparing her to a star which arose to guide him through the storm. Another cat followed the first; they were the Great and

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questi uomini ordinari potessi in qualche povero albergo menar la mia vita in libertà se non sano, che più non posso essere, almeno non così angosciamente infermo; se non onorato, almeno non abbominato; se non con le leggi degli uomini, con quelle de' bruti almeno, che ne' fiumi e ne' fonti liberamente spengono la sete, della qual (e mi giova il replicarlo) tutto sono acceso. Nè già tanto temo la grandezza del male, quanto la continuazione ch' orribilmente dinnanzi al pensiero mi s'appresenta massimamente conoscendo che in tale stato non sono atto nè allo scrivere nè al operare. E 'l timor di continua prigionia molto accresce la mia mestizia; e l'accresce l'indignità che mi conviene usare; e lo squallore della barba e delle chiome, e degli abiti, e la sordidezza e 'l succidume fieramente m'annojano; e sovra tutto m'affligge la solitudine, mia crudele e natural nemica, della quale anco nel mio buono stato era talvolta così molestato, che in ore intempestive m'andava cercando, o andara ritrovando compagnia."

This last sentence strongly brings to our mind the habits of Johnson, who suffered *from the same* awful malady.

Bear. He calls them his flambeaux, and entreats the aid of light to write his verses:

> " Se 'l ciel voi pasca e di carne e di latte
> Fate mi luce a scriver questi carmi."

so composed philosophical dialogues in the manner of Plato, in he discusses the most abstruse and elevated subjects with pro- sense, as well as eloquence.

iat, then, was the cause of his malady? Was it love, as some of iographers have asserted? Was that passion as foreign to it as maintain? Was his confinement owing to the circumstances we related, or must we attribute it, as others have done, to indis- n and transports, which the pride of the Duke of Ferrara, and ps even the honour of his family, commanded him to restrain? might supply matter for a long discussion, but we can only treat riefly.

nzo, an intimate friend, indeed, of Tasso, but who only became inted with him in the latter part of his life, first authorized the that Leonora d'Este had inspired him with an ardent passion, she doubtless shared; and that her reiterated invitations, and t commands, were the cause of his return from Sorrento to ra. He has diligently searched his poems to support this opinion, liscovered that the object of his love was named Leonora, and here are two Leonoras whom he has celebrated—three indeed he nes, but he appears to have been entirely mistaken as to the

e name of Leonora, sometimes disguised after the manner of rch, sometimes openly appearing in many of his sonnets and gals, leave no doubt on the first point; but was this Leonora, e of these Leonoras, the sister of the duke? Manzo, in addition ny other reasons which incline him to this belief, thinks it may ferred from many poems addressed expressly to her, and which ie a passion, pure and respectful, indeed, but tender and ardent; gst others, in a sonnet on her being forbidden to sing, by her cians:

> " Ahi ben è rio destin ch' invidia e toglie
> Al mondo il suon de tuoi chiari accenti."

oncluding lines speak clearly of his attachment:

> " E basta ben che i sereni occhi e 'l riso
> M'infiammin d'un piacer celeste e santo."

canzone he writes still more openly; one stanza describes the of her charms upon him from the moment he first beheld her— ed indeed by awe:

> " Ma parte degli strali e de l'ardore
> Sent' io pur anco intro il gelato marmo."

haps still more convincing proofs may be found in a canzone ed by jealousy, when Leonora was sought in marriage by some ; and in a sonnet, on the same occasion, the last verse of which sses his envy of the fortunate person who might obtain her.

Leonora, however, persevered steadily in her resolution to lead a single life, and Tasso continued to abandon himself to the passion which formed at once his happiness and his torment. It was after fifteen years of constancy that he addressed a sonnet to her, in which he declares that time had not diminished his love. It was then also he wrote that beautiful sonnet, already referred to, in which he speaks so poetically of her age. Serassi imagines that it was addressed to the Duchess d'Urbino, but there are traits which mark it for Leonora's. The words *ora, aura, Aurora*, were often used by him to typify the name of Leonora; her neglected dress also accorded with her delicate health and love of retirement, and not at all with the habits and character of Lucretia.

The second Leonora was the beautiful Countess Sanvitali, to whom he publicly offered his homage, and who was certainly the subject of many of his poems. But this was a mere poetical passion, not inconsistent with, and perhaps assumed to conceal, a more profound and lasting one. The same may be said of his professed admiration for Lucretia Bendidio in the early part of his residence at the court of Ferrara. It is true that he was then only twenty-one, and Leonora was thirty; but she was beautiful, accomplished, fond of arts and poetry; her delicate health, her retired habits, her dislike to the glitter of the world, would all conspire to awaken an interest and passion in a young and susceptible heart, which overcame the inequality of age; and the constant access he had to her, her regard, and her admiration for his poetry, blinded him to the inequality of their rank. If he feared the fate of Icarus and Phaeton, he derived hope from other examples in fable. "What cannot love effect?"

> "Egli giù trahe da le celesti rote
> Di terrena beltà Diana accesa
> E d' Ida il bel fanciullo al ciel rapisce."

Such is the subject of a sonnet which must relate to his love for the Princess of Este.

But, how was his temerity rewarded? It is impossible to know. We can scarcely believe that she ever gave encouragement to his passion; that would sully the fair portrait imagination loves to draw of her who had inspired such deep and constant love. But that Leonora should have been flattered by the devotion of such genius, of so noble a heart, that she took an affectionate interest in him—that her soft and pensive mind nourished in retirement some feelings that approached to love, it is scarcely possible to doubt.

Let us call to mind his testamentary paper; the sonnet which he wished to rescue from oblivion, and in which the name of Leonora is disguised in the same manner in which it confessedly is in other poems: his appeal to her aid, which she will grant for *his* sake. Is not this the enthusiastic feeling of a young lover, that, should he die in a distant land, he should still live in the memory of her he adored? Tasso, however, though ardent as a poet, was discreet as a cavalier; and I feel persuaded that the secret betrayed some years afterwards by his false friend, had no reference to Leonora. His verses, even *those* which contained her name, could not compromise her reputation.

Manzo himself confesses that doubts were entertained as to which of the several beautiful Leonoras, who at that time graced the court of Ferrara, they were addressed; and the manners of that age permitted ladies of the highest rank to listen to strains of gallantry without injury to their character.

Of all the verses she inspired, perhaps, the most flattering are those in which he describes her so beautifully under the name of Sophronia, in the second canto of his Gerusalemme Liberata. Every one recognised her in the

> " ——— Vergine di già matura
> Verginità, d' alti pensieri e regi,"

who shunned all notice and admiration, and hid her charms in retirement. The whole portrait is characteristic: we see her covered with a veil—her eyes cast down—her air at once modest and noble—her unstudied dress. But sufficient attention has not been paid to Olindo, her young lover, as unpresuming as she was beautiful, who

> " ——— full of bashfulness and truth,
> Loved much, hoped little, and desired nought."*

Is it not evident that Tasso thus described himself in the first transports of his passion? This episode, beautiful as it is, has always been considered out of place in this poem. All the friends he consulted advised him to leave it out. He agreed with them, but, though on other occasions docile to a fault, persisted in retaining what he himself perceived was a blemish to his work; and Serassi, incredulous as he is on the subject of his love for Leonora, assigns the resemblance to her as the motive.

His passion was liable to fluctuations. We have seen him pass many months with the Duchess d'Urbino; at which time there appears to have been some coolness between him and Leonora. A letter he addressed to her strengthens this supposition, and there are traces of jealousy in it. " He had not written to her for some months; having some recollection that he had promised to send her any new composition of his, he encloses, in obedience to her commands, a sonnet he lately wrote. Unlike the fine productions he imagines she is now listening to, this sonnet is as devoid of poetry as he himself is of happiness; in his present state he is incapable of producing anything better. But, lest she should imagine that any new attachment had engrossed his mind, and rendered him unfit for poetical composition, he must inform her that he wrote this sonnet at the request of an unhappy lover, who, after having for some time quarrelled with his mistress, is not able to endure his situation any longer, and is compelled to seek her forgiveness."†

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* Fairfax's Translation.

† " Non ho scritto alla Eccellenza Vostra tanti mesi sono più tosto per diffetto de soggetti che di volontà: percio ora che mi s'è appresentata una occasione benchè picciola di farle riverenza, non ho voluto lasciarla. Le manda dunque un Sonetto, il quale per questa volta sarà mio introduttore con l'Eccellenza Vostra, parendo di ricordarmi ch'io le promisi di mandarle tutto ciò, che mi venisse fatto di nuovo. Il sonetto non sarà punto simile a quei belli, che m'immagino che ora l' E. V. sia solita di udire molto spesso, ed è cosi povero d'*arte e di concetti*, com io sono di ventura;

Serassi, who inserts this letter in his work, informs us that "the fine productions" mentioned were those of Pigna and Guarini, who were both admitted to read their works to the princess; and we may conjecture that Tasso took umbrage at the favour shown to Guarini, who always affected to rival him; that he was piqued, and that in this temper he accompanied Lucretia to Castel Durante. He passed months without writing to Leonora, but his anger abated, and love resumed its empire. The fiction of having composed the sonnet for a friend is the same he had already used when departing for France. On the whole, this letter, which Serassi quotes as a proof of Tasso's indifference for the princess, is one of the most convincing proofs of his passion.

Muratori has attempted to give an air of authenticity to the silly story of Tasso, having been so far transported by his love as to have embraced Leonora in the presence of the whole court; that the duke, on witnessing this audacity, calmly observed to his attendants, "How sad it is to see so great a man suddenly deprived of his senses!"—and to give a colour to this explanation of so daring an act, he ordered him to be confined in the Hospital of St. Anne. This Muratori professes to have heard from a certain old abate, who was secretary to the celebrated Tassoni, a contemporary of Tasso.

Serassi justly treats this improbable tale as a fiction. Besides all the other objections that might be made to its credibility, Tasso's letters to the duke prove clearly that the cause of his detention was the furious transport of indignation to which he gave way on seeing himself neglected on his return to the court.* Nor let our pity for Tasso lead us to overlook much that extenuates, though it does not justify,

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nè in questo mio stato presente protrebbe venire altro da me. Pur gliel' mando, parendomi che o buono o cattivo farà quell' effeto, ch'io desidero. Ma perchè non si creda ch io per adessò sia tanto vacuo di pensieri, che potessi dare nel petto mio luogo ad alcuno amore: sappia che non è fatto per alcun mio particolare (che peravventura sarebbe men reo) ma a requisizion d'un povero amante il quale essendo stato un pezzo in collera con la sua donna, ora non potendo più, bisogna che si renda, e che dimandi mercè.

" Sdegno debil guerrier campione audace,
Che me sott' armi rintuzzate e frali
Conduci in campo, ov' e d'eterni strali
Armato Amore, e di celeste face:
Giù si spezza il tuo ferro, e già si sface
Tuo gelo al primo ventilar dell' ali:
Che fia se il foco attendi, e l'immortali
Saette? Ah temerario, ah chiedi pace!
Grido io merce, tendo la man che langue,
Chino il ginocchio, e porgo ignudo il seno,
S'ei pugna vuol, pugni per me pietade.
Ella o palma m'acquisti, o morte almeno;
Ma s'a colei stilla di pianto cade,
Fia vittoria il morir, trionfo il sangue."

* "Mi gitto ai piè della vestra clemenza, clementissimo signore; e la supplico, he voglià dare il perdono delle false, e pazze, e temerarie parole, per le quali io fui iesso prigione."—*Lettera alla Duca Alfonso.*

" Io venni già due anni sono a Ferrara, chiamato dall' autorità di Monsig. Illustriss. Albano alle nozze della Sig. Margherita Gonzaga, nelle quali non impetrando io dal Serenis. Duca de Ferrara quelle grazie, che 'l cardinale m'avera data intenzione che impetrassi, per soverchio d'ira e d'immaginazione trascorsi in alcuni *errori per li* quali fui imprigionato."—*Al Sig. Ercole Rondinelli.*

nso's conduct. We have seen, that, on his first seizure, the duke
s sisters did all in their power to soothe his mind; but when
epeated efforts proved ineffectual—when he obstinately refused
mit to the advice of the physicians, which they considered the
eans of cure—is it wonderful that they became somewhat weary
ning to complaints and terrors which they believed chimerical,
ich no reasoning could induce him to lay aside? His enemies,
ly, did not neglect to alarm their fears, and to represent all his
unded complaints as the effect of a disordered mind.

duke's impression of his insanity appears to have been strong.
e should submit to medical treatment was always the first con-
on which he was to be restored to favour. Nor could he feel
om the personal violence of a man who had once attacked a
ic in the ducal hall, and who had so little command over him-
to load his patron with imprecations in his presence. For the
of human nature we must wish to believe, that, in commanding
to be shut up in the Hospital of St. Anne, he persuaded himself
s taking the best method to restore him to reason, as well as to
t himself and others from his desperate sallies. When there,
ior's malignity would doubtless lead him to confirm Alphonso
belief that the harsh measures he had adopted were necessary,
he concealed the cruelty by which they were aggravated. Pain-
it is to think of the indignities and sufferings inflicted on such a
we must remember, that, even in his own letters, there is abun-
vidence of the unsettled state of his mind. He repeatedly men-
spirit he calls "Il Foletto," who took away his food from before
e, stole his money and letters, and scattered about his writings
ooks. He describes his night visions; the sounds he heard, the
and apparitions which he saw; and, speaking of a vision he had
the Virgin with the Infant Saviour in her arms, he uses this
sion—"penche potesse facilmente essere una fantasia cherch'
o frenetico e quasi sempre pertubato da varii fantasmi, e pieno
niconia infinita."

eems clear, therefore, that he was a prey to delusions which jus-
the belief of his insanity, and how little it was the practice in
times to apply a balm to wounded minds, we may infer from the
rities that have been exercised even within our own recollection.
he glory of this age that science and humanity are abolishing the
and the scourge; they are opening the cells, where the wretched
s languish in solitude and darkness, and restoring them to the air
ght of heaven, and to kindly intercourse with their fellow-crea-
They are rescuing them from the tyranny of ignorant menials,
power lies wholly in brute force, and substituting a moral influ-
to which the fury of the maniac and the despair of the melan-
man have alike been found to yield. The health, the liberty,
he enjoyments of these sufferers under the worst of human ills,
w rendered compatible with the safety of their fellow-creatures,
ey return to society undegraded by the bitter sense of having
ed under insolence and cruelty.

s mighty work is proceeding silently. Every English heart
high at the emancipation of the Africans; but the emancipation

of thousands of our own countrymen from worse bondage, severer woe, excites but little attention. Whilst the name of Howard has obtained —justly obtained—a deathless fame, theirs are little known who are now patiently devoting the whole energies of high and benevolent minds to the welfare of the innocent, not the guilty, to restore not merely health, but reason, to heal the broken in heart. The meed of human praise will surely not always be withheld from their labours, but, whether it be or not,

——— "There is a book,
By seraphs writ in beams of heavenly light,"

in which they will be registered, when all earthly records, and the very earth itself shall be no more.

The event which Tasso had so long foreseen and feared, was now superadded to his misfortunes. Fourteen cantos of his Gerusalemme liberata were printed at Venice in 1580, full of errors and gross faults, from an imperfect copy which the grand duke of Tuscany possessed. He had confided it to Celio Malaspino, one of his followers, who did not even attempt to conceal the base act of which he was guilty, but named himself on the title-page as the editor, and dedicated it to a Venetian senator.

Tasso, justly enraged and deeply afflicted, complained to the Venetian senate of the injustice of this proceeding; he also represented to his friend, Scipio Gonzaga, the irreparable injury he had sustained through this breach of the grand duke's confidence. But the mischief was done; and, when his first feelings of indignation had subsided, he again applied himself to composition to beguile the tediousness of solitude, and to console himself under his various misfortunes. It was at this time he wrote the beautiful dialogue, "*Il Padre del famiglio*," which has been already mentioned, and dedicated it to Scipio Gonzaga. He then collected all the poetical pieces he had composed during the last two years, many of which are admirable, and all interesting from the circumstances under which they were written, and dedicated them to the two princesses of the house of Este. The duchess d'Urbino was touched with the compliment, and evinced some pity for the misfortunes of the unhappy author. Leonora was probably unconscious of the circumstance: she was now fast sinking into the tomb. It is remarkable that at her death, which took place soon afterwards, Tasso, who had seldom failed to pay a poetical tribute to the memory of the illustrious persons he had known, does not appear to have done so to that of his loved Leonora.

Angelo Ingegnari, whose assistance so much availed him at Turin, now came forward ostensibly to vindicate his fame. He possessed a ›py of the Gerusalemme liberata, which he had made from a manu›ipt corrected by Tasso himself. When he heard of the imperfect l faulty Venetian edition, he imagined it would be doing him a ser›e to print the poem from this manuscript; and he published at the ›me time two editions—one at Casal Maggiore, the other at Parma,—dedicating both to the duke of Savoy, who expressed his satisfaction to the editor.

This has been recorded as an act of friendship, and a service

red to Tasso. But, though detained in confinement, the author ved, and Ingegnari had the power of communicating with him. right had a pretended friend to take such a step without con- g him? To appropriate to himself the fruit of so many years of , the only resource of this unhappy man, and his sole means of ning an independence, and escaping the evils of poverty? We are ld that the duke of Savoy extended any of the favour he showed ditor to the author of the poem, nor that any of the profits arising the sale of these editions were remitted to Tasso. Unless this een done, we must consider Ingegnari to have violated the rights tice and friendship.

l that is known is, that the two editions sold in a few days, so ly was the poem sought for. Malespina, the Venetian editor, g been out-done by Ingegnari, surpassed him in his turn in a new n from a more perfect copy which he had obtained, and that also soon exhausted, he published another still more complete, being ifth which had appeared without the consent of the unfortunate r. At last Febo Bonna, a young Ferrarese belonging to the , and intimately acquainted with Tasso, undertook to publish one rior to any which had hitherto appeared. He had the advantage nsulting the original copy corrected by Tasso, and of applying to personally in every difficulty; but the haste with which it was put , gave rise to many inaccuracies, which did not, however, prevent lling as rapidly as the others had done. The same editor imme- ly prepared another, the first, according to Fontanini, which can be d upon as correct. Three months afterwards, a still superior edi- appeared at Parma, which has served as a model to all future ones; hus, in the course of eight months, the work passed through eight ns—seven in Italy, and one in Paris,—and enriched all who were rned in the publication, whilst the great and ill-fated genius, who all Europe with admiration, languished in confinement, neglected, sed, and in want of the common comforts of life. It appears from er of Tasso, that Bonna, though he availed himself of his assist- unjustly and ungratefully withheld from him that share of the ts he had led him to expect.*

he duke's agents, instead of mitigating the severity of his treat- , doubtless increased it. The few indulgences permitted him seem ve been studiously withheld, till he had no longer any desire or of them. The most insupportable part of his captivity was the ant interruption to his studies by the wild cries of the maniacs ned in the hospital—sounds, which (to use his own expression, letter to Maurizio Cataneo) might deprive the wisest man of his n. In the year 1580, Montaigne saw him; and in his essays, records the impression made on his mind—"J'eus plus de d'espit re que de compassion de le voir à Ferrare en si piteux estât sur- nt à soy mesme, mescoignoissant et soy et ses ouvrages, lesquels, sans

* Febo m'è molto avaro, il quale avendo fatto quell' arte di stampare e di vendere i miei, ch' io pensava di fare, se ne sta in Parigi fra Dame e Cavalieri, e si dà e buon tempo, ne mi fa parte alcuna de' denari che se ne ritraggone, come ea promesso *per sua polizza.*"

son sceu et toutefois à sa veuë on a mis en lumiere incorigez et informes." Tasso had, doubtless, been exhibited to him in his cell, in the same manner as the unhappy beings who stunned him with their cries. It is difficult to repress our indignation at the idea.

Goselini, in one of his letters, speaking of the younger Aldo, says, that he had seen Torquato Tasso at Ferrara in the most miserable state—"Non per lo senno del quale gli parve al lungo ragionar ch' egli ebbe seco, intero e sano, ma per la nudessa e fame ch' egli pativa, prigione, e privo della sua liberta."

The afflicted sufferer earnestly entreated some mitigation of the cruelties inflicted on him, and which he persuaded himself were unknown to the duke. They probably were; but is his heartless indifference excusable? Could he read that touching invocation—

> " Te magnanimo Alfonso, il qual ritoglie
> Al furor del fortuna, e guidi in porta
> Me peregrino errante, e fra gli scogli
> E fra l'onde agitato, e quasi absorto,"

without feeling that his remorseless hand had thrust back into the billows the grateful and confiding heart, whose effusions now filled all Europe with the praise of his generosity.

At last he was touched with some compassion, and gave orders that Tasso should be removed from the cell in which he had been confined nearly two years, and be allowed the use of some apartments in the same hospital, in which he could have space to walk when composing and *philosophizing*, as he says himself in a letter to the duke—a remarkable expression for a man supposed to be deprived of reason. He was indebted for this concession to Scipio Gonzaga, and his nephew, the prince of Mantua, who came at this time to Ferrara, and visited him in his prison. Their visit, and the indulgence they procured him, revived the hopes of Tasso, and he flattered himself that in a short time he should be restored to liberty.

The admiration excited by his poem induced many eminent scholars to visit Ferrara, for the sole purpose of conversing with him. Giulio Segni, a native of Bologna, of much talent and learning, obtained a letter of introduction to him from Passio, professor of law in that university, and an intimate friend of Tasso. It is remarkable that, in his first visit, he was so much overwhelmed at finding himself in the presence of that lofty genius, that he was unable to utter a word, and Tasso, had he not been assured to the contrary, would have supposed him devoid of sense. On his second visit, he acquired more confidence, and showed him some of his Latin compositions, which Tasso found to possess much merit, and, admiring the singular modesty which companied great skill and attainments, conceived a friendship for ı. Segni repaid it by sincere affection and active kindness. Ber·do Castello, a celebrated Genevese painter, was also induced to ke a journey to Ferrara for the purpose of seeing him. He brought m some of his designs from the Gerusalemme liberata, which Tasso admired and received with pleasure, and also a painting of the head of Christ which he prized highly, and kept till his death.

But his reputation procured him a still more valuable friend in

e Angelo Grillo, a monk of Monte Casino, well known for his compositions, but still more for his friendship with Tasso. He duced himself to him by a letter and two sonnets, which he re- ed a friend to deliver. Tasso warmly expressed his gratification, replied in terms which increased the good father's desire to see become acquainted with him. He hastened to Ferrara, and ob- ng the duke's permission to share Tasso's apartments, they passed days together in friendly discourse. He often afterwards re- d to Ferrara to visit and console him, and, to the indefatigable ions of this kind friend, Tasso was at last mainly indebted for y.

s patience had, however, still to endure long trials, rendered, ps, still more bitter by the gleams of hope which occasionally tened his prison. The duchess d'Urbino sent one of her attend- at this time to assure him he should soon be released. The iful Marfisa d'Este, a cousin of the duke, princess of Massa and ra, was an enthusiastic admirer of the Gerusalemme liberata. er entreaties, Alfonso consented to her taking the author with her ne day to her villa near Ferrara, on condition that he should n at night to the hospital. She assembled there several ladies guished for their wit and beauty. Tasso, who always shone in ciety of women of talent, now appeared among them as amiable rilliant as ever, and returned to his confinement with pleasing ections, and brightened hopes.

t time passed away, and no favourable change took place in his The Muses were his only resource. His studies were constant, t when interrupted by illness, by the visits of eminent men all parts of Italy, whom the madman of St. Anne astonished by isdom, no less than by his genius and learning—by letters from and other states, bearing testimony to the general admiration his had excited—or by promises which were often renewed, and nfulfilled.

last, in the year 1584, the solicitations of the Cardinal Albano, chess of Mantua, and others who had influence with the duke e so pressing, that he sent for Tasso, received him graciously, kindly, and assured him that he should soon be set at liberty. rdered that more apartments should be allotted to him, and d him to leave the hospital occasionally, when accompanied by friend who would be responsible for him. This enabled him to nt the houses of the most distinguished persons in Ferrara, and oy his favourite pleasure—animated conversation on literary and ophical subjects. Many of his dialogues composed at this time r to have been suggested by these conversations. During the al, he went accompanied by two friends to the masques—an ment in which he always took delight, and to the tournaments, were held this year with unwonted splendour. But in a short all these indulgences were withdrawn, and he was again con- d to solitude and despair.

this sad condition, an unforeseen and dreadful storm burst on his Camillo Pellegrino, in a discourse on Epic Poetry, had drawn parison between *Ariosto and Tasso,* and warmly maintained the

superiority of the latter. This discourse proved the apple of discord to all Italy. The admirers of Ariosto were indignant, but none came forward publicly in his defence till Leonardo Salviati, who had lived on terms of intimacy with Tasso, entered the lists against him.

He was deeply skilled in Italian literature; and, when Tasso began to consult his friends respecting his Gerusalemme liberata, Salviati, who had seen some cantos, wrote him a letter full of commendations, and declared his design to make honourable mention of the poem in his Commentary on Aristotle, a work which he was then composing, but which he never published. Tasso entered into a friendly correspondence with him, communicated to him the whole of his work, and received fresh applause. On the present occasion, Salviati's object appeared to be to destroy the reputation of Tasso still more than to exalt that of Ariosto. The only motive that can be conjectured for so base and inconsistent a proceeding is, that he was poor and involved in debt; he wished to enter into the service of the duke of Ferrara, and he thought he could not do a more acceptable service to those who had most influence over the mind of that prince, than to defame the victim of their jealousy and hatred, and exalt their illustrious countryman, Ariosto.

He dared not, however, openly attack an unhappy man of genius, whose friendship he had sought, and whose fame he had loudly sounded. He sheltered himself under the authority of the Academy della Crusca. This academy, which afterwards became so famous, was then in its infancy. It originated with a few poets and critics, who met occasionally to discuss literary subjects, and to recite poems and burlesque pieces, composed expressly for their own society. As their professed object was to refine and sift the Italian language, their device was a sieve, and their motto—"Il piu bel fior ne coglie." Crusca signifies bran. Each member assumed a name relating to some branch of a miller's trade—l'Infarinato—l'Inferigno—and their writings were filled with conceits and allusions to the same. Salviati's first step was to contrive that Bastiano de Rossi, a tool of his, should be elected secretary to the Academy, and, with his assistance, published a work, which he called "The Academy della Crusca's defence of the Orlando Furioso, against the Dialogue on Epic Poetry, by Camillo Pellegrini."

Tasso was thunderstruck at this attack. Never having heard of the Academy della Crusca, he fancied that the Grand Academy of Florence was concealed under this strange appellation, as Plato relates the images of the gods were under the form of Silenus, and that they spoke the sentiments of the whole nation. He had always been a warm admirer of Florentine literature; and he had reason to imagine, from the kindness of the grand duke and other distinguished persons of that state, that he was favourably looked upon there, and little expected to find enemies among a nation he so highly esteemed.

(To be continued.)

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Notes of the Ministry of Cardinal B. Pacca, Secretary of State to his Holiness, Pope Pius VII., &c. Translated from the Italian. Dublin: Cumming. London: Dolman. 1843.

In every respect a remarkable book; we are speaking of the original, for the translation is also remarkable in its way, being the most extraordinary attempt at English, which it has been our fortune to fall in with. Cardinal Pacca—he still survives, though very old—carries us back to the thrilling days of the Contarini and Aldobrandini: he was the life of the pontificate during the eventful years which commenced the present century; and could his prudent and religious energy have directed the actions of the curia, unswayed by Italian duplicity and treachery, or by Gallican worldliness, the whole aspect of Europe might, at the present day, have been very different. As long as the good and weak Pius VII. was entirely under Pacca's influence, his resistance to Napoleon's policy presented but a well-principled and thoughtful, and, in the end, it would have been a successful barrier. Pacca was eminently skilled in disentangling that complex problem—the Pope's temporal and spiritual rights. As a prince, the Cardinal was willing that his master should take cheerfully the spoiling of his goods: but as a christian patriarch, the Pope had duties boldly to rebuke vice, tyranny, and oppression, to defend with spiritual arms those millions of faithful Catholics who, whether right or wrong in this their belief, looked to Rome not only as the citadel of the faith, but as the very arsenal of heaven itself. And if Pius had possessed a tithe of the firmness of the Victors and Innocents, who had gone before him, he would have earned a name before which the proudest in the long list of pontiffs, even that of Gregory VII., would have grown dim.

Never was so magnificent a position before a christian Bishop: Napoleon's power, eminently the most anti-christian and awful development of evil which the world since Mahomet has been cursed with, had attained all but universal empire: the Pope himself had been—and surely this in itself was a righteous delay—backward in interfering with the course of Divine judgment, till at length he was compelled, on the 10th June, 1809, to publish the famous bull of excommunication—*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.* Then followed the violent deportation of Pius from Rome; and, in 1812, the still more atrocious scenes at Fontainebleau, which ended so calamitously for the fame of Chiaramonti: principally, because Cardinal Pacca was still kept in captivity at Fenestrelles. But we must give specimens of our author:—

"In the beginning of 1812, the glory and power of Napoleon had reached their height; and it might be said, without exaggeration, that the Continent of Europe trembled at his look. Emperor of the French, which was then an empire of immense extent, comprising all the Belgian provinces, Austria, as well as those composing the republic of Poland, many and the most fertile principalities of Germany on both sides of the Rhine, Dalmatia, *all the states of the kingdom* of Sardinia, (excepting the

island itself,) the duchy of Parma, and Piacenza, Tuscany, and Rome. He was, besides, king of Italy, and, if not in name, he was in fact, also of that part of Spain occupied by his troops, as well as of the kingdoms of Westphalia and Naples. Under the majestic title of Protector, he ruled over that part of Germany which formed the Confederation of the Rhine, the princes of which, raised to the royal and grand-ducal dignity, depended on his will, as in ancient times the Roman Senate and the Reguluses of Asia did on that of the Cæsars. Add to that the relationship and alliance of the house of Austria, and the succession to the throne assured by the birth of a son scarcely one year after his marriage. However, in the midst of such glory and power, an event was preparing in the latter months of that same year, in the designs of Providence, which 'dissipates the counsels of princes,' that for the moment eclipsed his glory, and disposed of things towards the fall of his colossal power.

"Nothing worthy of remark happened in the fort in the course of this year. Towards the middle of June, the news arrived that the passage of foreigners across the Mount Cenis was stopped for some hours, and the reason was afterwards known to be the arrival of the pope from Savona at the hospice of the monks, whence, as we shall relate hereafter, he was transported to Fontainebleau, though infirm, and with great danger to his life.

"I shall speak of this journey more than once in the sequel; I shall at present observe, that the violent and almost barbarous transportation of the pope from Savona to Fontainebleau was in Buonaparte the last crime which, as the holy Scriptures teach, tire at last the longanimity of the Lord, and caused him to take in hand the till then suspended scourge. 'Thus saith the Lord, for three crimes of Damascus, and for four, I will not convert it.' In fact, I must remark, that on the 20th June, the pope arrived at Fontainebleau a prisoner, and in a dying state; and on the 22d day of the same month, Napoleon, intoxicated by an uninterrupted and wonderful prosperity of fifteen years, made his troops pass the Niemen, and invade the Russian territory; thus beginning that war so fatal to him, which hurled him from the throne, and made him lose in a few months the fruit of so many victories and triumphs. The account of the ever memorable expedition of the French and allied troops in Russia in the year 1812, does not belong to the subject of my present history. The omnipotent hand of God, and not that of man, destroyed there one of the most numerous and best-disciplined armies ever known.

"I must now add an anecdote, with an observation of my own, which will be read with scorn and derision by our modern free-thinkers; but which I relate for all pious and religious souls, who always recognise and acknowledge the hand of an invincible and superior Being in the events of the world, governing them all. In a letter written by the Emperor Napoleon to the viceroy of Italy, the Prince Eugene complaining of Pius VII. for not having agreed to some of his requests, the following notable words are to be remarked: 'Does he not know how much times are changed? Does he take me for Louis the Débonnaire? Or does he think that his excommunications will cause the arms to fall from my soldiers' hands?' After the noted excommunications issued by Pius VII., Napoleon, in the discourses and conversations which he held with the Cardinal Caprara on this subject, frequently told him, between sarcasm and irony, that as the excommunication had not caused the arms to fall from his soldiers' hands, he only laughed at it. But God permitted that the fact should really occur. I read with wonder and dismay in the history of Napoleon, and the grand army of 1812, written by the Count Segur, one of the generals and eye-witnesses of that great catastrophe, 'that the arms of the soldiers appeared an insupportable weight to their frozen limbs. In their frequent falls, they dropped from their hands, were broken, and lost in the snow. If they rose again, they found themselves without them; for they did not throw them away, but hunger and cold made them absolutely fall from their hands.' The fact is mentioned in vol. xx. p. 5, of the above quoted work, 'Memoirs of the History of Monsieur de Salgues:' 'The soldier could not hold his arms; they fell from the hands of the bravest.' And again, in the 7th chap. p. 164: 'The arms fell from the frozen hands which held them.' Our free-thinkers will say, that this was the effect of the snow, frosts, and storms. But whose command do these meteors obey? What says the sacred Scriptures in the 148th Psalm? 'Snow, ice, and stormy winds obey the word of the Lord.'" —Pp. 185—188.

Upon which we have to remark, that we agree entirely with the good *Cardinal, that the* excommunication of Pius was instrumental in the

iction of Napoleon: and it is with more surprise and regret than oose to express that we find Mr. Palmer, in his recent Narra- f Events, p. 56, objecting to our contemporary, the British , a sentence such as this :—

is little act of the pope is almost imperceptible: but who knows what unseen fought with England against Napoleon, whom the Church had condemned?"— *Critic*, No. LXIV. p. 295.

e presume that Mr. Palmer will not dispute that Pope Pius VII. christian Bishop: and that he was bound,—"unless," to use his or rather Pacca's, glowing words, in the bull of excommuni- —

less we would be taxed with cowardice and apathy, or perhaps of shamefully ning the cause of God, but to lay aside every earthly consideration, and reject- human prudence, follow that evangelical precept: 'He that hears not the , let him be to thee an heathen man and a publican,'" *(Pacca's Memoirs,*)—

the keys, which were committed to him, with the care of the against such a godless power as Napoleon's: and if Mr. Palmer pared to doubt the efficacy of a Bishop's curse, pronounced in a ous cause, we refer him to Hooker :—

e power of the ministry of God translateth out of darkness into glory—when th *malediction upon the heads of the wicked they perish.*"—*Ecclesiastical Polity*, 77, 2.

it were neither superstition nor blasphemy for Queen Elizabeth, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, to strike a medal with the legend, *Afflavit Deus et dissipantur venti*, we cannot under- how a Christian can affect to doubt the connexion between the le retreat from Russia and the Church's anathema on Napoleon. e Concordat at Fontainebleau is sufficiently melancholy: but we make every allowance for the pope: he was neither strong- d nor learned; he was old, sick, and alone; he was deprived faithful and earnest Pacca; he was surrounded by the Gallican ps; he was alternately threatened and cajoled by the surprising rsational and diplomatic talents of Napoleon himself: what er, then, if the aged and miserable Pontiff yielded, in a moment akness, to the too flattering prospect of peace? It is consoling, h terrible to hear of his subsequent penitence :—

ound some French prelates in the anti-chamber, and entering the apartment h the pope was, I found him in the act of advancing some paces to give me the g. I stood confounded and afflicted at seeing him bent, pale, and thin, with s sunk in, and almost immoveable, like a man become stupified. He em- me, and said, with much coldness, that he did not expect me so soon. Having ed him, that I had hastened to have the consolation of throwing myself at his d to express to him my admiration of the heroic constancy with which he had d so long and severe an imprisonment, he said the following words to me, grief: 'But here are we in the end dragged through the mire.'"—Pp. 202,

returned to his holiness, whom I found in a really deplorable state, such as to ars for his life. He had been told by their eminences, the Cardinals di Pietro, lli, and Litta, of the fault caused by his signing the whole of the concordatum, d conceived a just horror of it, *understanding* well from what a height of glory

the bad counsels and suggestions of others had caused him to fall. Then, plunged into a profound melancholy, in talking of his fall, he broke out into accents of excessive grief, concluding, that he could not drive away from his mind the tormenting thought, which prevented his sleeping at night. He scarcely eat [sic] food sufficient to keep him alive, and often exclaimed, (these are his own words,) "I shall die mad, like Clement XIV.' I then did and said as much as I could to console him. I conjured him to tranquillize his mind. I added, that the worst of all the evils that hung over the church, and the most fatal, would be that of his death; that he would in a few days have all the cardinals who were in France round his person, some of whom had given unequivocal proofs of their zeal for the interests of the Holy See, and of their devotedness to his sacred person; that he could place his confidence with a quiet mind in them, and calling them to his counsels, could still find a remedy to the evil that had already befallen him."—Pp. 203, 204.

Indeed, this was poor Chiaramonti's main strength and gift; viz. his sincerity and earnestness: weak, irresolute, timid, but honest—he sinned and he repented, and in the end he was rewarded. His whole career is a triumph of a good heart: he was blessed for his obedience and a child-like simplicity.

The book is perfectly delightful; history is invested in its pages with the splendour of the most charming romance; and the storming of Rome by the Constable of Bourbon, is not a more stirring subject than the escalade of the Quirinal—the journey to Grenoble—the quiet pathos of the imprisonment at Fenestrelles, solaced only by religion, and the triumphant return, one long ovation, of the Pope and his minister from Fontainebleau to Rome, in 1814; these are fine scenes and well described. We recommend the Cardinal-Minister's memoirs unconditionally: Pacca is not only a very great man, but a most delightful writer.

Poems, original and translated. *By* CHARLES RANN KENNEDY, Esq. London: Moxon. 1843.

LAW and poetry—oil and vinegar; when will young barristers learn that poet is the last name they ought to attach to their forensic titles. Is it not enough at once to condemn a rising young man at the bar, to write after his name, barrister and poet? True it was, Somers dallied with the Muses, and got nothing by his motion, as the old reports have it; and Blackstone indited some verses, which would never have survived, if he had not written his Commentaries. Still they are curious examples of how good a lawyer, elegant a scholar, and bad a poet, can be united under one wig. Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy, of Lincoln's Inn, barrister and poet, has essayed to follow ›e lordly Somers and the knightly Blackstone, in verse as well as ›ose. There is an old fallacy, some great men are eccentric; I am .centric; ergo, my greatness is demonstrable. Some great lawyers ›ere bad poets; Mr. Kennedy is a bad poet; ergo, the wished-for conclusion. Some people write precisely what they do not intend; and as a pig's tail should be pulled to ensure his forward progress, so they ought to set to work at A, when they want to do B. Some people *found themselves* writing political economy, when they thought they

e inditing plain matter-of-fact stories; as Mrs. Marcet: others e discovered, that what they meant for political economy was the rary; as Miss Martineau. Some persons, when composing a ise on mechanics, have risen into poetry; as Dr. Whewell, when et the mechanical axiom in verse—

> "There is no weight, however great,
> Can draw a twine, however fine,
> Into a horizontal line,
> So that it shall be accurately straight."

er persons, when writing poetry, have found it turn out prose to hand; as gentlemen and ladies too numerous to mention.
Ir. Charles Rann Kennedy, barrister and poet, has some peculi-es; he affects monosyllables, and adheres so closely to them, as to pose not only stanzas, but entire poems of them. The ballad of naid of Lucerne, who had a lover named William, who had a et coat, and went into the militia, is no mean instance of a mono-bic poem. As for a monosyllabic stanza, the following is unique:—

> "Seem'd as she
> Smil'd on me,
> Yet to look I dare not;
> For those eyn
> Do so shine,
> Sight of them I bear not."

ly the poet's, or rather the versifier's trade, is no great mystery, n stanzas can be eked out as the above, printed in fair type, on r paper, and called poetry; or when, "Yet I would," "If I l," claim to rank as lines in a brother stanza.
ur legal poet is far from condescending to be a man of one peculi-; on the contrary, he has many. The following stanzas, describing ate of an over-ambitious nightingale, who got shot one day for not ning to the raven's boding croak, exhibit Mr. Kennedy's humble tion of the notorious Tom Ingoldsby, in eking out a rhyme, by ing a word or sentence in half; and also the very peculiar theory, hereafter more fully illustrated, on which our legal poet compels vord to rhyme with another:—

> 'Near the lady,
> Sat in shady
> Bower a nightingale;
> Thro' the valley,
> Musically
> Rang the pensive tale.
>
> 'One dear to me
> Came to woo me,
> A sweet singing *bird*;
> Warmer *suer*,
> Fonder, truer,
> Never yet was *heard*.
>
> "Feathers brown he
> Wore, a downy
> Mantle on his breast;
> Oft with meaning
> Fond, there leaning,
> I my cheek would rest.
>
> "Aiming crafty,
> Sped a shaft he
> At my tender mate;
> Than the greedy
> Kite more speedy,
> Came the winged fate."

hat Mr. K. is pleased to write "*suer*," used to be suitor, at least ir time, unless the printer is at fault in his spelling, and the errata ld stand, for "suer," read "sewer." If the above stanzas are y,—and they certainly are not the worst in the nightingale's ballad, truth poets and their doings are at a discount: more especially

the elegant term "whining," usually applied to pet dogs and puppies —see stanza last but three in the Nightingale's Lament, p. 61—is a poetical appellation for mental agony.

According to our poetical barrister, the following words are supposed to rhyme:—"story," "more I;" "holy," "folly;" "power," "o'er;" "thou," "show;" "mass," "erase;" "grown," "down;" "embrace," "delays;" "toil," "while;" "wrath," "path;" "weep enough," "cut me off;" cum multis aliis quæ nunc prescribere longum est.

Another poetical peculiarity of our poet of the home circuit, is his love of making the most of a word of three or more syllables; he evidently considers such words as delirium, oblivion, and patriot, et hoc genus omne, very ill-treated by the world, and therefore makes the most of them. Exempli gratia:—

> "From earth, not heaven, these raptures come;
> 'Tis nothing but de-li-ri-um."—P. 13.
>
> "The people bless their happy lot,
> And shout, and hail him pa-tri-ot."—P. 15.
>
> "Vain mortal! thou among the dead,
> In cold o-bli-vi-on shalt lie."

Again, we are inclined to doubt whether Juno, the haughty queen of heaven, when venting her wrath on Semele, for seducing the affections of her vagabond lord and master, would exactly use the word "*tice*," unless she were a cockney.

> "A woman here,
> A mortal creature, moulded of the dust,
> Dares from my arms to *tice* the wanderer."

In the majority of his verses Mr. Kennedy seems to have little notion of metre or time; and it is as difficult to arrange some of his irregular compositions, as to set in metrical order that pleasing metrical delusion, a Greek chorus. Even his best poem, that of the horses, is injured by the author's inattention to metrical accuracy; and many a line, of good thought and more than average poetry, loses all its effect by tripping too quick, or creeping too slowly after its predecessor. On what principle are the following stanzas, of a by no means inferior poem, composed? The two first lines of the first stanza consist each of three Iambi; the third line contains five monosyllables, the last only four. The second stanza presents the appearance of three lines, similar to the first and second of the first stanza, and one like the fourth of the same, if indeed like anything but itself. Here they are:—

> "Methought I was alone;
> That none the deed espied!
> Yet, oh! if but one!
> Where shall I hide?
>
> "And if no mortal eye,
> Yet God was there!
> From him I cannot fly,
> For he is everywhere."

Doubtless our poetical barrister will plead that greater men than he, even Dryden, Pope, or Byron, have been careless in their rhymes, indifferent to metre, and unhesitating in dividing adjectives from their *nouns, to suit* a metre or rhyme. Even so. It is but the fallacy of

eccentricity in a new form. Homer sometimes nods; and when Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy is a Homer, he may nod too.

Mr. Kennedy has an odd taste in similes. Among a multitude we will notice three:—a cock crows like a waterfall springing down a mountain, or like the silver bell of a chime ringing in a turret, (p. 41). Mr. Kennedy's cocks would make the fortune of an itinerant showman. Richardson, were he alive, might rise again to eminence and fortune, on the strength of a Kennedean chanticleer. In some very bustling, and by no means bad stanzas—save as hereafter excepted—Mr. Kennedy has described a railroad journey. The people get their tickets in verse, the bell rings in verse, the engine spits, screams, and hisses in verse; and all is metrical motion, until the town of their destination appears. Now sings the barrister—standing counsel to the antipodean railroad peradventure:—

> "And steeple now, and pinnacle, and turret rose to view:
> Our pace we gently slacken'd, and the station gliding to,
> We halted; as———"

What do our readers suppose that "as" introduces? "A TURTLE DOVE!"

> "We halted; as the turtle dove stoops from her airy round,
> And drops with pinion tremulous, alighting on the ground."

What, that screaming, scratching, lumbering, lingering load of iron, wood, water, and human beings, that rumbles up to the station with a spit and a hiss, a rub and a grunt, a jolt and a jumble, like a turtle dove dropping with tremulous pinion on the ground! Far more like the lord of Calipash and Calipee, with his rattling shell, his splay flappers, and the rough-and-tumble motion of his case-hardened body: not the turtle dove; the turtle without the dove, Mr. Kennedy.

We cannot now delay over our author's laureate attempts on her Majesty and our infant prince; we admit their loyalty; loyalty equal to that of the compounders of the birth-day odes that used to encumber the poetical appendix of the Annual Register; equal to them also in their poetry. Pass we on to the last portion of Mr. Kennedy's labours, his by no means unpleasing translations from various German writers; Goethe, Schiller, Körner, Uhland, and several others, are versified with some freedom by our poet. Still, however, there is a disregard of critical accuracy, utterly unwarrantable in one who professes to be a German scholar, and soundly rates those who find accuracy in translation incompatible with freedom of poetic diction. Take, for instance, the translation of "Archimedes and the Scholar."

> "A studious youth to Archimedes came:
> 'Teach me that godlike art, that art of wondrous fame,
> Which to our father land such blessed fruits hath given,
> And from our city wall the fell besieger driven.'
>
> 'Godlike thou call'st the art? She is,' the sage observ'd;
> 'But that she was my son before the state she serv'd.
> *Wouldst thou from her such fruits as mortals too can bear?*
> *The goddess woo; do not the woman seek in her.*'"

The real translation and meaning of the last two lines we believe to be:—"Wouldst thou only have fruits of her? Mortals even can produce them. Let he who courts the goddess not think of courting the woman." But we will not pursue this portion of our notice, equally unpleasant to our readers and ourselves. People must not think that critics love to find fault; praise is much easier, because less discriminating than censure; but there are times when the rod must be used; and there are temptations that cannot be resisted. The following translation of one of Körner's extraordinary lyrics is about the best specimen of Mr. Kennedy's powers:—

"Good night!
Peace to all that taste of sorrow!
Day now hastens to its close,
Busy, toiling hands repose,
Till awakes the morrow;
Good night.

"Go to rest!
Shut your eyelids: darkness falleth!
Hush'd are all the streets around,
Save the watchman's stilly sound;
Night to all the weary calleth,
Go to rest.

"Slumber sweet!
Of your paradise be dreaming:
Who for love no peace can find,
Let him see a vision kind,
Lov'd by his belov'd one seeming,
Slumber sweet.

"Good night!
Sleep ye till the morning breaketh:
Sleep ye till another day,
Calls to other cares away:
Fear ye nought, your FATHER waketh:
Good night."

If Mr. Kennedy will be a poet, let him turn his attention to versifying Blackstone, or to an edition of Queen's Bench reports in Sapphics. And then, on attaining to the dignity of the coif, he may with a calm conscience give in his sergeant's ring, with this motto, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam."

Justorum Semita: a History of the Saints and Holydays of the present English Kalendar. Edinburgh: Grant. London: Burns. 1843.

A BOOK which we commend heartily to the Church, if we will be content to read in a practical, rather than a disputatious spirit. Such a publication has long been a desideratum; and though we may not say, for we do not so think, that this is the very best that could be provided, yet it is so evident to the right-minded that it is written by a person of great devotional warmth, as well as creditable erudition in ecclesiastical matters, that we have but little sympathy with those who will make it an occasion for wrangling. It will serve to show to strangers from our communion, what depths of ancient piety and truth are involved in our Prayer-Book; and it is not a little creditable to the Scottish Church, that one of her sons has done so much in wiping away the stigma under which our Church labours, for not having already protested against that mean and miserable view of the Anglican Kalendar, which Wheatley's authority has rendered all but received among us. On this point, we venture on an extract from a most able preface:—

low many changes have we beheld in our course since the fourteenth century, the Council of Magfield enacted pious laws for the due honouring of the saints. roughout all these changes one principle seems to prevail; the nearer any age ched in feeling and in creed to the standard of Catholic antiquity, the greater nce did it pay to the memory of the saints. The Church of England was de- d of nearly all of them by Cranmer and his foreign assistants; then Puritans ted their restoration under the reign of Elizabeth. When men such as bishop ws were in favour the partial restoration of the Kalendar in 1604 was not sur- g; nor that the rebels and fanatics in his son's reign should sweep away every of ancient devotion. And under the care of such guardians as Sparrow and s and Pearson and Thorndike the Kalendar recovered more than it had lost the days of King James I. The Puritans and Presbyterians still cherished the of effacing from the English Church every remaining trace of her Catholic , and when her best sons were driven from her communion at the Revolution, enewed their importunity that 'the legendary saints' days should be omitted.' she refused to purchase their obedience by such a sacrifice. Is it possible to e that in those times at least the saints' days served no religious purpose? or ey were preserved, notwithstanding so many attempts to remove them, for no ier reasons than those which Mr. Wheatley gives? The Church of England clared the preservation of the memories of the saints to be one reason for re- g them in the Kalendar; and she has shown how highly she valued them in imes. Will her children now suffer these holy commemorations to be lost h neglect which their forefathers at great sacrifice secured for them? Will ontinue to follow the example of Puritans and Protestants rather than of the Church throughout the world, and of the men of Catholic minds in their

Oh, that the golden tongue of a Chrysostom, or the mellifluous eloquence of a rd could be heard in these days, to win Christians back to their duty and their rivilege! But 'when iniquity shall abound the love of many shall wax cold.' truly if the contemplation of the gentle and holy persons whom we find in the dar does not move us, the tongue of an angel would be heard in vain. 'Only t what men they were,' says the author of *Morus*, 'spirits so high above the , dead to every selfish and sinful thought; possessed of such perfect devotion of and heart to the eternal world.' Behold the youthful virgins and martyrs, S S. s and Margaret and Agatha; the blessed Magdalene, whose love to the Lord reat, because she had much forgiven; S. Hilary and S. Ambrose, the champions faith against the Arians; S. Alban, the protomartyr of England; and S. Augus- d S. Benedict, and S. David! Behold also S. Gregory the Great, and S. Augustin terbury, the Apostles of England; the Venerable Bede, the light of the Anglo- Church; and S. Edward the Confessor! Isolated as has been the position of nglican Church for three centuries, there is still in the Kalendar a bond of with the Catholic Church, which may one day be renewed as it was of old. The rn, African, Spanish, Roman, and Gallican Churches are all represented in it, we turn from one venerable name to another we are carried from century to ry, from land to land, yet in all is displayed the same unity of faith, the same ife, the same blessed death. Thus even in its present imperfect state does the dar become to us an epitome of the Catholic Church, the communion of saints."—xxvi.—xxxviii.

e object to the title: Prov. iv. 18, from which it is taken, has a different meaning. In some quarters, we cannot give *Justorum ita* greater praise than to say, that it reminds us not only in style ough this rarely, but in matter also of *Mores Catholici*. We ire, however, to add, that somewhat more of the quality and of mind which marks the author of the "Mores," as well as of the living ornaments of our own communion, would have a great improvement in the work before us. Those who have Mr. Newman's last volume of sermons, and will compare their iling temper with that of some portions of the *Semita* (few por- , we willingly admit) will understand what we mean. High iple does not necessarily, and *ought* never to, lead to a contracted

and one-sided view, either of our actual position, or even of history; faults into which young and over-zealous converts to Church-principles are apt to fall. Such must not take offence, if we remind them that they are altogether inconsistent with the *perfection* of the saintly character.

The two great "serials" of the Church, the Oxford Library of the Fathers, and the Anglo-Catholic Library, are proceeding with creditable punctuality and care. Each has been enriched with two volumes: the former with a volume of S. Chrysostom's Homilies, and another of S. Athanasius (enriched by Mr. Newman's erudition): the latter has brought out another portion of Beveridge, and the first part of Thorndike; and we are glad to find Johnson, Gunning, and Marshall already announced. It is scarcely possible, at the present juncture, to overrate the importance of this collection; and, while it is almost fearful to find what treasures we have hitherto disregarded, it is of course most encouraging to watch their present success. Happy omens are around us, if we will be worthy to retain them.

Very late in the month we received Dr. Grant's Bampton Lectures for 1843, on "Missions," (Rivingtons.) The interest of the subject, the author's station, and the occasion on which these sermons were delivered, combine to render this one of the most important volumes of the year. We propose—any other course would be disrespectful—to devote an early paper to this very interesting and delightful work.

A curious little—what shall we call it?—instrument, and explanatory pamphlet, called "The Orientator," has been put forth by the Cambridge Camden Society, to determine, by an extensive examination of examples, how far a rule obtained in determining the eastward bearing of our ancient churches. Wordsworth, of moderns, was among the first to observe that they varied according to the sun-rising on the day of dedication.

The Marquis de Custine's remarkable book, "The Empire of the Czar," &c. has been translated, (Longman,) and will be found well worth reading, not merely for the sake of its subject, but of the opinions expressed in it on the state of Europe, especially on ecclesiastical matters. These are striking,—too striking, it may be; for M. de Custine is a Frenchman, and not given to say things in a quiet way,—but yet they are worthy of attention.

We cannot think highly of the greater part of "Harry Mowbray," by Captain Knox, (Ollivier.) The foreign scenes seem to us a good deal better than the home ones. The author is, we believe, a man of real talent; and we have heard others of his works well spoken of by a competent authority; but, on the present occasion, we think he has aimed too high. The creation of character does not seem his *forte*, which rather resides in the narration of incident and adventure. He would write, we think, a romance better than a novel.

We have not for a good while seen so thoroughly important and serviceable a book as "Notes on the Episcopal Polity of the Holy Catholic Church," &c. by T. W. Marshall, B.A., (Burns.) The "Account of the Development of Modern Religious Systems" is full of valuable information, and ought to be in the hands of every religious inquirer in our land. It is very common to speak of presbyterian Scotland as a splendid exception to the common tendencies of schism, and there are respects in which it is so; at the same time, we have always suspected that her doctrinal and practical condition, for the last century, have been regarded by all parties in a far more favourable light than the facts would be found to warrant, and Mr. Marshall establishes this. We wish, however, he had gone into it more fully, as those who are willing to surrender foreign Protestantism have often far too good an opinion of Scottish presbyterianism.

Whilst we are on the subject of Scotland, we must recommend Mr. Lyon's very interesting "History of St. Andrews," (Tait, Edinburgh; Simpkin and Marshall, London.) This will give much information on a subject concerning which all parties, Churchmen and sectaries, Scotchmen and Englishmen, the illiterate and the well-informed, have been contented to remain in inconceivable ignorance, and under the falsest impressions—we mean the religious state of Scotland during the latter half of the seventeenth century. We are sorry that the writer has committed some literary blunders, which will damage its authority.

Of course the author (we believe we should say *the authoress)* of "Christ our Law," (Seeley and Burnside,) does not expect us to approve of the theology contained in the volume so entitled. The book is nearly all rhetorical, and sometimes truly eloquent, though the grammar is not always sounder than the doctrine. We are led to notice this volume, because it partakes of the characteristic which we lately commented on in the case of Charlotte Elizabeth—a boldness, a fearlessness of consequences, very unlike the usual simpering and inanity of assertion and denial, which we find in the common run of modern Evangelicalism—a turn for reality rather than phrases, which is both encouraging and alarming, as bringing the person in whom we see it near Truth and near Heresy. The writer of the work before us seems a person who could be brought on to Catholic sentiment, and could too easily fall into fearful and deadly errors.

The latter tendency is but too apparent in Mr. Barham's "Life and Times of Reuchlin," (Whittaker,) as it was in his memoir of Savonarola. We do not, however, dread the progress of Syncretism in England, there being little in it congenial to the national mind; and Mr. Barham has further disarmed himself of power, by writing in a style outrageously pedantic. The subject, we need not say, is an interesting one, and the book gives much information in spite of the author's perversities.

"Modern Wesleyanism compared with the teaching of Mr. Wesley," (Leslie,) is a pamphlet affording one proof more of a fact, about which there can be no doubt, the apostasy of the Wesleyan body from many of the most important sentiments of their founder.

The Rev. T. Lathbury has published an important Letter to Sir R. Peel on "the Restoration of Suffragan Bishops," (Parker,) deprecating having recourse to Parliament for the purpose, inasmuch as the authority of Crown and Convocation seems to him sufficient.

Our catechetical stores have been increased by "A Historical and Practical Exposition of the Catechism of the Church of England," &c. by the Rev. Thomas Halton, (Burns,) which is sensible and orthodox, besides giving further information than do most books of the sort.

We have sometimes had to regret what we could not but consider something more than the wisdom of the serpent, an unjustifiable timidity in the orthodox Scottish Clergy. We have no such accusation, however, to prefer against the Rev. J. B. Pratt, M.A., who has published a sound and stout-hearted "Pastoral Letter addressed to his Congregation, on the Opening of the new Church of St. James, Cruden," (Brown & Co. &c. Aberdeen; Burns, London.) Though bold and faithful, there is nothing indiscreet or eccentric in it. It is strange and sad to find so much ritual irregularity, and such very rare communion, as seem, from Mr. Pratt's account, to have hitherto characterised the Church at Cruden, in the part of Scotland in which Church principles have been generally supposed to have had a more powerful sway than elsewhere, and which was under the influence of the Skinners and the Jollys, who witnessed so powerfully for primitive truth.

A Mr. Bell has put forth the first number of a series of line engravings "illustrative of the Liturgy," (Longman.) By the term *Liturgy* the whole Prayer-book seems meant, the contents of this first number having reference to the Apostles' *Creed. The first two are by* much the best.

"Pietas Domestica," by the Hon. and Rev. Samuel Best, M.A., (Cleaver,) is a guide to family devotion, seemingly on a very good plan, but we have had no time to examine it. The second paragraph of the preface requires modification. Mr. Best speaks as if the family altar were the only one which survived the Jewish Temple.

"Oxoniensis," the author of "An Apology for the Universities," (Macpherson, Oxford,) does indeed refute the formal assertions of his opponents, and in great measure succeeds in exonerating the Universities from the imputations cast upon them in respect of neglecting theology as a distinct study. It is quite true, as he says, that their theory does not contemplate such study during the student's progress in arts; and that if people will leave them, on taking the first degree in that faculty, they preclude themselves by their own act and deed from academic guidance in divinity. But though this be so, "Oxoniensis" must admit that residence after the B.A. degree is to most a matter of extreme difficulty, and that it would be most desirable to find some plans, though certainly not such as should impair the existing course of study, for remedying the defect. Again, it is too much to say that the Universities are blameless in the matter of general religious education. Their theory, we grant, is entirely so; but, in all loyalty and affection for them, we ask what their practice has been? Of a mixed character, surely, at best, and, we are thankful to add, of an improving one; but that is all which can judiciously be said.

The Propagation Society has printed an interesting letter from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, giving an account of one or two features in his late Metropolitical Visitation, and of a subsequent Ordination in his own diocese, at which three of the candidates had been educated entirely at Bishop's College.

"A Paper on Monuments," (Oxford, Parker) read by Mr. Armstrong of Exeter before the Diocesan Architectural Society, is on a subject which dulness itself could not make tiresome. Mr. Armstrong, however, is a very lively writer, and exposes, as all of us have done, with infinite gusto the present mural and Pagan abominations. We are glad that he has given examples of the ancient flat stones inscribed with crosses plain and floriated; but we lack a coped grave-stone. Among the headstone crosses Mr. Armstrong has supplied one, the absence of which we noted both in Mr. Paget's and the Camden Society's collection, the simple coped wooden cross. From his suggestion to copy a piscina for a monument we differ poles asunder: the piscina has a use, and ought always to be used; to reproduce it for an insertion bearing a mortuary inscription is as bad in taste as copying an altar in cast iron for a stove.

Our single sermons have this month, much to our discomfort, expanded into volumes, some not a little ponderous. "Discourses on the Festivals," by Mr. Marsden, of Tooting (Hamilton) are heavy, and in theology exceptionable, but it is comforting to find the subject taken up in this particular quarter.

We have also to notice "Sermons designed chiefly for Parochial and Family use," by the Rev. F. E. Tuson, M. A., (Hatchard; Rivingtons,) of which the profits are designed for the author's church.

We are glad to see another excellent "Charge," by the Archdeacon of Bristol.

We ought before to have noticed Mr. Watson's very useful monthly publication, "The Churchman's Sunday Evenings at Home," which has now reached a fourth or fifth number. It will be found a most useful family companion. The like may be said of "The Prayer Book a safe Guide;" a Series of plain Lectures by the same author. Both are published by Cleaver.

We have just received a copy of the promised "Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on doctrinal Changes lately introduced into the Series of Tracts circulated under their authority," (Burns, Leslie, &c. and Parker, Oxford.) We are sufficiently aware of the painful importance of this subject (on which we must enlarge in our next) to every member of the Society, and we have seen enough of the present striking "Appeal" to warrant us in recommending it to general and most serious attention. May we suggest, *for yet more general distribution*, a reprint of the proofs of GARBLING, *adduced against* the managing body of the Society? Its state only requires to be *known to be* remedied; and that both speedily and effectually.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[*The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.*]

TO THE REV. PROFESSOR MAURICE.

AR SIR,—I have just been reading, in the *Christian Remembrancer* for the
h of October last, your remarks on the Review of Mr. Carlyle's work on
-worship. There is nothing that I read with so much delight as the
hts which flow from your pen: they excite in me always a feeling of
ct and of sympathy for you, which I hope you will forgive me for taking
berty thus to express, by way of preface, to one or two observations which
h to submit upon the subject of this review.

u quote Mr. Carlyle's definition of a Hero as being *one who looks straight
he face of things, as not content with second-hand reports of them, and does
ubmit to receive semblances for realities;* and you maintain that this is a
lefinition of the Heroic characters, as exemplified in the instances adduced
n of Mahomet, Cromwell, and Rousseau; of Mahomet, because, you say,
t the will of God to be a reality, and devoted himself to the fulfilment of
Cromwell, because he felt the spiritual life in man to be a reality, and
ed himself, in like manner, to the service which it dictated; and of
seau, because he felt that there was a deep ground of fact against the con-
onal maxims of his age, and that they must perish if set against it. You,
ibly, intended to add, with respect to Rousseau, that he powerfully, pub-
and fearlessly taught and asserted what he so felt; for, unless he had done
he could have had no claim to the title of a Hero.

my dear sir, I rightly understand your meaning, I entirely agree with
but permit me to ask, whether I do rightly understand it, and whether
expression of it may not admit of some improvement.

ie point you wish to establish I conceive to be this; that there was some
entary principle, common to the three individuals in question, and to
the moral power and influence exercised by them in their generation, is
ly to be attributed. If this be so, the principle in question might, I think,
e some more adequate definition than that which either you or Mr. Car-
ave supplied.

iat, then, is the Heroic principle, by means of which one man obtains
dency and influence over his fellows, claiming and receiving their homage
d's vicegerent? Is it, according to Mr. Carlyle, merely a spirit of earnest
lisinterested love for, and search after, truth, and of active, zealous,
ious, and fearless working in support of it: or does it, according to your
vement, involve the acknowledgment of some superhuman and supernat-
power, to which man yields instinctive obedience, making himself its
g and devoted instrument; or must we not, in order to perfect our idea,
rther add to our definition the attribute of wisdom, implying the know-
, as well as the love of truth, and a just apprehension of that Higher
r to which allegiance is rightfully due?

in order to be a Hero, it is not sufficient that a man be earnest, disinte-
l, self-devoted, and religious; if it is further required that he be wise, there
e no difficulty in ascertaining the causes of failure in all the Heroes who
ever appeared upon the theatre of the world, with the single exception of
One, Whose wisdom, and Whose only, was perfect, being a direct and unsul-
manation from the pure Fountain of all Truth.

man may seem to be a Hero, and for a time be acknowledged and en-
ed as such, by the acclamations of the world, who founds his pretensions
ly upon a shrewd and just apprehension of some popular notions, opinions,
opensities, which chance to be prevalent in the world in his day, and upon
evotion to them; that is to say, taking these for his god, and, more espe-
, if he has the art to mix with them something of superstition, some pre-
on to an authority derived from some unseen, dark, mysterious, superhuman
r. If *he begins by deceiving himself in this*, he will more easily mislead

others; and if he begins by deceiving others, he will soon come to believe his own lie, by witnessing its temporary efficacy; but his ultimate failure will be an inevitable consequence of the defect in his fundamental supposition.

It follows, therefore, that a man who is earnest, disinterested, self-devoted, active, zealous, strenuous, and fearless in maintaining a principle, though he may seem to be a Hero in the eyes of the world, ought not to be so accounted unless his principle be founded upon that Wisdom which is from above, according to such manifestation of it as is vouchsafed to the age in which he lives.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours, &c. G. T.

MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS OF S. T. COLERIDGE.

To the Editor of "The Christian Remembrancer."

My dear Sir,—In transmitting to you the accompanying fragments of Coleridge, I am sure that you will sympathize with my wish not willingly to let die any of his "Sybilline leaves," however trifling; and as your Review still retains somewhat of its Magazine profession, I am induced to think that you will allow space to some of the fugitive thoughts of one of our great thinkers.

The following scraps scarcely require authentication; for the most part, they at once authenticate themselves; but it may be as well to mention Coleridge's practice—one well known to all his intimates—of scribbling most unmercifully on the fly-leaves and margin of every book which passed through his hands: even the otherwise-sacred pages of the books of the Highgate Society had no immunity; and our periodical sales were sometimes enriched by extra biddings for works more than usually bepencilled. From one of these, the dissenter Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe, in the possession of a friend, I copied what I now send; and, though I did not reside at Highgate till after Coleridge's death, I am acquainted with his handwriting, having seen many of his MSS. in the possession of his and my friend, the late Mr. Gillman. Had they come into my possession earlier, they would have been forwarded to Mr. H. Nelson Coleridge, whose Remains of his uncle are derived in part from similar sources; and I am not without hope that, if the example be set, you may recover other fragments.

The readers of the Christian Remembrancer do not require to be reminded that neither you nor I wish to be considered implicit followers of Coleridge; nor to attach undue value to his unequal, and often inconsistent, speculations. What Coleridge might have been, had he lived until the present restoration of the Church had assumed greater prominency, and which he watched with so keen an interest, many, perhaps you among the number, may have amused themselves with conjecturing. You will agree with me in considering these notes as eminently characteristic of his very opposite tendencies and opinions; and should the author of Ancient Christianity be disposed to plume himself on the admissions of the first two passages, his triumph will be dashed by the remarkable observations on the relative offices of the Church and Scripture, in a subsequent note. They are Coleridge all over, both in thought and expression.

Should any critics discover other such mistakes as placing Ulphilas in the second century, they will do well to bear in mind that few writers expect themselves to be very accurate in such fugitive thoughts as fall from them in this desultory way: and I do not know that it would be quite fair to any author's reputation to make him incur grave responsibility for the like: indeed it would become a question, had not Coleridge been already, and perhaps to an injudicious extent, subjected to the publication of all his *Adversaria*, whether it was right to publish them. However, should there be any literary responsibility, it must be fastened upon, my dear sir,

Yours, very faithfully,

Hoxton, Nov. 7, 1843. William Scott

Notes upon Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe.

Vol. i. p. 38.—"One of the great errors of the Protestant polemic divines, but especially those of the Church of England, is that of assigning too late a date to the corruptions of the Latin Church. Laud's party regarded the first five centuries as almost of apostolical authority. Alas! before the year A.D. 200, I could show the germs of every abuse and every false doctrine."

P. 42.—"Few things more disgusting than the impudent blank contradictions given by Butler, and sundry Irish papists, to the testimony of Blanco White, on a point so notorious to every man who has for any time resided in Spain, Portugal, Italy, or Sicily. I was, when abroad, in confidential intercourse with the best and most intelligent of the Roman clerisy, secular and religious, and I never met a man who pretended to deny the fact that the obligation of chastity hung very lightly on them; and that if a priest was attentive to his duties in other respects, occasional deviations of this kind found easy absolution."

P. 102.—"But these are the effects of Christianity, *in spite of* the papacy, or at all events the papacy notwithstanding. The Church of Christ existed, or Antichrist could not have been throned therein. Mr. Vaughan should have distinguished the good effects of the papacy, *quoad* papacy, *ex. grat.* the facilitation of the settlement of the feudal tribes into the federal unity of a Christendom with international laws. Item, the universality of the Latin as the common language of intellectual commerce, though dearly purchased by the superstition and ignorance of the laity, excluded from the Scriptures, and praying in an unknown tongue. N.B. England derived less benefit and more evil from Rome than any other state."

P. 156.—"This frightful massacre itself, (the crusade against the Albigenses,) under the circumstances of that dark and ferocious age, is less shocking to the moral sense than the reiterated attempts of recent Catholic writers to defend or palliate the atrocity, by keeping up anew the infamous calumnies on the innocent victims. The great objects of our Church at present ought to be, first, the removal of the wall of separation between them and the orthodox dissenters, by explaining the difference between the national clerisy, which ought to include all the three liberal professions as an *ordo civilis ad erudiendos mores institutus*, and the Church, *i.e.* the Christian Church. 2. To promote throughout the continent, especially in France, Germany, and the north of Italy, the commencing reform *in*, not *from*, the Catholic Church, strictly confining their exhortations to two points—the emancipation of the bishops and their sees from all dependency on the Roman Pontiff,—and of the Clergy collectively from the obligation of celibacy. These points attained, all other errors will die away gradually, or become harmless, or at worst, *ineptiæ tolerabiles.*"

P. 187.—"There are myriads of Catholics at the present time most anxious for a reform *in* the Catholic Church, who would resolutely oppose a reform *from* it. They perhaps attach too much importance to the unity of the Church,—we too little."

P. 288.—"1. That Peter *never was bishop* of Rome; and that his *ever having been at Rome, or in any part of* Italy, is a mere tradition,

unsupported by any tenable historical evidence easily explained [*sic* in MS]. 2. That if he had been, and had been, in direct contradiction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans, a Roman bishop, it proves nothing in support of the papal pretensions. 3. That the sole pretext, the only plausible ground for the pontificate, is the supposition that it is a necessary condition of the unity of the Catholic Church. But 4. Mede has demonstrated (see my Essay on the Constitution in Church and State) that *à priori*, it is an inept and inadequate means to that end; and that, in fact, it has ever worked in the contrary direction."

P. 295.—"Still, the elevation of the national character in the inheritable and inherited consciousness of the natives, which still lives and works in the heart of every Englishman, must be taken as an important set-off against the evils of our continental wars (in the fourteenth century)."

P. 311.—On the words 'moral loveliness of the state in which it [human nature] *first* stood.'—Where is the proof of this? How long did Adam stand? and even during this brief probation he was but a *living* soul, not a life-making spirit. Of this "moral loveliness," the aim and goal of our Christian race, Christ is the only *righteousness*, and in Him alone God loveth the world."

Vol. ii. p. 37.—"The Gothic version by Ulphilas, in the close of the second century, renders the existence of a Celtic translation of parts at least of the Bible (the Psalms, for instance, and St. John's Gospel) not improbable."

P. 39.—"Query. What is the date of the earliest Welsh translation of the Scriptures, or of any integral portion, as the Psalter? An ecclesiastical history of North and South Wales—are there materials for such a work? It could not but be of great interest; and the Welsh genius hath been hitherto eminently antiquarian. I cannot bring myself to believe that the British, Scottish, and Pictish monastic clergy of the fifth to the eighth century were an exception to the zeal for translation. But we must remember, that during this period, when the purer Church of Britain succumbed to the papal domination, the numerous clergy in their vagrant cœnobitic establishments, were men of learning sufficient at least to use the Latin version, which doubtless they rendered and expounded in their itinerary to the people *vivâ voce:* while, except these ministers, few indeed could read. . . .

". . . Nevertheless I think it probable that metrical versions and paraphrases did exist, probably may still be discovered, in the Welsh language. How glad I should be to converse with Sharon Turner on this subject!"

P. 44.—"Strange power of prejudice on the strongest minds! Even Vico, that profound thinker, lays it down as a rule, that in Jerusalem (?) religion cannot hold its ground, unless by the jealous confinement of its sacred writings to a learned order. Yet Vico, though Catholic, almost idolized the writings of Bucer and Grotius. But fear that Vico inwardly regarded the Christian only as one of the rious positive religions, the examples of which he quotes.

P. 48. "Note.—To *ascertain*, not for the first time to *learn* the *uth*. In order to this, Christ had founded a *Church*, and by the *irst spiritually*-gifted ministers of this Church, some of them instructed

by Christ himself while in the flesh, and all by the Spirit, with whom, and in whom, Christ returned to the faithful, as an indwelling Light and Life;—by the first ministers of the Church, I say, who were the fathers and founders of particular churches, the universal (Catholic) essential truths and doctrines of Christ were committed to writing, without withholding of any truth applicable to all times and countries, and binding on all Christians. Now these writings, collectively, form the New Testament, and whatever cannot be *recognised* there cannot be an essential article of faith. But the Scriptures, the great *charter* of the Church, does not supersede the Church; and till we have learnt the *whole scheme* of Christianity from the Church, by her creeds, catechisms, homilies, and according to the constitution of the apostles, the Bible could not but produce erring fancies, perplexities, jarring subjects;—and on the other hand, withdraw the Scriptures, and where is the check on the proceedings and pretensions of the certainly uninspired, and too probably ambitious Churchman? No! learn from the Church, and then in humility, yet freedom of spirit, test it by the Scripture. Note.—The Church doctrines are the bank-notes, the Scripture the bullion, which the notes represent, and which the Bank (*i.e.* the Church) must be always ready to bring forwards when fairly demanded.

"Note to this note, by S. T. C.:—

> "Nullum simile omnino quadrat—
> Quicquid *simile* est, non est *idem*.
>
> "No simile goes on all fours, or
> Every *simile* necessarily limps.

"With this understanding, and so qualified, must the reader take my comparison of the Church doctrine relatively to Scripture as bank-notes relatively to bullion. Now in this respect the simile halts,—that the bullion *may be* subdivided into doubloons, sovereigns, half-sovereigns, or to penny-pieces; and yet, notwithstanding this divisibility, we are assured, by the great master of the science of trade, our most experienced Ploutonomists, (Rothschild, Ricardo, Lloyd, &c. &c. &c.,) that the trade and commerce of this kingdom could not be carried on without ruinous stops and retardations, for a single week, by a metallic currency, however large! But be this as it may, the bullion of Scripture is not a bullion of this kind. It may be formally, I own, divided into bars=books; ingots=chapters; and coins, *i.e.* verses; but, alas! you might almost as well subdivide an organized body, and expect that the extracted eye would see, the insulated heart remain a heart, as attempt to interpret a text without its context, or that context without reference to the whole scheme. It is in the ὁμοπνευστια, in the one and same divine spirit pervading and modifying all the differences, all the sundry workings of the *human* mind under different lights and different dispensations that the *divinity* of the Bible is manifested. The imperfect humanity must be there, in order, by its diversity and varying nature, to contrast with the *One* breathing in all, and giving to all one and the same direction."

P. 52.—"I have ever regretted that the efforts of our Luther and his followers had not been limited to the reclaiming of the cup for the laity; and that the controversy on the dogma of transubstantiation had not been deferred to a later and calmer period. For hence, as the main source, flowed the bitter waters of strife among the Protestants themselves. Instead of *advancing* . . . . Berengarius, Luther *retrograded*. The best that can be said of him is, that he substituted a comparatively harmless for a positively mischievous *nonsense*, while the sacramentary hemlock extinguished the very life of the awful mystery."

P. 55.—"Now Berengarius, (see his uncompleted Treatise, edited by Lessing from a MS. in the Wolfenbuttel Library,) Bucer, and the Church Catechism distinctly assert the *real* presence, with and in the spirit of the Gospel (John vi.), and contradistinguish *real* from *phenomenal*, substantive from accidental. The Romish doctors sensualize the doctrine into an idol; while the sacramentaries volatilize it into a metaphor; and, alas! too large a number of our clergy are sacramentaries! Often I have had occasion to mourn the dissonance between the sermon and the service."

P. 192—"1. The separation of the poor's-rates from the tythes, *i. e.* the reserved nationalty as distinguished from property, or the estates of individuals and families. 2. The confounding the maintenance of the proper *poor* with the maintenance of healthy workmen thrown out of employ by the fluctuations of trade—a compromise entered into in order to make the rate of wages measured by the demand. 3. The extension of this from trade, of which *things* are the proper objects, to agriculture, of which *persons* should be the final end. And, 4. The consequent withdrawing of the poor-laws from the national Church and all Church discipline. These four I regard as the main causes of our national distress and corruption."

P. 206.—"These four 'accursed methods' [viz. 1. That the Church is of more authority than the Gospel. 2. That Augustine saith he would not believe the Gospel unless the Church had taught him so. 3. That no man now alive knoweth which is the Gospel, except it be by an approval of the Church. 4. And hence, if men say that they believe this to be the Gospel of Matthew or John, they do so for no cause but that the Church confirmeth it, or teacheth it,] are weakened but not fully answered by Wycliffe, or even by the Protestant divines down to this day. That the papal hierarchy, nor the clergy generally, as a distinct class from the laity, constitute the Church is indeed shown, and ably shown; but not so the question, what, then, *is* the Church?"

P. 227—"In the eye of a philosopher, the papal hierarchy is the pope. Think, then, of Ireland, and ask whether it is not as fearfully and mischievously active at the present day as it ever was in the age f Wycliffe."

P. 239.—On Wycliffe's words, "Yet we read not that He, or y apostle, paid tithes to the wicked high-priests, &c."

'With sorrow, I say, a very weak reply. Have we any reason to .ssert the contrary? But the fact is, that Wycliffe overlooked (and *how few since* his time have seen!) the distinction between the legal,

constitutional, and civil claims of a parson as a member of the national clerisy, and his claims as a minister of the Gospel. Wycliffe erroneously regarded the clergyman in this latter relation exclusively. But had he considered the tythes as a revenue set aside and appropriated to a learned order, say authority, of the nation itself, and independent of, because prior to, the introduction of Christianity, and therefore resting on the same ground as the property of the laity, he would have made no such conclusion, and therefore it is most unfair in his adversaries, to infer from his opinion respecting clerical revenues, a similar opinion as to the rights of the gentry. Wycliffe said no more of the clergy's rights than we say now of the rights of placemen, that the rights depend on the competence of the person to the duties."

REVIVAL OF CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS.—No. II.

(Testimonies continued.)

"How many daughters of the clergy, of military and naval officers, of that numerous class who derive their support from life-incomes, and of those whom the vicissitudes which are always occurring, in commercial countries, have reduced from affluence to distress, are yearly left with a scanty provision, or with none! . . .

"As a remedy for this evil, though it was far less in his days than in ours Richardson suggested the establishment of PROTESTANT NUNNERIES in every country 'in which single women of small, or no fortunes, might live with all manner of freedom, under such regulations as it would be a disgrace for a modest or good woman not to comply with, were she absolutely on her own hands; and to be allowed to quit it whenever they pleased.' The governesses he would have had to be women of family, of unblameable characters from infancy, and noted equally for their prudence, good nature, and gentleness of manners. The attendants for the slighter services should be the hopeful female children of the honest industrious poor. 'Do you not imagine,' he continues, 'that such a society as this, all women of unblemished reputation, employing themselves as each (consulting her own genius) at her admission shall undertake to employ herself, and supported genteelly, some at more, some at less expense, to the foundation, according to their circumstances, might become a national good; and particularly a seminary for good wives, and the institution a stand for virtue in an age given up to luxury, extravagance, and amusements, little less than riotous?' In reply to the question how it could be supported, he says, 'Many of the persons of which each community would consist, would be, I imagine, no expense to it at all; as numbers of young women joining their small fortunes, might be able, in such a society, to maintain themselves genteelly on their own incomes; though each singly in the world would be distressed. Besides, liberty might be given for wives in the absence of their husbands in this maritime country; and for widows, who, on the death of theirs, might wish to retire from the noise and hurry of the world, for three, six, or twelve months, more or less, to reside in this well-regulated society; and such persons, we may suppose, would be glad, according to their respective abilities, to be benefactresses to it. No doubt but it would have, besides, the countenance of the well-disposed of both sexes, since every family in Britain, in their connexion and relations, near or distant, might be benefited by so reputable and useful an institution; to say nothing of the works of the ladies in it, the profits of which perhaps will be thought proper to be carried towards the support of a foundation that so genteelly supports them. Yet I

would leave a number of hours in each day for the encouragement of industry, that should be called their own; and what was produced in them to be solely appropriated to their own use. A truly worthy Divine, at the appointment of the Bishop of the Diocese, to direct and animate the devotion of such a society, and to guard it from that superstition and enthusiasm which soars to wild heights in almost all nunneries, would confirm it a blessing to the kingdom.'"—*S. Richardson.*—Quoted in *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii. p. 92.

"God may be served and glorified in every state of life. But as there are some states of life more desirable than others, that more purify our natures, that more improve our virtues, and dedicate us unto God in a higher manner; so those, who are at liberty to choose for themselves, seem to be called by God to be more eminently devoted to His service.

"Ever since the beginning of Christianity there have been two orders or ranks of people among good Christians. The one, that feared and served God in the common offices of a secular, worldly life; the other, renouncing the common business and common enjoyments of life, as riches, marriage, honours, and pleasures, devoted themselves to voluntary poverty, virginity, devotion, and retirement, that by this means they might live wholly unto God in the daily exercise of a divine and heavenly life.

"This testimony I have from the famous ecclesiastical historian, Eusebius, who lived at the time of the first general council, when the faith of our Nicene Creed was established,—when the Church was in its greatest glory and purity,—when its bishops were so many holy fathers and eminent saints.

"Therefore," says he, "there have been instituted in the Church of Christ two ways or manners of living. The one raised above the ordinary state of nature and common ways of living, rejects wedlock, possessions, and worldly goods, and being wholly separate and removed from the ordinary conversation of common life, is appropriated and devoted solely to the worship and service of God, through an exceeding degree of heavenly love.

"They who are of this order of people seem dead to the life of this world, and having their bodies only upon earth, are in their minds and contemplations dwelling in heaven; from whence, like so many heavenly inhabitants, they look down upon human life, making intercessions and oblations to Almighty God for the whole race of mankind. And this, not with the blood of beasts, or the fat or smoke and burning of bodies, but with the highest exercises of true piety, with cleansed and purified hearts, and with a whole form of life strictly devoted to virtue. These are their sacrifices which they are continually offering unto God, imploring his mercy and favour for themselves and their fellow-creatures. Christianity receives this as the perfect manner of life.

"The other is of a lower form, and, suiting itself more to the condition of human nature, admits of chaste wedlock, and care of children and family,—of trade and business, and goes through all the employments of life under a sense of piety and fear of God. Now they who have chosen this manner of life, have their set times for retirement and spiritual exercises; and particular days are set apart for their hearing and learning the word of God. And this order of people are considered as in the second state of piety."—*Eusebius, Demonst. Evang.* lib. i. c. 8.

"If, therefore, persons of either sex . . . desirous of perfection, should unite themselves into little societies professing voluntary poverty, virginity, retirement, and devotion, living upon bare necessaries that some might be relieved by their charities, and all be blessed with their prayers and benefited by their example; or if, for want of this, they should practise the same manner of life in as high a degree as they could, by themselves, such persons would be so far from being chargeable with any superstition, or blind devotion, that they might be justly said to restore that piety which was the boast and glory of the Church when its greatest saints were alive.

"Now, as this learned historian observes, that it was an exceeding great degree heavenly love that carried these persons so much above the common ways *life to such* an eminent state of holiness;—so it is not to be wondered at that

religion of JESUS CHRIST should fill the hearts of many Christians with this
degree of love.

For a religion that opens such a scene of glory,—that discovers things so
itely above all the world,—that so triumphs over death,—that assures us
ch mansions of bliss where we shall so soon be as the angels of God in
en;—what wonder is it if such a religion, such truths and expectations,
ld in some holy souls destroy all earthly desires, and make the ardent love
avenly things be the one continual passion of their hearts?

If the religion of Christians is founded upon the infinite humiliations,—the
l mockings and scourgings,—the prodigious sufferings,—the poor persecuted
and painful death of a crucified SON OF GOD;—what wonder is it if many
ble adorers of this profound mystery,—many affectionate lovers of a crucified
l,—should renounce their share of worldly pleasures and give themselves
o a continual course of mortification and self-denial; that thus suffering
Christ here, they may reign with him hereafter?

If truth itself hath assured us that *there is but one thing needful*, what wonder
that there should be some amongst Christians so full of faith as to believe
in the highest sense of the words, and to desire such a separation from the
d, that their care and attention to the one thing needful may not be inter-
ed. If our blessed Lord hath said, *If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that
hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come
follow me;*—what wonder is it that there should be some such zealous
wers of Christ, so intent upon heavenly treasure,—so desirous of perfection,
they should renounce the enjoyment of their estates, choose a voluntary
rty, and relieve all the poor they are able? If the great Apostle, St. Paul,
said, '*He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord,
he may please the Lord;*' and that '*there is this difference also between
ife and a virgin;—the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord,
she may be holy both in body and spirit;*'—what wonder is it, if the purity
perfection of the virgin state hath been the praise and the glory of the
rch in its first and purest ages;—that there have always been some so
ous of pleasing God,—so zealous after every degree of purity and perfec-
so glad of every means of improving their virtue, that they have renounced
comforts and enjoyments of wedlock, to trim their lamps, to purify their
, and wait upon God in a state of perpetual virginity?

And if now in these our days we want examples of these several degrees
erfection; if neither clergy nor laity are enough of this spirit;—if
re so far departed from it, that a man seems, like St. Paul at Athens,
ter-forth of strange doctrines, where he recommends self-denial, renuncia-
of the world, regular devotion, retirement, virginity, and voluntary poverty,
because we are fallen into an age where the love not only of many but of
is waxed cold.

I have made this little appeal to antiquity, and quoted these few passages of
ture, to . . . show, that the highest rules of holy living, devotion, self-
l, and renunciation of the world, charity, virginity, and voluntary poverty
ounded in the sublimest counsels of Christ and his Apostles, suitable to the
expectations of another life, proper instances of a heavenly love, and all
wed by the greatest saints of the best and purest ages of the Church.
THAT HATH EARS TO HEAR, LET HIM HEAR.'"—*Law's Serious Call*, chap. ix.

I am entirely of your mind in regard to Protestant nunneries or convents,
h are much wanted in this country, and which, under proper regulations,
t, as you justly observe, be productive of the best effects. Our Reformers
to have wholly forgot the old maxim: 'Fas est et ab hoste doceri.' If
practice was in use among the papists, this was enough to make them reject
nd it was almost enough to recommend any practice to them, that it was
rary to the usage of their adversaries."—*Letter of Dr. Beattie to Sir W.
es.* (Forbes's Life of Beattie.)

The system of monasteries, though pernicious when abused, and defective
s intellectual regulations, yet contained much that was fairly interesting

both to the imagination and to the heart of the Anglo-Saxons, and that actually contributed to increase the happiness of life in their day. Even now, in the opinion of many thinking men, if they were confined to the middle and declining periods of life; if they were frequented by those only, who, after having discharged all their social duties, desired to withdraw from the occupations, troubles, and fascinations of the world, to a halcyon calm of mind, uninterrupted study, tranquil meditation, or devotional sensibility; if they were not shackled by indissoluble vows of continence, imprisoning the repining; if they were made seminaries of education, and allowed to be temporary asylums of unprovided youth; and if their rules and habits were framed on such moral plans and religious formulæ as should be found worthy of an intellectual age, which seeks to combine the fancy and the feeling in a sweet harmony with its knowledge and its reason: thus formed and directed, such institutions might again contribute to the happiness of the aged, the destitute, the sorrowful, the lonely, the abstracted, the studious, the pensive, the unambitious, the embarrassed, and the devout, as well as to the instruction of the young, the relief of the poor, and the revival of religious sensibility in the community at large."—*Sharon Turner.—Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. page 491.

"Sir Thomas More.—Hermits, as well as monks, Montesinos, have been useful in their day. Your state of society is not the better because it provides no places of religious retirement for those who desire and need it.

"Montesinos.—Certainly not. I consider the dissolution of the religious houses as the greatest evil that accompanied the Reformation.

"Sir Thomas More.—Take from such communities their irrevocable vows, their onerous laws, their ascetic practices; cast away their mythology, and with it the frauds and follies connected therewith, and how beneficial would they be found! What opportunities would they afford to literature, what aid to devotion, what refuge to affliction, what consolation to humanity!

"Montesinos.—And what relief to society, which, as it becomes more crowded in all its walks, and as education and intelligence are more and more diffused, must in every succeeding generation feel more pressingly the want of such institutions! Considering the condition of single women in the middle classes, it is not speaking too strongly to assert, that *the establishment of protestant nunneries, upon a wise plan and liberal scale, would be the greatest benefit that could possibly be conferred upon these kingdoms.*"—*Southey's Colloquies*, pp. 35, 37.

"Owing in part no doubt to the total want of a religious character, they (communities for women) have never become respectable in public opinion. Human beings cannot live happily in constrained community of habits without the aid of religious feeling, and without implicit obedience to a superior," &c.*—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 309, 311.

"The business of female education would naturally be transferred to those institutions gradually, and to the evident advantage of all parties: the parents would here be secured against the danger of trusting their daughters to the care of careless or unworthy persons; girls would have the advantage of elder society; and the class of women who are now employed in tuition would find there the asylum which they need, the respectability of station which they deserve, and as much or as little as they might choose to undertake of the employment for which their talents and acquirements qualify them."—*Ibid.* page 316.

"The fewer regulations the better; none beyond what are indispensable for the well-being of the community; even a common table is not to be recom-

* It seems to have been owing in part to this very defect, that a comparatively recent attempt to establish a sort of conventual institution for women of the upper and middle classes, first at Bath, and afterwards at Clifton, by the late Lady Isabella King, under the patronage of the good Queen Charlotte (see Quarterly Review, *vol. xxii.* Art. "British Monachism,") owed its failure.

mended; the members may better be left to choose their own society, and to make all minor arrangements among themselves.* But uniformity of dress would be proper for preventing expense and vanity, and for a visible sign which might attract notice; and if the habit were at once grave, convenient, and graceful, would ensure respect. In like manner, for the sake of effect, the domicile ought to have an appearance in character with its purpose."—*Ibid.* p. 313.

"The scheme is intended for sober piety, for the meek, the retiring, and the gentle, whom nature has enabled to suffer rather than to act; and who would thus be saved from suffering, not indeed the numerous evils which flesh is heir to, but all those (and they are hardly less numerous) which reverses of fortune bring with them."—*Ibid.* p. 317.

"A local habitation is all that should be desired when a secular nunnery, or rather college for women, is to be established, with just ground enough for use, for recreation, &c. . . . Money alone is wanted—money from the noble and the wealthy. Were the edifice ready, it might be expected that as such persons in former times founded charities for the sake of relieving the souls of their ancestors, they would now, in prospective kindness to those of their own blood, found bursaries for such a college, reserving to themselves and their heirs the right of presentation."—*Ibid.* p. 315.

"As we walked among the ruins [of Quarr Abbey, in the Isle of Wight], and meditated upon the days that are gone, we could not but feel that the restoration of some religious houses, upon christian principles, might be attended with the happiest effects. Some might afford an asylum for unprotected females, that they might, in the language of St. Paul, 'attend upon the Lord without distraction.' Others might be opened for the reception of men who were tired of the world, or unfitted for it; and some of whom might cheerfully occupy their time in visiting the sick, educating the young, instructing the ignorant, and comforting the distressed. Surely the day is not far distant, when such religious communities, free from corruptions, and under the control of the bishop, shall be re-established amongst us. If this is popery, then were Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer papists."—*British Magazine*, No. 132,† *November*, 1842, p. 536.

"If monasteries, instead of being swept away, had been reformed; if it (sic) had been reserved for persons not tied by monastic vows, but who, satisfied to endure hardship, and content with poverty, were ready, from the pure love of God, to devote themselves to preaching, study, and prayer, our large towns would have been supplied, not as now, with some three or four overburdened clergymen, but with a numerous body of men, ready, under episcopal guidance, to do the work of apostles and evangelists, to multitudes now lying in darkness and in the shadow of death."—*Paget.*

"There are not many who have the blessing of being subject to a proximate superior; to any rule out of themselves, by which the detail of their life is ordered. More is thereby thrown upon the energy of the individual will. The need of some imposed discipline, which shall bear upon the actings of our inner nature, is wonderfully attested by the yearnings of thoughtful men at this time. On every side we hear them painfully striving to free themselves from the bondage of unmeaning and artificial habits, and to find some basis on which they may rest the full weight of their living powers . . . They crave after something through which they may submit themselves to the realities of the eternal world. And for this end was the visible Church

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* This recommendation seems ill-judged. A common table would appear necessary to enforce the requisite restrictions as to the quantity and quality of diet, and to keep table-talk under proper restraint.—EDITOR.

† Should any objection be raised to the quotation of recent or anonymous authorities, it is suggested that such, though of inferior moment, are yet not without their weight as evidences of the popular sentiment on the subject referred to.

ordained. To meet the yearnings of our baffled hearts, it stands in the earth as a symbol of the everlasting; under the veil of its material sacraments are the powers of an endless life; its unity and its order are the expressions of heavenly things; its worship of an eternal homage. Blessed are they that dwell within its hallowed precincts, shielded from the lures and spells of the world, living in plainness, even in poverty; hid from the gaze of men, in solitude and silence walking with God."—*Archdeacon Manning's Sermons*, Serm. X., pp. 144, 145.

"As for the religious orders of virgins in the present Roman Church, though some, and those very great, abuses have crept in, yet I think it were to be wished that those who suppressed them in this nation, had confined themselves within the bounds of reformation, by chusing rather to rectify and regulate, than abolish them."—*The Ladies' Calling*, Part II. Sect. 1.

"The choicest records and treasures of learning were preserved in these houses. They were schools of learning and education, for every convent had one person or more appointed for this purpose, and all the neighbours that desired it, might have their children taught grammar and church music there, without any expense to them. In the nunneries, also, young women were taught to work and to read; and not only the lower rank of people, but most of the noblemen's and gentlemen's daughters were taught in those places. All the monasteries were in effect great hospitals; and were most of them obliged to relieve many poor people every day. They were likewise houses of entertainment for almost all travellers. And the nobility and gentry provided not only for their old servants in these houses, by corodies,* but for their younger children and impoverished friends, by making them first monks and nuns, and in turn, priors and prioresses, abbots and abbesses."—*Burn's Ecclesiastical Law* art. *Monasteries.*

"Mary Wandesford, of the city of York, spinster, by will, 4 Nov. 1725, gave all her lands, &c. to the Archbishop of York, and others in trust, for the use and benefit of *ten poor gentlewomen, who were never married*, and should be of the religion practised in the Church of England; *who should retire from the noise and hurry of the world, into a religious house; a Protestant retirement* to be provided for them, where they should be obliged to continue for life [*i. e.* if they wished to enjoy the benefits of the establishment]. And she directed her trustees to purchase a convenient habitation for the said poor gentlewomen, where they might all live together under one roof, and *make a small congregation once, at least, every day, at prayers*, such as her trustees should think proper for their ease and circumstances; and she appointed £10 *per annum, to be paid to a reader*, who should be appointed by her trustees [This Charity is still in existence]."—*Report of Commissioners for Enquiry into Charities*, IV. p. 378, *in Edwards's Collection of Remarkable Charities.*

"*Convents without vows*, for disabled or impoverished Clergymen, or for godly women, who have determined never to marry, and wish to devote the remainder of life to prayer and meditation, and the active exercise of charity, in visiting the sick, and instructing the ignorant, *would be a blessing to the Christian Church.*"—*Address to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, by the Rev. S. F. Jarvis, D.D. LL.D.* 1843.

"As for the other point of Monasteries, I told him, I could not take upon me to defend all that had been done in demolishing them; I knew they had nourished men of piety and good learning, to whom the present age was not a little beholden; for, what do we know of anything past but by their labours? That divers well affected to the Reformation, and yet persons of integrity, are of opinion that their standing might have continued to the advancement of literature, the increase of piety, and relief of the poor. That the king, when he took them down, was the greatest loser by it himself. Whose opinions I would not contradict."—*Sir Roger Twysden, Historical Vindication*, p. 2.

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* A corody is an allowance of the necessary supplies of life.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

BP. OF LINCOLN, *March* 3.

ORDINATIONS.

By the LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL, *on Sunday, Dec.* 24, *at Gloucester.*

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—J. Clements, B.A. Oriel; T. C. Gibbs, B.A. Trin.; R. Gregory, B.A. Ch. Ch.; W. C. Randolph, B.A. Trin.; W. H. Twyning, B.A. Jesus; V. C. Day, B.A. New Inn H.; H. F. Edgell, B.A. Oriel; H. L. M. Walters, B.A. Ch. Ch. (*l. d.* Bp. of Salisbury, acting for Bp. of Bath and Wells); C. Cox, B.A. Exet.

Of Cambridge. — W. S. Lewis, B.A. Trin.; R. B. Brereton, B.A. St. John's; E. Godfrey, B.A. Clare H.

Of Dublin.—J. Hughes, Trin. (*l. d.* Bp. of Llandaff); A. Forbes, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—C. Cripps, B.A. Magd. H.; O. Goodrich, B.A. Oriel; J. G. E. Hasluck, Pem.; H. C. Key, B.A. Ch. Ch.; J. Pitt, B.A. Oriel; A. C. Rowley, B.A. Wad.; J. Acres, B.A. Linc.; H. Edwards, B.A. Linc. (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter.)

Of Cambridge.—G. H. Hodson, M.A., J. G. Young, B.A., and B. Webb, B.A. Trin.

Of Lampeter.—D. Morgan (*l. d.* Bp. of Salisbury, acting for Bp. of Bath and Wells).

By the LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, *at Chichester, on Sunday, Dec.* 24.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—H. J. Rush, B.A. Worc.; J. H. Sheppard, B.A. Queen's.

Of Cambridge.—A. Spalding, B.A. Trin.; J. I. P. Wyatt, B.A. Magd.

Literate.—H. H. Hamilton.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—T. Bayly, B.A. Magd. H.; S. Minton, M.A. Exet.; A. Wigan, B.A. St. John's.

Of Cambridge.—G. D. Dawes, B.A. Trin.; O. E. Vidal, B.A. St. John's; J. H. Vidal, B.A. St. John's; W. F. W. Watson, B.A. Emm.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Borton, W.	Thornton-le-Moors	Lincoln	Bishop of Ely	£319	99
Bryan, R. L.	Cheldon, R.	Exeter	The Hon. N. Fellowes.	114	90
Coghland, W. L.	St. Mary-de-Lode, Gloucester, V.	G. & B.	D. & C. of Gloucester	284	...
Dinham, W. B.	St. Swithin's, Winchester, R.	Winchester	Lord Chancellor	64	284
Daniel, J.	East Ardsley	Ripon	Earl Cardigan	369	853
Davies, D.	Llanarmon, R.	St. Asaph	...	...	...
Dykes, J. B.	Bridekirk, V.	Carlisle	Mrs. Dykes	137	2112
Evans, T. D.D.	Sandhurst, V.	G. & B.	Bp. of Glouc. & Bristol	209	434
Gardner, S. W.	Trostrey, P.C.	Llandaff	Sir S. Fludyer	72	196
Gillbee, W.	Gwennap, V.	Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	482	8539
Gould, R. J.	Clewer, R.	Oxford	Eton College	460	3975
Hannay, J.	Ashley, R.	Sarum	D. of Lancaster	220	96
Harries, E.	Egremont, P.C.	St. David's.	Sir M. Phillips	51	140
Hill, M.	Lye, P.C.	Worcester	Thos. Hill, Esq.	152	4432
Hippesley, R. W.	Stow-on-the-Wold, R.	G. & B.	H. Hippesley, Esq.	525	1810
James, J.	Pinhoe, V.	Exeter	Bp. of Exeter	227	568
King, G.	Worstead, V.	Norwich	D. & C. of Norwich	251	834
Lane, E.	St. Mary's, R. Manchest.	Chester	Manchester Coll. Ch.	166	...
Mackenzie, H.	St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, P.C.	Norwich	D. & C. of Norwich	430	...
Master, G. F.	Stratton, R.	G. & B.	Miss J. Masters	500	546
May, G.	Liddington, R.	G. & B.	The Prebend thereof	325	407
Meller, T. W.	Woodbridge, R.	Norwich	T. W. Meller, Esq.	500	4954
Monteath, G. W. S.	Ranceby, V.	Lincoln	Sir J. C. Thorold	165	262
Mould, J.	St. Paul's, P.C. Walsall.	Lichfield	Govs. of Grammar Sch.	50	...
Mulleneaux, W.	St. Luke's, Liverpool, P.C.	Chester	Sir J. Walmsley	...	...
Rowlandson, T.	Whittle-le-Woods, P.C.	Chester	Vicar of Leyland	150	2295
Wheeler, G. D.	Great Wolford, V.	Worcester	Merton College	131	580
Wodehouse, A.	Carleton Forehoe, R.	Norwich	Lord Wodehouse	\120	\32

APPOINTMENTS.

Anderson, J. S. M. Preachership of Lincoln's Inn.
Bonstead, J. ..... Chaplaincy in Bengal.
Collins, C. M..... Master of Chudleigh Grammar School.
Danby, F. B..... Master of the Gram. Sch., Kendal.
Drury, C..... Hon. Stall in Hereford Cath.
Galbraith, J ..... Provost of Tuam Cathedral.
Lancaster, G..... Head Master of the Free Gram. Sch. of Slaidburn.
Moseley, H. ..... Inspector of Normal Scho
Mould, J. ..... Head Mast. of Queen Ma School, Walsall.
Thornton, W. J.. Hon. Stall in Hereford C
Twist, J. W..... Clerk in Orders of L Parish Church.
Venn, J..... Hon. Stall in Hereford C
Webb, J. B. ..... Hon. Stall in Hereford C

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Bedford, R. G., M.A., Vicar of St. George's church, Brandon-hill, Bristol.
Bellman, E., Rector of Helmingham.
Bomford, T., Vicar of Woodbridge, Suffolk.
Dixon, W., of East Ardsley.
Downing, S , Rector of Fenagh, county Carlow.
Freeland, H., Rector of Hasketon, near Woodbridge.
Graham, J., Rector of St. Saviour's and St. Mary's Bishophill, Yorkshire.
Hall, A., of Hensingham.
Holmes, W. A., D.D., Chancellor of Cashel and Rector of Templemore.
Lumb, J., of Methley.
Maber, G. M., Rector of Merthyr Tidvil.
Murray, J., P. C. of Whixhall
Pollard, R., of Parson Drove.
Powell, W., Rector of Shelley, Suffolk.
Townsend, T., of Doonass, Ireland.
Turner, J., Rector of Hagley and Frankl Worcestershire.
Westropp, T., M.A., Rector of the united rishes of Kiltanlea and Killokennedy, in Diocese of Killaloe.
Williams, B., P. C. of Pentraeth, Anglesea.
Wilton, W. J., M.A.
Winstanley, J. R., D.D., of Bampton.

UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

OXFORD.

Dr. Jeune has been appointed Master of Pembroke: but the nomination is disputed.

CAMBRIDGE.

BACHELOR'S COMMENCEMENT, JANUARY 20, 1844.—EXAMINATION FOR HONOURS.

Moderators.—Matthew O'Brien, M.A. Caius College; Robert Leslie Ellis, M.A. Trinity College.

Examiners.—Harvey Goodwin, M.A. Caius College; George Fearns Reyner, M.A. St. John's College.

WRANGLERS.

Hemming,	Joh	Hiley,	Joh	Thompson,	Cath	Gurney,	Trin
Hopkins,	Caius	Wilkinson,	Christ's	Bell,	Jesus	Maxwell,	Corpus
Budd,	Pemb	Nicholson,	Emm	Hughes,	Trin	Curtis,	Joh
Stephen,	Joh	Waddingham,	Joh	Bowring,	Trin	Somerville,	Queen's
Dixon,	Joh	Woodhouse,	Caius	Wall,	Joh	Fenn,	Trin
Warren,	Trin	Green,	Corpus	Staley,	Queen's	Edwards,	Trin
Hedley,	Trin	Tryon,	Clare	Rastrick,	Trin	Wright,	Joh
Walker,	Trin	Jones,	Jesus	Buck,	Christ's	Gorham,	Joh
Woolley,	Pet	Gutch,	Sid	Goodman,	Christ's	Lawson,	Joh
Yates,	Pemb						

SENIOR OPTIMES.

Hardwick,	Cath	Cooper,	Trin	Smith,	Joh	Hamilton,	Caius
Harrison,	Corpus	Lynes,	Chr	Wratislaw,	Christ's	Day,	TrinH
Brooke,	Caius	Patey,	Cath	Harris,	Trin	Walker,	Joh
Rigg,	Pemb	Holmes,	Trin	Richardson,	Trin	Lathbury,	Jesus
Walton,	Pet	Richards,	Trin	Davie,	Joh	Lugg,	Clare
Underwood,	Joh	Davies,	Trin	Kewley,	Magd	Steuart,	Trin
Broadmead,	Trin	Clark,	Trin	Field, J. W.,	Joh	Keary,	Trin
Whittaker,	Joh	Frampton,	Clare	Nash,	Trin	Maine,	Pemb
Bodley,	Queen's	Frewer,	Joh	Byers,	Christ's	Sells,	Clare
Mason,	Joh	Cox,	Jesus	Leeding,	Joh	Weston,	Christ's
Kingdon,	Trin	Fisher,	Emm	Stewart,	Joh	Morgan,	Joh
		Hodgson,	Pet				

JUNIOR OPTIMES.

Robertson,	Caius	Field, T.	Joh	Gifford,	Emm	*Ægrotat.*	
Snowball,	Joh	Steventon,	Corp	Morse,	Trin	Hotham	Trin
Byers,	Pet	Martineau,	Caius	Swann,	Trin		
Tatham,	Joh	Evans,	Sid	Fowler,	Joh	Barker,	Caius
Porter,	Corpus	Welldon,	Queen's	Smith,	Christ's	Barrett,	Joh
Linthwaite,	Jesus	Bennett,	Joh	Wilson,	Queen's	Blaker,	Joh
Mason,	Pemb	Tomlin,	Queen's	Rodger,	Trin H	Crawley,	Joh
Sharpe,	Trin	Geldart,	Clare	Taylor,	Magd	Levett,	Cath
Hoare,	Joh	Murton,	Joh	Dalyell,	Trin	Lower,	Pet
Mould,	Trin	Dikes,	Clare	Wallas,	Pemb	Platt,	Trin
Sutcliffe,	Magd	Baker,	Trin	Parr,	Joh	Snow,	Trin
Kirby,	Joh	Trevelyan,	Caius	Wren,	Joh	Tompkins,	Joh

QUESTIONISTS NOT CANDIDATES FOR HONOURS.

Mathematical Examiners.—D. T. Ansted, Esq. M.A. Fellow of Jesus College; Rev. W. C. Mathison, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College.

Classical Examiners.—Rev. W. Bates, Fellow of Christ's College; Rev. E. Warter, M.A. Fellow of Magdalene College.

Examiners in the Acts of the Apostles and Paley's Moral Philosophy.—Rev. J. Clark, M.A. Fellow of Christ's College; Rev. S. Lewthwaite, M.A. Fellow of Magdalene College.

Graham,	Trin	Chisholm,	Joh	Tonkin,	Corpus	Scott,	Trin
Faulkner,	Trin	Sutcliffe,	Cath	Andrews,	Joh	Bastard,	Magd
Tritton,	Joh	Fielding, Lord	Trin	Best,	Pet	Treweek,	Jesus
Killpack,	Corpus	Davies, A. G.	Queen's	Townshend,	Trin	Westropp,	Caius
Girdlestone,	Christ's	Galton,	Trin	De Crespigny,	Magd	Hooper,	Trin
Barrow,	Joh	Purches,	Corpus	Sharp, W.	Trin	Gisborne	Pet
Buxton, T.F.	Trin	Walton,	Christ's	Norman,	Corpus	Hilton	Caius
Denman, Hon. L.	Mag	Kay, I.	Trin	Gregory,	Pet	Fearinside,	Joh
Faulkner,	Sid	Sharples,	Qu	Spring Rice,		Sabine,	Jesus
Bateson,	Trin	Kingsford,	Joh	Hon. A.	Trin	Hill,	Corpus
Hayward,	Trin	Greenwood,	Pet	Blathwayt,	Corpus	Parkinson,	Corpus
Wallas,	Trin	Formby,	Cath	Marsham,	Magd	Simcockes,	Trin
Burchell,	Corpus	Pritt,	Trin	Kent,	Corpus	Loyd	Trin
King,	Trin	Stokes,	Trin	Russell,	Trin	O'Neil,	Queen's
Nelson, Lord	Trin	Turner,	Sid	Gray,	Joh	Hall,	Corpus
Whish,	Queen's	Charlesworth,	Trin	Willoughby	Trin	Barf,	Christ's
Brown, Lord J.	Magd	Booker,	Magd	Dove,	Caius	Hillman,	Clare
Gascoigne,	Cath	Heygate,	Trin	Lyon,	Trin	Brumell,	Joh
Channey,	Pet	Lister,	Cath	Seymour, H.	Trin	Delacour,	Pet
White,	Pet	Watson,	Caius	Lloyd,	Christ's	Mellor,	Joh
Randolph,	Jesus	Fife,	Trin	Hinde,	Joh	King,	Christ's
Stedman,	Christ's	Blake,	Pet	Andrews,	Emm	Homfray,	Cath
Chawner,	Joh	Stutzer,	Trin	Housman,	Joh	Jervis,	Pet
Tarr,	Sid	Barker,	Clare	Banks,	Cath	Noott,	Queen's
Bray,	Queen's	Kay, E.	Trin	Walker,	Pemb	Hicks,	Down
Wilbraham, F.R.	Pet	Swindells,	Joh	Babington	Trin	Browne, L.L.	Trin
Hodson,	Trin	Oliver,	Trin	Knox, A. A.	Trin	Purchas,	Christ's
Pyper,	Cath	Beresford,	Pet	Smith, S. G.	Trin		
Leader,	Corpus	Thompson	Qu	Clark, J.	Corpus	Brooks,	Clare
Miles,	Magd	Bromhead,	Caius	Thompson,	Pemb	Davies, W.	Queen's
Powlett,	Trin	Reade,	Cath	Trotman,	Trin	Fitton, W.	Trin
Raven,	Magd	Jermy,	Trin	Hamilton,	Trin	Hill,	Caius
Kingdon,	Sid	Hendy,	Joh	Bere,	Emm.	Law, G.	Joh
Burton,	Joh	Lighton, A.	Joh	Holmes,	Corp	Lutt,	Sid
Magnay,	Clare	Green,	Trin	Woodd,	Corp		
Oldham,	Trin	Rogers,	Trin	Frost,	Pemb	*Ægrotat.*	
Barker,	Christ's	Walker	Cath	Cruttenden,	Joh	Hall,	Joh
Badger,	Qu	Priestley,	Trin	Milligan,	Cath		
Thomas,	Trin	Baumgartner,	Caius	Harris,	Qu		

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING, AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

A MEETING of this Society was held at their chambers, in St. Martin's-place, on Monday, the 15th January. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair. There were also present the Lord Bishop of London, the Lord Bishop of Llandaff, Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart, M.P., the Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester, the Revs. Dr. Spry, J. Jennings, and B. Harrison; Messrs. James Cocks, N. Con-

nop, J. S. Salt, W. Davis, E. Badeley, A. Powell, W. Cotton, &c. The reports of the sub-committees having been read, the meeting proceeded to examine the cases referred to their consideration, and finally voted grants of money towards building churches or chapels at Seacroft, in the parish of Whitkirk, Yorkshire; at the Link, in the parish of Leigh, Worcester; at Blaydon, in the parishes of Ryton and Winlaton, Durham; at Thorpe Acre, Peterborough; at Great Wyrley, in the parish of Cannock, Staffordshire; and at the Groves, in the parish of Sutton, near Hull; also towards enlarging, by rebuilding, the church at Bednall, Staffordshire; and towards enlarging, or otherwise increasing the accommodation in existing churches at Usk, Monmouth; Hunmanby, Yorkshire; Spernall, Warwick; Lewes, St. Ann, Sussex; Buckley, in the parish of Hawarden, Flintshire; and Stoke, St. Gregory, Somerset. These parishes contain a population of 34,831 souls, and possess church accommodation in seventeen churches and chapels for 7,611 persons, including 2,149 free seats, to which provision of church room 3,826 sittings will be added by the erection of six new churches, and by the rebuilding, enlarging, or increasing by other means the accommodation in seven existing churches, and of this additional accommodation 2,942 sittings will be free. Certificates of the completion of the erection of three new churches and chapels, and the enlargement, or other increase of accommodation, in seven existing churches and chapels, were examined and approved, and orders were issued for the trustees to pay over to the treasurer the sum awarded in each case, in order that he may remit the amounts of the grants to the respective applicants. The population of these ten places is 85,115 persons, for whom church accommodation to the extent of 7,729 sittings only were provided, previous to the execution of the works now certified to be completed, of which 2,580 were free. To the church room then provided 3,796 seats have been added, 3,266 seats of which are free. Since the last meeting of the committee, the requisite forms have been forwarded to twenty-four applicants, to enable them to submit to the board the applications they propose to make for aid. In ten of these cases assistance will be solicited towards building additional churches. The Rev. Thomas Bowdler has been appointed to succeed the late W. J. Rodber, in the office of secretary to the Society.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Oxford Cemetery. — At a meeting convened by the Archdeacon of Oxford at his rooms in Christ Church, on Tuesday, Jan. 16, for the purpose of considering the propriety of providing additional burial ground for the several parishes of Oxford, the Ven. the Archdeacon in the chair, the following resolutions were agreed upon:—

Moved by the Rector of Exeter College, seconded by J. Parsons, Esq.

1. That the crowded state of some of the church-yards in Oxford renders it desirable to provide additional burial ground or grounds, to be placed on the same footing as the present church-yards.

Moved by the Rev. Vaughan Thomas, seconded by Baker Morrell, Esq.

2. That a Committee be formed for the purpose of considering the best means of giving effect to the principle embodied in the foregoing resolution, and that they report on the same to an adjourned meeting, to be convened by the Archdeacon.

Moved by Dr. Ogle, seconded by the *Principal of* Brasennose College,

3. That in addition to the parochial clergy and churchwardens of the several parishes, this Committee consist of such heads of colleges and halls and canons of Christ Church as may be willing to lend their assistance, together with the Rev. Vaughan Thomas, Rev. R. Greswell, Rev. R. Walker, Baker Morrell, Esq. Henry Walsh, Esq. J. Parsons, Esq. Guy Thompson, Esq. F. J. Morrell, Esq. Joseph Parker, Esq. Dr. Wootten, Dr. Ogle, C. Wingfield, Esq. M. Johnson, Esq. J. M. Davenport, Esq. G. Hitchings, Esq. Lewis Parker, Esq. D. V. Durell, Esq. Mr. Combe, Mr. J. H. Parker, with power to add to their number.

Moved by the Rev. Dr. Jelf, seconded by F. J. Morrell, Esq.

4. That these resolutions be printed and circulated.

Moved by G. Thompson, Esq. seconded by H. Walsh, Esq.

5. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Archdeacon, for his kindness in taking the chair.

THE

HRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

MARCH, 1844.

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peal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on Doctrinal Changes lately introduced in the Series of Tracts circulated under their Authority. London: Burns; Stewart; Leslie; Darling. Oxford: Parker. Cambridge: Stevenson. Pp. 58.

T is a very sad business," as Mr. Rowland Alston pathetically resses the *Lament of the Churchwardens of Ware*,—"It is a sad business certainly, that when we have gone on doing wrong omfortably for a great number of years, we should not be allowed ontinue in the same course." This was the plea of the worthy rchwardens. And this has been the plea with which, of late, all rts have been met, by whomsoever made, for bringing back the erable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to its old ciples. At length, however, the progress of mis-rule seems to e reached its zenith; and we want only a little faith in an old verb to assure ourselves, that things which are now at the worst, t shortly mend;—a proverb not in any sense *the worse for wear*. We have come to a point, from which it seems expedient to take a ospect of the growth of "the cankers of a calm world and long ce," as they have become matured amongst us, to inquire what e thirty years of immunity from foreign wars have done for the ancement of our christian state at home, and especially for those itutions, which, after panting through the long term of strife, an at length to hope for a breathing-space, and enlarged means romoting the sacred objects comprised in their original design. w it is an historical fact, that the Society for Promoting Christian owledge was not directed at that important period by timid or table hands. The efforts which had resulted in the foundation of new episcopate for our Indian possessions, had been fostered and

directed, in great measure, by the benevolent and wise counsellors, who, with equal prudence and zeal, then guided the course of the Society. The National Society for the Education of the Church's poor children was the work of the same excellent men, of whom one or two still survive; we wish we need not add, that they survive to reproach an ungrateful generation, who reap the fruit of their labours, but have forgotten their principles. The old obscure town-house in Bartlett's Buildings had grown too small for the depository of the Society's sacred stores, and for the management of the different departments of its labours: and under the same counsel it was exchanged for that well-chosen site in one of the most frequented thoroughfares between east and west, where it has ever since continued. These things were done, and were appreciated: the public importance of the interests involved in these efforts was seen and recognised; the Society was becoming daily better known and more worthily supported. In short there was nothing but a stifled clamour, half afraid and half ashamed, from a party which never loved the old Society, which called for some undefined and unknown changes.

At such a time, unhappily for the Society and the Church, there began to appear among the London Clergy a small party of men, who, not pretending to pronounce any judgment of their own on the questions at issue, could not be content without an attempt to legislate for them,—who, having studied Burnet on the Articles, and satisfied themselves that the Church never meant all her children to agree in one interpretation, thought it intolerable that the Society should be more restrictive in her code of doctrine,—who wondered why others felt so deeply what they had never found of force enough to sink beneath the surface of their own minds,—who asked, with a face of piteous candour, what harm could possibly be done by a *little* concession, a *little* widening of the basis, a *little* opening of the door to those who would be far too grateful for the boon to abuse such kindness. In short, they made their appeal to men of principle, but not unmerciful: they professed to mean no mischief; and who can say they *did* mean any? They wished that ancient man, Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, who had once been black-balled at Bartlett's Buildings, to be admitted at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Their wish was granted; for who could refuse a request so trifling in itself, and so modestly urged? And at least it was not then supposed, that the admission of Simeon was to make way for the admission of all his skeletons after him.

Yet, as coming events cast their shadows before, there might, perhaps, be an indication or two, that an act of amnesty to the old champion of heterodoxy was not the ultimate end of these movements. There were some of these moderate reformers, who made it their business to associate as much as they could with the chief doctors on either side, and to negotiate terms of comprehension and mpromise. It was their merit, that they saw worth to be

respected, wherever it was found: and who could tell but that, each conceding one or two of the most hostile points, they might agree, or agree at least to differ, on the rest? But the fate of go-betweens, since the days of Pandarus of Troy, has never been happy; and they have no chance, when they have to deal with unyielding virtue, and plain sincerity, in one of the two parties whom they solicit. This project, therefore, came to an untimely end; though little to the satisfaction of the agitators, who were left to declaim against old-fashioned stiffness, and protest they could not see how black should be so black, or white so very white.

There is a severity in the rules of truth and consistency, which men of vulgar aims and common popular arts can never comprehend. It is the language of revelation, "Can two walk together, except they be agreed?"* It is the device of temporising policy, to form an alliance first, and seek terms of agreement afterwards. It is the duty of God's priest and prophet to be as "a fenced brasen wall" against the deceitful maxims of the time.† These men only ask what kind of religion the times will bear. "I am fully convinced," said Legh Richmond, with the applause of a thousand meetings of hybrid societies ringing in his ears,‡ "I am fully convinced, that nothing is more likely to weaken the attachment of serious and reflecting minds to the Church, than this *standing aloof from public feeling*, as if we had some distinct interest of our own, and were insulated from that of the great mass of the community. No position can be more dangerous to a Church, than that which exhibits it in avowed opposition to the *prevailing character and sentiments* of the community." The religion of the majority was, therefore, in his view, the religion to be followed; the voices of the multitude were his measure of truth and duty. On this principle he engaged in all those societies, whose leaders pray together on platforms, but never meet in one house of prayer. On this principle, as other doctors have done, he married his daughter to a preacher of the Scottish Establishment. *It was on the same principle, that he might keep the people with him, that Saul offered sacrifice!* §

Yet this pretence imposes upon thousands, and "the painted vizor of wise proceeding strongly deludes even those who know the foul face of impiety lurking under it." ‖ It was only being a little more politic than strict integrity allows,—it was only suppressing a small portion of the truth for fear of offence, that brought in its train all the inconveniences which we have so long suffered. When we say it was *politic*, we use even that term in an improper sense; for true policy and integrity cannot be separated. When Elizabeth was counselled to employ a portion of her treasure in buying off the opponents of her government, her answer was, "She would not ransom herself from her enemies at the expense of those who loved

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* Amos iii. 3. † Jer. i. 18; xv. 20. ‡ Life, by Grimshawe, pp. 572, 573.
§ 1 Sam. xiii. ‖ Raleigh.

her." Had her successor firmly held to the same policy against the Puritan, instead of promoting Archbishop Abbot, he might have prevented the troubles which he left his son to inherit, and bequeathed him a crown, against which the Puritan would have struck in vain. But such reasons as these were out of the sight of the busy men, who were now to act their part in the affairs of the Society. Rejected by their old friends, they began to draw closer to their new allies; and there was now less scruple, in their shallow minds, to hold them back.

The next measure was more successful. The old books and tracts were of course not palatable to some of their new friends: they were sorry for it, for they saw no such poison in them; to be sure, there were a few things they could wish otherwise; something, it must be confessed, a little high-spiced against the sin of schism and the tricks of nonconformity. What then? Should they try to remove these books and tracts by a public resolution to that effect? Should they take the sense even of the monthly meeting on that point? By no means. The course of middle steerers is commonly safe and smooth, if they have light enough to see it; and they are always ready to resign the helm to other hands, when the rapids are near, or to use the back-stroke, when they see danger. There was only a slight change wanted in the ordinary way of preparing the Annual Report, which would do a great deal towards this conciliatory object; and time would do the rest. The change was merely an omission. In former years it had been customary to print a list of the books and tracts, which, once admitted on the Society's catalogue, had become out of print; that if any member was sending for a fresh supply, it might be at once in his power to see the full extent of the publications that were available to him, and he might demand a reprint of those of which all the copies had been sold off, if he desired it. This power he still possesses; but the means of exercising it he has lost. The list of the retired are now no longer numbered as on half-pay,—the names of the old soldiers, that are no longer summoned to parade, are treated as if they had been drafted off to Siberian exile;—in short, they are suppressed, and only an antiquarian's research will tell us what they were. It was wisely done, no doubt, lest the latest nominee to a living under Simeon's Trustees should be startled on entering the threshold of the Society by the *wraith* of Kettlewell or Hammond. And as the agitators of this change were well acquainted with the maxim of the law about persons not appearing and non-existent, they calculated well, that no attempt was likely to be made to resuscitate those, for whom they had taken care that the very titles of their remembrance should perish.

Another step, important in its signification, was taken about the same time. A connexion had long existed between the Society, in literary department, and the house of a London bookseller, whose and ensign in St. Paul's Church-yard had been, for more than a *century*, the proverbial note of the storehouse of orthodox

Church divinity. This connexion was dissolved,—not, as we were taught to believe, because any principle of doctrine was involved, but because financial economy demanded it,—the Society could manage to print and publish more cheaply for itself. Possibly; for we know nothing of the actual cause of the dissolution. It was, however, singular, that about the same time a kind of half-patronage was extended, through the Committee of General Literature and Education, (wide matters to be put into commission!) to another bookseller, of new name in London, whose principle of publication was unknown, and to whom, an inquirer may think, this kind of half patronage has been no inconsiderable boon, if he casts his eye upon the titles of books in the Supplemental Catalogue, and inquires the name of their publisher. That the effect was another decisive step in favour of the encroachment on principle, will not be doubted for a moment.

All this, however, tended only to neutralize. If the Committee of Literature (who may have made some blunders, but, considering their difficulties, have not done much amiss), have helped a diligent publisher to sell what was not otherwise saleable, if they have followed some old-established errors, and patronized some promising pupils of gentle dulness,—still no one can say that any decisive acts of aggression on principle have been committed in that quarter. We confess we do not think Bishop Burnet's Abridged History of the Reformation, any more than his Scandalous Chronicle of his own Time, a book fit to be perused by the ingenuous youth of both sexes.* We do not see that much of the sacred moral of Church History is likely to be gleaned from the unlively pages of Dr. Burton or Mr. Soames.† We do not think Mr. Hone's selection of Biographies, of which the Committee have now adopted a fourth volume, quite of the same order as Izaak Walton's. Still, in so long a list there is so little of active mischief, and such an assemblage of volumes of good-tempered amusement or well-meant instruction, that, if the Finance Committee should approve, we should be content if the whole Supplemental Catalogue were added to the permanent list to-morrow.

What followed next? There were some number of books of old

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* Perlegat, si quis de assertione nostra dubitat, quæ de Wolseii vita privata memoranda et in apertum proferenda censuit Burnetus.

† It was but a tolerable absurdity, when Mr. Soames, adopting the traditional style of speaking used by historians of the last century, spoke of the qualities requisite for a soldier as "superior" to those required for the mitre (Anglo-Sax. Church, p. 135); though one wonders what respect such a parson can have for his own office. But we have lately received a copy of a Sermon by the same gentleman, preached in the Essex Flats, at Romford, and published by J. W. Parker, which might, for its tone, be dedicated to the Churchwardens of Ilford. What will readers think of the historian of the English Church, who comes to tell them that the "principal objection" made by the Puritans to the altar-rails, was "the trouble and expense involved in them?" (p. 19.) Surely the worthy Archdeacon H. C. Jones, at whose Visitation such stuff was preached, did not provoke Mr. Soames to publish it.

name and fame, such as the *Whole Duty of Man, Nelson's Festivals and Fasts, The Pious Country Parishioner, Melmoth's Great Importance of a Religious Life*, and a few more, which in ancient times had done something to reclaim the wandering hearts of the people from that agreeable error of religion above ordinances, and taught them how to honour the Church's solemn days, and to love the house of prayer. These books were especially hateful to those who had laboured so long without, to prove to the existing generation, that faithful preaching, whether in church or conventicle, was the true great requisite; and who thought the keeping of a saint's day almost the same thing as worshipping the saint. Something must be done to meet these new friends half way. Had they any precedent for altering books and tracts once received on the permanent list? O certainly. Not only many little anonymous Pastoral Advices, but even Sikes's Dialogues, while the author was yet living, had been altered in Committee. It was only stretching the precedent a little, to alter some of the older books and tracts, which were the more likely to want repair, as they had seen so much service. At least they should take care to make them intelligible to the time, to make Jeremy Taylor speak as good English as the *Morning Herald*, to pare away the antiquated phrases of Bishop Ken, and make him fit to be listened to in the parish of St. Giles's in the nineteenth century. Again, the Pious *Country* Parishioner was honoured with an exclusive notice in the title of one of those old books. Why should the book not be accessible to the pious town parishioner also? Therefore, let them cut out the superfluous word in the title, which idly "babbled of green fields," and another end might be secured at the same time: for, if the book was further altered, no one could say it professed to be the same. A proposition to scout the interests of the country party was not very likely to be unsuccessful in a Committee composed of five-and-twenty metropolitans; and the Pious Parishioner has become as clean and trim as if he had never visited ten miles out of town. Indeed, there are some who suspect that it was not a happy change for him, when, like the Farmer of Tilsbury Vale,

> "To London—a sad emigration I ween—
> With his gray hairs he went from the brook and the green;"

they think he looks consumptive, and that the London tiler's new roof over his head is not so well adapted for his constitution as his native thatch.

In the last century, when the proverb that "a rolling stone can gather no moss" was still current, and landlords as well as tenants thought it a part of their duty to live at home, when the London news came to the 'squire once a week, and Robespierre had been guillotined a month or six weeks before the barbers knew it in the ıtry-towns, a pious priest was travelling out of London at a pace satisfied his humble desires, to regain his rural shade, on the top

of the heavy Buckinghamshire coach, which was driven heavily to the brow of the Chiltern range, where it overlooks the Vale of Aylesbury. A comely spinster sate beside him, a thought too pale, perhaps, but dressed in that little ornate distinctive mode, which showed her to be town-bred; for the Buckinghamshire lasses, though they made lace, did not wear it in the dairy in those days, and their milliners had no need to go to London to learn fashions. The maiden seemed before a little rapt in silent meditation, but intent on the different scenes which they passed; and it might seem that the sights and sounds were such as to combine a little novelty with the attractions which they afforded her. But when they reached the brow, and the fine expanse was open before them, the flow of soul burst forth in tones that could not be suppressed, and as little misunderstood, when they were heard, "My stars! I did not think *the country* had been so large!" Her imagination had painted an ideal of a world out of town, wide enough to supply London with ducks and green peas in the proper season, and beef and mutton, butter and eggs, all the year round: but she thought it must be something that stood within a certain ring-fence, all within a morning's drive of the peopled space for which it was made. That it should be more than this was a new idea to her.

To apply the story. That there should be any number of pious parishioners, worth the attention of the Society, who live beyond the sound of Bow bell, and that any man should think it worth his while to write a book exclusively for such bumpkins, appeared to our metropolitan reformers an absurdity too gross for a moment's consideration. Nobody stayed to ask, whether there are not certain habits of feeling engendered in hearts that have grown up amidst landscape of green hill and dale, which a simple country schoolmaster may understand, though they may be a riddle to a very wonderfully fine town-preacher. Nobody inquired, whether it was not likely that the author of the book knew best for whom it was written. No! the country was not a large world enough; it was an invasion of the rights of the bricklayers of St. Giles's, in whose parish, we have lately been reminded, the Society's house is situated. Let the bricklayers, therefore, share and share alike.

To what further penance the Pious Country Parishioner was subjected, besides changing his local habitation and his name, we have not much inquired; but we suspect it was not trifling. The conceited folly of the proceeding is enough for our present purpose. It was about the time at which it was perpetrated, we believe, that the late venerable Bishop Van Mildert made his latest appearance at one of the monthly meetings, and delivered that grave and solemn remonstrance against the views of the little men who were making these stirs, which few who heard it will have forgotten. It certainly gave a slight check to the downward course for that time; but the good and great man, whose wisdom commanded an audience for itself, whenever it was heard, was not much longer spared to assist in

the Church's public counsels. Other circumstances arose, which aided the impulse to innovation. The Church itself was now put into commission: great changes were agitated in its highest offices of dignity; great sacrifices of its ornaments were loudly demanded; and it became an axiom, avowed by Dr. Arnold, and acted upon by more than chose to avow it, that where anything was old, the presumption was in favour of change.

What effects were wrought, in compliance with the prevailing humour, on other old works besides the Country Parishioner, we shall shortly show by some examples from the able pamphlet which we have taken for the ground of our remarks. Meantime, there was only one step yet wanting to bring the wheel round its full circle, and to prevent the possibility of any accession of sterling Church theology to the existing list. This was the appointment of the Tract Committee. Never, surely, was there so important a change proposed so hastily, acquiesced in so easily, and endured so patiently, as the institution of this Tract Committee. By it the Society annually consigns the charge of its theology to a council of seven, who are usually nominated by the Standing Committee, but, the season being chosen in accordance with the wishes of the new interest, offered to the approval of the general assembly of presbyters and lay-elders at the May meeting; when the funds of all the societies of other shades are bountifully employed in giving their chief orators the benefit of an annual peep at life in London, and will be most likely to pour in a due proportion of the most cool-headed, well-judging, orderly country friends into the room upstairs to decide the election. Now, far be it from us to say, that there are not on the list of the Standing Committee some of the best names of the London laity and clergy,—some old and tried ones, who remember the days of principle,—some who would not be sorry to see those days return,—some men of excellent aims and enlightened charitable spirits,—and, what we think important, as many as three or four out of the forty, members from the country, whose number we should be glad to see enlarged. But, considering that there is also on that list the name of a well-known zealous senator, who wants nothing but a little patience of inquiry and a larger grasp of principles to be as good a defender as he is now a disturber of the Church,—that there are more than one or two old assertors or later admirers of the invisible Church or broad-bottom system,—that there is rather a large proportion of those amiable neutrals, who dangle, like Mahomet's tomb, between high and low,—what hope is there, if we take at random seven pieces out of this mosaic board, we shall find a promising harmony of colours, even if the choice, as being an indifferent matter, might be made at hazard? Far otherwise, however. The list must satisfy the May-meeting; and you must ask the members who know the religious world in May, what they would recommend. If not, there a possibility that a little hint may be given out of doors; and Mr. *hsenkopf*, of the German Evangelical Society, or Mr. Twisse

Perkins, who teaches the Westminster Catechism to his parochial children, will be ready on the day with another list, including, of course, the Essex Memorialists, which will put yours to a most perilous hazard.

There has, therefore, been an approved *recipe* for concocting the Tract Committee, very early adopted, and persevered in to the time of this present writing:—"Take two or three orthodox clergymen,—let them be the best you can catch in Lincoln's Inn-fields,—but take care not to have more than three; for a majority will not be thought wholesome. Take, also, two or three of the late Mr. Simeon's friends,—if you can pick out those that are a little mellowed with age, and not quite so fierce as the latest new lion at Exeter-hall, it will be better.—What! you bring us two of each? Good! Then you want three more. Dr. Interim, Mr. Trimmer, and Bonamy Blendall will add their names." Who can complain of this? All have reason to be satisfied; for none are overlooked, none are unrepresented. And must it not work well?—when you have the best you can get in all London and ten miles round to represent both sides, and, not umpire Chaos, but Dr. Interim, the genius of moral certainty itself, to decide according to the force of evidence, and adjust the scale in every case of doubt?

Let us see. There was, once upon a time, a book that walked the town for a space, and was read and liked by one side as much as it was disliked by another. In some favourable moment, (whether at Tract Committee or Standing Committee, we forget,) it was resolved to place on the list of the Society *Warton's Death-Bed Scenes*, written, as it is commonly supposed, by that excellent single-hearted man, and most diligent parish priest, the late Mr. Wood, of Fulham. No sooner had it been done, than a clamour in-doors and out was raised against it,—particularly, if we remember right, because the worthy author, whose scenes were taken from his own experience, had spoken of administering the holy Eucharist to a patient near the last agony, when consciousness on the part of the recipient was perhaps doubtful. Supposing there had been something doubtful in the case, or in the expression, which was more probable, was it not practicable to have it altered by the living author? Was the whole book to be withdrawn at once from circulation? It was withdrawn without a struggle; secretly and silently withdrawn; a venerable aged clergyman was gratuitously disgraced; and Warton's fate became a landmark to all who should hereafter attempt to recruit the old stock with a new seedling propagated from the old sources.

Again. It is not quite to be forgotten, that, before the reign of Interim, there was a noble project in sacred literature designed, encouraged, and executed, under the auspices of the old counsellors, who then managed the Society's chief business. This was the Society's Family Bible, edited, with a selection of Annotations, by Bishop Mant and Dr. D'Oyly. Whatever may be the faults of this work, it is still a valuable performance, and one that has contributed

much to the practice of domestic piety. As to its general tone of theology, it is, at least, of some use to have a good synopsis of the prevalent interpretations of the Hanoverian period of our Church. If there had been a little more of the seventeenth century, it would have satisfied us better. The book was, however, well received, and deservedly; and, in spite of Scott's Bible, (which may be described as Patrick Calvinized,) it has kept its sale. The *imprimatur* of the Society was not without its force at that period; and the book was not unworthy of the sanction it had obtained. What followed? Shortly after the happy union of new allies, it was suggested that this Bible was somewhat too large and expensive, and perhaps too learned in some points, to meet the wants of a class a little lower than theirs who could afford to pay for three portly quartos. It was determined, therefore, that a new Bible should be prepared, with a more brief and plain explanatory comment. The men selected to do it were of the best, strict, conscientious, studious men, good preachers, first-rate scholars; one of the two since most deservedly promoted to the episcopal bench. A year or two had passed in preparation; and a country Archdeacon (wonder to be told!) was added to their number,—a man of active benevolence, and one who, to much ability in other ways, added a good understanding of the character and habits of our friends, the country parishioners. Who would have supposed that all this excellent enterprise was to end in smoke? But so it was. One morning in the month of May we wandered from our eastern abode through Smithfield and up Holborn-hill. Sweet was the smell of Smithfield hay, sweet the breath of Essex calves which thronged the passage; but the hope of a new present for the mowers and reapers to read on a summer Sunday evening under the old oak tree, or by winter fire, was not to be realized. On arriving at the society-house, we learnt that the genius of Interim had gone forth, and a blight had come over the commentators' labours. The project was abandoned; and while cheap editions of Adam Clarke's Commentary or Henry's Bible are rife on every country stall, the Church has no Poor-man's Expositor to offer in their place. "This was looked for at your hands, and this was baulked."

It is now only necessary to ask, what kind of accessions have been made to the sacred stores of the Society, since these changes began. From twenty to thirty new books or tracts annually added to the permanent catalogue, one might expect to be able to find something to characterise the era of Interim, something to mark progress either up or down. It would, however, have been difficult to pronounce which way the current had set, before the occasion arose which led to the pamphlet before us. There was a stream at work—and we knew that it was at work—but the old banks seemed to hedge it in, and to be high enough for a time to prevent any unusual overflow. Your true reformer always takes care of these appearances; "*eadem magistratuum vocabula.*" The change, therefore, remained marked, as on a stream in picture, by the turning of the arrow-head in the

direction intended, the outward mark of new designs as yet unshaped. A very few small books, such as Dr. Gilly's *Protestant Forefathers*, and Mr. Wilks's *Church Establishment*,* or Dr. Dealtry's *Religious Establishments*, gave a little turn, and a very little turn, to the usual flow.

What harm was there in these books? Very little harm indeed. If Dr. Gilly found out a wonderful succession of doctrine through his old friend, Vigilantius, unmercifully snubbed by St. Jerome, down to the Vaudois, it was a dream that would neither make a plain reader much the wiser, nor impose very far upon a critical one. If Mr. Wilks and Dr. Dealtry gave us their lights about establishments, it was a subject on which the Society had never been enlightened before, and seemed a plain oversight. It may be, that in Robert Nelson's time it was thought, that if the Church system was of divine sanction, its right to an Establishment followed of course; and it was going out of the way to prove a thing *lawful* which ancient piety deemed to be *divine*. But when Dr. Chalmers (it is now almost a forgotten story,) had so admirably defended the principle of the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland—he had not yet acted out his views, not having, perhaps, as yet fully "grappled with" the principle—it began to be asked, Cannot we say as much for our Episcopalian platform? If the Dutch conqueror had a right to proscribe Episcopacy beyond the Tweed, and hence the Presbyterian title stands so clear, surely ours is as good, for whom he was so merciful as to spare the form he found. Let the people then hear from us, also, that a Church Establishment of some sort is lawful, scriptural, and necessary. It is for them to choose of what sort it is to be; but at present, as Rowland Hill used to say, we are in the State-saddle, and if others would ride, they must do as they can on the bare crupper. The dignity of the mode of argument was equal to the greatness of the subject it embraced.

However, to keep the other argument a little in view, there were one or two new or old tracts added to the list, which might seem to balance the Erastian turn of these Clapham recruits. *Chillingworth's Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy* is a clear good argument. It should, however, be remembered, that Chillingworth wrote it, rather professedly under-stating his own convictions, in order to gain a hearing from the opponents of Episcopacy. His own belief was, that Bishops were not only of Apostolical institution, but of Divine right; that their power of ordaining was derived from God, and that their authority was immediately from Christ. (*Rel. Prot.* VI. i. 39.) Of *Mr. Hey's Authority of a Threefold Ministry*, we may, also, allow that it is a good argument. Still it ought not to be circu-

* The title is, "A Church Establishment *Lawful*, Scriptural, and *Necessary*." A logical division of subject, which seems to be affected in the new Tracts; as we have "No. 364, A Letter on Infant-Baptism, in which its *lawfulness* and *necessity* are defended." As though one should say, It is quite *allowable* to take a trip to Calais by sea; for, upon second thoughts, one *cannot* go by land.

lated by the Society, till it is either altered, or has a note to caution the reader against his remarks on the office of the Diaconate :—

"Wherein did the office of a Deacon consist?" asks Mr. Hey; and he answers his own question, "*The Scriptures have not informed us.* Some readers may be surprised at this assertion, (qy. negation,) and ask, Were not seven deacons appointed to take care of the public stock in the Church? It is true, that 'seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom,' were chosen by the people, and appointed by the Apostles, to take care that no partiality should be shown in favour of the Hebrew women, in distributing the daily portion of food provided by the Church; but *these men are not called Deacons, except in the running-titles of our Bibles.* The text does not give them that name. Indeed, if it did, we should gain but little information as to the perpetual office of a Deacon; for *the employment imposed upon them was local and temporary*, and has long ceased to exist. In no part of the New Testament, that I recollect, is the office of a Deacon described."—P. 13.

In the whole of this passage we have a fair specimen of that kind of *mare's nest* which an ingenious man may find for himself, while he studies a theological question with honest purpose, but without reference to the authorities that would guide him better. We are rather surprised that the learned and excellent Dr. Wordsworth, in his *Christian Institutes*, (a selection too valuable to be much affected by so slight a blemish,) should have honoured this tract of Mr. Hey's with a place, and not have added a note to set him right. (Vol. iii. p. 197.) For the passage is contradictory to the Prayer Book; in which the account in Acts vi. 2—7, is most properly selected for the Epistle to be used, at option with 1 Tim. iii. 8, at the ordination of Deacons. It is contradictory to antiquity, beginning with St. Ignatius, who evidently speaks to the Deacons at Tralles with an allusion to this as their original institution. (*Trall.* c. 2.) It is contradictory to all our good expositors of Scriptural practice; as to Hooker, *E. Pol.* VII. xiv. 5; Pearson, *Lect. in Act.* iii. 6; Nelson, *Ember Days in Lent;* and, no doubt, to many more. Lastly, it is contradictory to more than one or two publications of the Society itself; not only to our old friends, Nelson, and W. Stevens, (whose tract on this subject, No. 179, has probably been preserved by some good Nobody from the Siberian exile,) but to another modern, (No. 423,) *On the Nature and Government of the Church*, reprinted in 1836, we hope without loss to its original proportions.

But as authority in these days goes for nothing, it may be worth while to add, that the passage contains at least three false propositions, which we have marked by italics. 1. It is quite false that "the Scriptures have not informed us wherein the office of a Deacon consists." If it were not so, what note of amazement would be too great against the temerity of the Church of England, which has prescribed that its Bishops, whenever they ordain persons to this holy office, *should* repeat to them a sufficiently full definition of all that

appertains to the office of a Deacon. We know not what Dr. Interim may think of it; but Bishop Mant, in his comment on this service, evidently marks his opinion, that there is something more than canon-law for the different parts of this definition. And, indeed, we should feel some misgivings of the completeness of the New Testament, if St. Paul, where he gives directions who are "to use the office of a Deacon," had spoken of an office whose duties could not be collected from other portions of the apostolic writings.

2. It is a blunder in terms, to say that "these men are not called Deacons" in Acts vi;—a blunder which the seven learned clerks of the Tract Committee, and the five Episcopal referees might surely have detected, by looking into their Greek Testaments. Unless it is good sense to say, that no office in the Church can be certainly described by the abstract term, or the cognate verb; both of which occur in the passage in question.

3. It is a lamentable mistake to say the office, as described in Acts vi. "ministering to the necessities of the saints," was an office "local and temporary." For what purpose, then, the laying on of the Apostles' hands, (v. 6,) and the solemn prayer that preceded the rite? This, however, is a mistake which involves another—a low and loose estimate of the sacred nature of the office of ministering to the wants of the sick and poor. Our Church does not so regard it; but properly enumerates this as one of the perpetual duties of the Diaconate, in subordination to the Parish Priest.

Let this book, then, be well mended or guarded in another edition, for the sake of truth and consistency. We might find several faults with the classification in the catalogue; *e.g.* In Class 1, *Helps and Directions for the Study of the Holy Scriptures*, we have No. 243, *Church of England before the Reformation; or in what sense it is to be admitted that Popery was once the Established Religion of our country.* Probably this is a new recruit, and the old No. 243, now in Siberia, had a word or two to say about the Bible. We are not inclined to go beyond the title of his substitute; and only notice him to tell him to find his place, which must be somewhere in Class IX., near our *Protestant Forefathers.*

But now we are upon titles, mark another novelty. The late Mr. Legh Richmond, having first become acquainted with Bishop Jewell's writings by receiving a grocer's parcel at Newport Pagnell, wrapped up in a leaf of the Apology, went and bought up all the grocer's waste paper. "The treasure thus speedily and joyfully secured, to this incident, trivial as it may appear, Mr. Richmond owed his extensive and profound acquaintance with the authors of the Reformation." So says his biographer, Mr. Grimshawe, using the word *profound* discreetly; for he tells us that he went as deep as the bottom of the grocer's hogshead. But what then? Mr. Grimshawe will tell us that Legh Richmond was not one of those who could keep such a discovery to himself. "It was an honour reserved for Mr. Richmond,"—we think the grocer should share a little of it, seeing he

sold all his old books at twopence a pound,—"to draw from obscurity the writings of those eminent men, who had shaken empires by their discussions, overthrown systems which centuries struggled to uphold, and, sealing their testimony with their blood, bequeathed a sacred legacy of pure doctrine to the Protestant Church." In short, he began to publish the contents of the grocer's sugar-cask, under the title of "The *Fathers* of the English Church."

Very well. After Dr. Gilly had brought out the mummy of Vigilantius, or Dormitantius, as St. Jerome called him, when he was at a loss for joke, and perhaps half asleep himself, as he sat up all night to write his letter,—after Dr. Gilly, we say, had brought out this "Sleeper Awakened," and ticketed the mummy, Our Protestant *Forefather*,—what could be expected but that those who were like-minded should think of *Fathers* next? And as Legh Richmond called the greatest ancients he had met with, the Fathers of the Church of England, Dr. Interim declared it to be a title worthy of imitation. Hence we have had seven Numbers, varying in price from three-farthings to a penny-halfpenny, of *Selections from the Writings of the Reformers and Fathers of the Church of England*;—a slight improvement, worthy of note, on the title of Legh Richmond. Legh, good man as he was, thought he had fathomed the most abstruse recesses of Christian antiquity, when he had turned over the grocer's hogshead at Turvey:—before the time of Tyndal's Prologues the view to him was as hazy as the north of Scythia:—therefore it was easy and natural to him to call the men of the sixteenth century his Fathers. But the seven counsellors, who have given us sevenpence-halfpenny's worth of the same sample, thought it a slight mistake to call them merely Fathers; the Church of that time was not formed, but reformed, by Tyndal, Cranmer, and the rest. Therefore they were to be Reformers of the Church, and Fathers, probably, of the Reformed Church. Yet, somehow or other, this would have made too long a title; so they dropped the word *reformed*, and, as no one was likely to expect to see the Venerable Bede answer to the name, thought it enough to leave the title as it now stands, though, to be sure, it does look as if the persons so named had reformed the Church first, and founded it afterwards.*

If there are any now, who wonder how the Church can have tolerated this process of Interim so long, we must remind him of the proverb, "Many can brook the weather that love not the wind." The Society has lived on, as the constitution of England did for a time, on the memory of what it was when George the Third was king. Its best uses have not quite expired. Its funds have still had

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e forget whether it was at the same time when the Society thus placed the if Tyndal as the pillar and ground of the Church, that the Board black-balled osal to print an English translation of St. Cyprian de Unitate.

something to spare for the poor colonial Churches, a little for our proscribed brethren in Scotland; and grants could still be made for some great public objects. Hope of a better time has retained many who are not satisfied with what they see and know. Others of course are kept by considerations of the great convenience of getting supplies of the Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer, and such tracts as may even yet be found, on the cheap terms which are thus offered. And in general, in the country districts, where little is known of what is done in London, the depositories of the Society are places where the best members of the Church meet and form little knots of their own, and consult together on their little charitable plans, or discuss the last new book which has gone its rounds among the intellects of their limited circuit. And from these numerous depositories annual remittances are still made; for many of them annual sermons are preached; and through the means of these district associations, as is confessed in the reports, the number of friends to the Society is continually receiving accessions. Long may they continue to do their good work, and may some way speedily be found to make them of more influence in the present difficulties, and of more effectual service to the Society!

We have now seen, in some degree, what Interim had done for the theology of the poor Churchman by the introduction of new books and tracts, till a new era began with the appearance of No. 619. But we have seen only what theology the mosaic board has *made;* we have not seen what they have *marred,* except in general terms. For information fully given on this point the reader must have recourse to the pamphlet whose title stands at the head of our present article: we are only sorry that our limits will admit of no more than one striking extract. We confess that in our simplicity, though we knew the cockney conceit that was at work in Interim's Committee, and the pretences on which omissions in some of the writings of Bishop Wilson and other old books were demanded, we did not think it possible that folly and presumption combined could have proceeded such lengths, as we now find proved by actual quotations. Besides, we knew, that when, several years ago, a writer in the British Critic had complained, as well he might, of some unwarrantable omissions that had been made in Nelson's Festivals, the passages were afterwards restored. And when some public-spirited friend of the Society had about the same time put forth a little tract exposing all the alterations and suppressed passages in Melmoth's Great Importance of a Religious Life, which had been also treated by Interim like a sweated sovereign, we had imagined, (perhaps we flattered ourselves too much,) that even that horror of the Essex Memorialists had been coined anew on the old dye. What, then, is our surprise, in which no doubt hundreds of our country friends will share, to find the following account of two books or tracts on the Society's list, which are now circulating as Bishop Ken's? We quote the "Appeal."

"Ken's Winchester Manual, Tract 21, is published by the Society as 'adapted to general use.' Now, what does this qualification lead us to anticipate? Of course, that all passages which relate solely to the Winchester College are either expunged or changed, so as to become applicable to all 'young persons:' for, without other explanation, it might reasonably be assumed that schoolboys, whether at Winchester or Carlisle, require the same theological teaching. But further, another principle of revision is announced in the advertisement prefixed to this tract; it is 'freed from such antiquated expressions as render it less adapted to general use in the present day.' Now, considering that the English of the Bible and Prayer-book is not generally held to be quite obsolete, or altogether unfitted for the spiritual needs of the Church of the nineteenth century, it might reasonably be doubted whether Ken's expressions are in any sense 'antiquated.' But what if the 'antiquated expressions' really embody high and primitive *doctrine?*—then we can at once see why such, in the eyes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, are unfit for the present day. And, if such shall prove to be the case, no clearer proof can be adduced that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is ashamed, not of the form, but of the matter—not of the expressions, but of the teaching of Bishop Ken.

"But, it is replied, the present Tract Committee is not responsible for this: the revised Winchester Manual was published some dozen years ago, before the Society pledged itself not to garble books which they published. Well, granting this, yet the Society is committed to the change nevertheless, and *we*, the subscribers, *authorize* the change: though no charge can be substantiated against the present Tract Committee, yet when the alterations of Nelson's Fasts and Festivals were abandoned, as a matter of principle, why was not equal justice awarded to Ken? If one book was restored to its authoritative integrity, why was not another? Here is a manifest inconsistency anyhow.

"But yet more, every new edition of a tract is *bonâ fide* a new publication; and we maintain, that if, in 1841, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge publishes a mutilated edition of the Winchester Manual, they incur a fresh responsibility for such mutilations by each and every re-issue. As a case of conscience, if it be wrong once to put forth a garbled book—which the Society has already admitted in the case of Nelson—it is equally or even more glaringly wrong to persist in such garbling elsewhere. And the case is particularly strong in regard to this work of Ken's; not content with re-issuing this Ken's Manual in its old form and size, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in 1840, publish a new edition in 18mo., meant to be attractive in appearance and embellishments, in which the very same mutilations and omissions are retained. *This* at least is a new publication, for which we are all accountable. We, as a society, are pledged to the consequences which accrue to the Church from every false copy of Ken circulated under our authority. The Tract Committee is additionally compromised by the new edition of 1840, which, being an altered one, is directly contrary to a rule of the Society; and, if in either edition any doctrine is suppressed which Ken held, we are all committed to a direct change and departure from the original principles of the Society.

"Let us, then, see some of the changes which adapt Ken's Manual 'to general use,' and what 'those antiquated expressions' are which, according to the view of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, are unfitted for the present day:—

Ken's Prose Works. Edited by Round, 1838.	Ken's Manual of Prayers. S. P. C. K., 1841, Tract 21.
'Preservation of the young from sin.	
P. 361. And besides that peace of conscience, *and the pleasure of well-*	P. 8. And besides that peace of conscience which you will at present

doing you will at present feel, think, if you can, how inconceivable a joy it will be to you, when in elder years you can reflect on *your well-spent time, and the innocence of your youth;* how great a consolation it will be to you on your death-bed, and *how easy it will render your accompts at the great day of judgment*, and *how much a whole life spent in God's service will increase your glory in heaven.*	feel, think how unspeakable a joy it will be to you in your elder years, and how powerful a consolation on your death-bed, to call to mind, not only the well-spent years of manhood, but the innocence of youth; to remember that you have spent your whole life in God's service, and have, through Christ's merits, hope of happiness in heaven.
P. 362. A lamb! which is a fit emblem of youth; think then *that you are to resemble this lamb*, and be sure every day to offer up yourself, a morning and evening sacrifice to God.	P. 9. Remember that God, under the Law, ordained a lamb to be offered up to Him morning and evening; be sure, then, every day to offer up yourself, &c.
P. 364. This, good Philotheus, is the lowest degree of duty, and it should be your daily endeavour to improve in your devotion as well as in your learning; and, the more effectually to move you to so happy an improvement, I advise you on Sundays and *Holydays* attentively to read over the following meditation, and to *propose to yourself the Holy Child Jesus for your example.*	Omitted.
P. 365. A meditation on the *Holy Child* Jesus.	P. 11. A meditation on the early life of Jesus Christ, which may be read on Sunday, or at *any other convenient time.*
P. 373. After *having done any good.*	Omitted.
P. 381. Some there are though I fear but few, who, having been brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, have been, by the goodness of God, secured from violent temptations and enormous sins; who have, like Josiah, while they were yet young, sought the Lord, and have *in great measure kept their baptismal vow*, and preserved a sense of their duty. Such as these have fewer sins to confess, and those sins less aggravated, &c.	Omitted.

'ALTAR AND HOLY EUCHARIST.'

P. 403. Meditations on the *Holy Eucharist.*	P. 39. Devotions preparatory to receiving the Lord's Supper.
P. 404. I come to *the Altar.*	P. 40. I come to *Thy table.*
P. 409. I come to thy Altar.	P. 44. I come to Thy table.
P. 412. At going to the Altar.	P. 47. At going to the Lord's table.
P. 412. I now approach Thy Altar.	P. 47. I now approach Thy table.

'ABSOLUTION.'

P. 386. In case, good Philotheus, you do find this examination too difficult for you, or are afraid you shall not rightly perform it, or meet with any scruples or troubles of conscience in the practice of it, I then	P. 25. In case you find this examination too difficult, consult some spiritual guide, who will be able to remove your scruples, and to point out to you what course you had best pursue in order to relieve your

advise you, *as the Church does,** to go to one of your superiors in this place, *to be your spiritual guide*, and be not ashamed to *unburden your soul freely to him, that*, besides his ghostly counsel, *you may receive the benefit of absolution*, &c.	conscience, and to prevent your being discouraged in repentance.
THE REAL PRESENCE.	
P. 403. I believe thy body and blood to be as *really present* in the Holy Sacraments as Thy divine power can make it, though the manner of Thy mysterious presence I cannot comprehend.	Omitted.
PASSAGES CONNECTED WITH THIS SUBJECT.	
P. 410. A few prayers, very little duty, *is apt* to tire me; every slight temptation *is apt* to overcome me; and I know there *is no food can strengthen my soul but Thy body*, no cordial can *revive my drooping obedience but Thy blood.*	P. 45. A few prayers tire me, every slight temptation overcomes me: but I know that Thy body can strengthen my soul, and Thy blood revive my drooping obedience.
P. 410. He that eateth and drinketh unworthily is guilty of Thy body and blood, and eateth and drinketh damnation to his own soul; and this severe sentence makes me afraid, &c.	P. 45. He who eateth and drinketh unworthily, increases his own guilt; and this makes me afraid, &c.
P. 415. Thou hast found out a way to give Thyself to us in the Holy Sacrament, to unite Thyself to us with the most intimate union that it is possible to conceive.	P. 49. Thou hast united Thyself to us in the Holy Sacrament.
P. 415. To become one with me, the very soul of my soul.	Omitted.
FELLOWSHIP WITH ANGELS.	
P. 416. O Lord God, this [the Holy Eucharist] is so unconceivable a blessing, this is so divine an union, that the very angels, who so much desire to look into the great mystery of our redemption, who learn Thy manifold wisdom from Thy Church and *frequent the places of Thy public worship, do crowd about our altar, and with awful admiration contemplate the Holy Sacrament.*	Omitted.
P. 407. O, all ye holy angels, behold and wonder; wretched man hath sinned against God, and God himself has suffered the sinner's punishment.	Omitted.
P. 408. O, ye blessed host of heaven, who rejoice at the conversion of one single sinner; adore and praise my crucified Saviour, &c.	Omitted.
COMMUNION OF SAINTS.	
P. 420. Here, if you recite this	Omitted.

* [that, by the ministry of God's holy word, *we may receive the benefit of absolution together, with ghostly counsel.*]—*Prayer Book.*

thanksgiving on any great festival or saint's day, you may add,

Particularly, O Lord, I am bound to praise Thee for the great blessing we this day commemorate, [here mention it, for instance the Nativity of our blessed Saviour, or the like,] or for the Saint whose memory we this day celebrate, [here you may name him,] and add, &c.

P. 365. I advise you on Sundays and *Holidays*, &c.

P. 11. which may be read on Sundays, or at *any other convenient time*.

"The above is only a specimen of the collation of this particular tract, but by such details alone could its bearing be discovered.

"The result of all which, upon no exaggerated estimate, appears to be, that although the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge professes that its 'alterations consist chiefly of omissions,' yet throughout *points of real doctrine* have been studiously surrendered, and primitive definitions have been altered to harmonize with Dissenting divinity; the Church has been made to yield to the Meeting-house, and the low fashionable Puritanism of our times. Where 'altar' is systematically turned into 'table,' and 'Holy Eucharist' is always abandoned; where 'absolution and ghostly counsel,' 'daily prayers,' 'the real presence,' 'fellowship with the holy angels,' are all pointedly struck out, and the possibility of the young having preserved their baptismal purity is not allowed to appear; surely all this cannot be otherwise than a consistent lowering of doctrine, and a significant abandonment of old positive dogmatic teaching; it is not Ken's Manual, which it assumes to be."—Pp. 33—38.

Again, the writer says—

"If there be one characteristic grace more than others which Bishop Ken shares in common with all Christians of a very exalted and saintly character, it is his distinct and practical recognition of angelic communion and aid, and spiritual guardianship. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge seems to have an especial abhorrence of the doctrine that 'angels are ministering spirits,' and how they can permit Walton's affecting account of the last moments of Hooker to appear under their auspices is very unaccountable. What though that 'judicious' divine, and precious saint, 'deep in contemplation and not inclinable to discourse,' at his hour of death 'was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in Heaven; and oh! that it might be so on earth;' yet when the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in Ken's 'Directions for Prayer,' Tract 44, come to reprint his Morning and Evening Hymns, it must be with the cold suppression of the immortal lines—

'I wake, I wake, ye heavenly choir;
May your devotion me inspire,
That I like you my age may spend,
Like you may on my God attend.

'May I like you in God delight,
Have all day long my God in sight,
Perform like you my Maker's will,
O may I never more do ill.
Morning Hymn.

O may my guardian, while I sleep,
Close to my bed his vigils keep;
His love angelical instil,
Stop all the avenues of ill.

May he celestial joys rehearse,
And thought to thought with me converse;
Or, in my stead, all the night long,
Sing to my God a grateful song.
Evening Hymn.

"And the whole Midnight Hymn is of course suppressed, 'songs of the night' being a flight of enthusiasm far beyond the chill religionism of an undevotional age. A mutilation this the more unpardonable, because Tract 44 assumes to be genuine; and the more unaccountable, because, on the other hand, Tract 21, the Winchester Manual, which, as we have seen, pleads guilty

to alterations, actually retains, with the Midnight Hymn, *these* very stanzas, though it suppresses others of less importance and heavenliness."—P. 39.

Two other books mentioned by the author of this pamphlet are, *Bishop Wilson's Short and Plain Instructions for the Lord's Supper*, and *Robert Nelson's Christian Sacrifice*. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the omissions exhibited and proved in detail are all of the same character. These omissions, indeed, are, some of them, of rather old standing, as far back as 1822; but we believe Bishop Wilson has undergone more than one process of the fining-pot. It is singular how very little of these facts has been known to the members of the Society at large. The artifice and secrecy used has been most successful: for, of course, not one member in fifty, who circulates Bishop Wilson's Manual, is aware that he is helping the hands of those, who have both abstracted a large part, and corrupted what they have left,

> Who, not content, like felons, to purloin,
> Add treason to it, and debase the coin:

or, like old Norman kings, are destroying the prisoners whom they dare not kill openly, by a slow process of gradual exhaustion. We must plead the excuse of our long rustication for our personal ignorance; but what have our friends, who frequent the metropolis, been doing, that all this was not published sooner? As to the point now to be attained, we do not see how any opposition can be made to it. The Society is pledged, as the Author of the Appeal has properly reminded us, not to garble the books they publish. It is but in unison with this pledge, a plain consequence of it, to move at one of the next meetings—That the books already garbled, particularly those which have their author's name in the title-pages, be immediately restored. There can be no consistency in rejecting this motion, unless at the same time the former pledge is recalled.

We are, therefore, not disposed to abandon a good cause in despair; and if there is any point on which we do not quite feel with the Author of the Appeal, it is this. "It is next to impossible," he says, (p. 52,) "to get any more good tracts on the Society's list." Impossible it may be, while Dr. Interim presides at the helm: but it is not in the nature of Interims to be perpetual. Many ways are open. Since the Council of Seven have restored Nelson's Fasts and Festivals, and that book is in itself a host, let some short extracts be made from it as an antidote to No. 619. The Society have already admitted Nelson's *Ember Days at the Four Seasons*, a selection from the same book; though, with prudent care, the name of Nelson, in order to facilitate any future change, has been removed from the title. The next step should be to restore the Siberian exiles to the list; or to have a complete separate list prepared by the officers of the Society, from which, it be recommended to the Standing Committee, to select those written by authors of good theological e, with a view to their being replaced on the permanent catalogue. his means, as we learn from a valuable note of our author's, at , *we should* at once recover Bishop Ken's Practice of Divine

Love, Kettlewell's Office for the Penitent, and other treatises by Kettlewell, Jones of Nayland on the Church Catechism, and his Preservative against Socinians, portions of Bishop Horne, and of Bishop Horsley: for all these, with Sikes's Dialogues, have disappeared since 1822. Going further back, we should regain treatises of Bishop Beveridge, H. Dodwell, Assheton, Lucas, and Worthington, Comber on the Common Prayer, Hammond's Practical Catechism, and, (if Essex will permit) Taylor's Holy Living and Dying.

It is a pleasing dream to indulge, and therefore let us indulge it a little further. We would next suggest as a proper motion to be put to the Board—That, since the present List of Books and Tracts approved by the Society is defective in the omission of some very eminent names of writers and defenders of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, the Standing Committee be empowered, without troubling the Tract Committee, to place on the list select Treatises, or faithful Extracts, from the works of Hooker, Laud, Bramhall, Pearson, Sanderson, Hammond, Stillingfleet, and Waterland. We might name others; but these may suffice for the present. We imagine none of these writers will be accused as Non-jurors, or other than true sons of the Church of England; and possibly their writings may be as instructive and not less learned, than some of the contents of the sugar-hogshead or oatmeal-cask of Fathers of the Church of England. At least if the *Fathers* had any *sons* to follow them, we should imagine they will be found in this list, if they are to be found at all. And there is the better reason for proposing to revive these names, as we find there are sundry pennyworths of the pious Archbishop Leighton's old and sweet sacred eloquence lately placed upon the list. Truth is permanent; and we want no new-made books or tracts for our purpose. These may be necessary for some short temporary purposes; as to meet the new demonstrations of Dissent, new names of Religious or Anti-Religious, Social or Anti-Social, sects and parties. But to teach the young Christian what to believe and do, we want no fine new colours, that may please the eye, and "no doctrines fashioned to the varying hour:" and it has been ever one of the fruitful sources of feuds in the Society, that new books on fundamental points of instruction have been pressed into the service from motives of private friendship or zeal to serve a party. Let the books be such as time, and the accumulated wisdom of the learned on the bench and in the chairs of the two Universities have approved; and all debate is stopped at the threshold.

We know what Interim and his satellites will say to this: "We want little books for the poor and ignorant, and you send us to great folios. We want the vulgar tongue, and you send us to writers full of Greek and Latin." It may look like a paradox; but we believe that the poor had rather listen to a good reasoner, whose flights may be somewhat above them, than to one who professes to condescend to their level. We have listened to the poor, who have learnt by heart some of Walter Scott's ballads, and have spoken words of

nature's poetry, as they watched the setting sun; and we know that such as these, who are best worth writing for, value most what tends to enlarge and stimulate their minds. And such, in religion, must be the master-teachers, or none. As to the mode of offering portions of these teachers in a cheap form to the multitude, Hooker is already prepared for the purpose in Mr. Keble's excellent selections. Long ago a worthy man published Pearson's summary statements of the doctrine of each different article of the Creed in a duodecimo of twelve or fourteen pages. The number of summaries of that great theological work is such as to leave no difficulty, but that of choosing a longer or a shorter. Why, among devotional books, is there no such a manual as Archbishop Laud's Prayers? Is Bramhall's Defence of the English Consecrations quite out of date now? Are we afraid, while the Scottish Free Kirk emissaries are running to all quarters of the land, to meet them with his Fair Warning of Scottish Discipline? Is the name of Hammond lost to memory, to veneration, and love? God deliver us from the tangled maze, which has carried so many a waverer from his simplicity, and made him find thorns and briars in his way!

At least if this were done, it would save the Society's list from being, as it is at present, of much the same use in another way, as the Roman Index Expurgatorius. We should not be able to pick out a good theological library from the names of the prohibited and condemned. And unless this is done, we see from what has passed, that the progress of compromise must go on unchecked, till one by one the old defenders of truth are maimed or exiled, and in the want of them the Church itself will wonder how, without its will, it has become, by easy stages, Lutheranized, Calvinized, Socinianized.

It is no trifling step that has been made towards this ultimatum by the admission upon the Society's list, of No. 619. Let those who know what the character of the theology of Bishop Wilson, Ken, and Robert Nelson, is, calmly peruse this tract, and say whether they are prepared to take this *brochure* of sixteen pages as an earnest of the new doctrines that are in future to be enlisted under the same colours! Let them ask their fathers before them, whether this is not a first instalment of that resuscitated Puritanism, which, for a century and a half, it has been the work of this Society, with God's blessing, to withstand, and effectually to control! Let them, we say, peruse this tract, and see how it swindles away the sense of one half of the pages of revelation, that it may build its false and unreal system on the rest! Let them see how it speaks of the opening sentence, with which the Church at Morning and Evening Prayer invites the contrite sinner to come to God, as not expressing the Gospel message!* Let them steadily mark how it ...sts and garbles other texts of Scripture! And then let them ask ...selves, whether the self-complacent gentlemen, who so coolly ...e affront upon the late good Vicar of Fulham, ought not, in

* *Ezek.* xviii. 27. See pp. 4, 5 of the Tract.

deference to the principles they have outraged, to be made to withdraw this tract from the list on which it has been so indecorously inserted.

It is not merely because its presence, where it is, makes the theology of the Society as harmonious as the Temple-pulpit, when Hooker preached in the morning and Travers in the afternoon. It is not merely because the Society has thus furnished the modern Puritan with a hand-grenade to strew in the path of every orthodox clergyman in his parish round.* Far less is it because the stamp of the Society's approbation, conducted as it has lately been, adds one grain of authority to the "stammering language of ambiguous" tracts which it disseminates. But it is because, as all experience proves, the act of those who proposed the addition of this tract to the list has been an act of open aggression on the catholic teaching of the Church; because its appearance there is a manifesto of war against the Church's liturgy and discipline; and the tract itself, poor and self-contradictory as it is, is a brief digest of that doctrine, which, as it confounds the eternal differences of good and evil in its theory, has ever shown its deadness to the distinction in its practice.†

Things cannot remain as they are. The miserable want of principle, which has opened the door to all this mischief, was disguised, perhaps, from some of the main agents of it, till the result was manifest. There is no doubt that the progress of it has exceeded their anticipations. But the cause that purchases itself a reprieve from any pressing danger by a compromise, whether in meal or malt, by corruption or concession, has already signed its own death-warrant, and only lives on by sufferance from hour to hour. The Interim, or interregnum, has finished its term by this last consummation of base connivance. There is a thick gloom upon the face of the Church at present; but we are of good hope, because the real state of things is known. And when it is known, it would be a want of faith to suppose that the remedy can be long delayed.

NOTE.—Since this Article was sent to the press, we have read the following statement, in the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, respecting Bishop Ken's "Manual of Prayers," which is said to have been read at the last meeting of the Society in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and authorized by the Standing Committee:—

"It appears that 'Ken's Manual of Prayers for Winchester Scholars' was placed on the Society's Catalogue in the year 1776.

"In 1819, the Tracts on the Society's Catalogue were numbered; and in the Report for 1820 appears: 'No. 21. Ken's (Bishop) Manual of Prayers.'

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* "It is a *fact*, that this very tract has been delivered at almost every house throughout a whole district in London, where the clergyman is supposed to hold the doctrines of Bishop Bull."—*Appeal*, p. 46.

† "A plain Catechism can more instruct a soul, than the whole day's prate, which some daily spit forth, to bid men get Christ, *and persecute his servants.*" Συνεσίου. (From the Pref. to Jer. Taylor's Golden Grove.) We do not know whether this golden Preface is reprinted in No. 247 of the Society's Tracts, or whether it is "so antiquated in expression as to render it less adapted to general use in the present day."

"In 1826, Archdeacon Hale, upon his own account, and without reference to the Society, made use of Bishop Ken's Manual for the purpose of forming from it a Manual for young persons in general. This Manual, under the title of 'A Manual of Prayers for Young Persons; or Bishop Ken's Winchester Manual adapted to general use,' he published with a Preface, to which his initials were affixed, stating that alterations and omissions had been made in the original work.

"Archdeacon Hale's work having been recommended in the usual form, and referred by the board to four members of the Society, was in the course of the same year placed on the Catalogue with the Preface above-mentioned. *It does not appear that any directions have ever been given, that the 'Winchester Manual' should not be reprinted in its original form: but the work, as altered and adapted, appears to have taken the place of the original work, and is found from that time as No.* 21, *on the permanent Catalogue;* under the title, in some catalogues, of 'Ken's Manual of Prayers,' in others, of 'Manual of Prayers for Young Persons, or Bishop Ken's Winchester Manual adapted to general use.'

"This latter title has been retained in the title-page of every edition of the work which has since been published by the Society; but the binder has inadvertently placed on the outside cover of the illustrated edition in cloth, the title, 'Ken's Manual of Prayers.'

"The Standing Committee have given directions that in future the proper title shall be given both in the Catalogue and on the binding of the book, so that the 'Manual adapted to general use' may not be mistaken for Bishop Ken's original work: and both the books will henceforth appear in the Society's Catalogue distinguished by their proper titles."

This statement is so far satisfactory, that we have a promise that the injury done to Bishop Ken is shortly to be redressed. It is satisfactory, also, that it entirely exculpates Archdeacon Hale, as indeed might have been expected, from any participation in the process, by which his book has been circulated under a false title. But we must say, that on the main point it is any thing but satisfactory. The reader is very properly reminded, that in 1819 the books and tracts were numbered, and Bishop Ken's original work received its proper number among the rest. Archdeacon Hale's work was placed on the catalogue six or seven years later, and, of course, *with a different number assigned to it.* How a book, not only with a different title, but with a different number, should have been intruded into the place of the original work by mere accident or carelessness, it is not easy to conceive.

We have also this question to ask of the Standing Committee:— If Archdeacon Hale's work was admitted in the year 1826, as we are left to suppose, (for their statement specifies no year, but this is the last mentioned,) how happens it, that neither in that year, nor in any year till 1832, as far as we can discover, is one word said about its admission in the Annual Report, and that till that time it is not mentioned in the Catalogue? Every new work admitted on the permanent Catalogue is regularly entered in those Annual Reports; but not a word is said of "Hale's Ken," or "Hale's Manual." The title of "Bishop Ken's Manual" stands, as for sixty years before, No. 21 on the list. It is certainly incumbent upon those who made or authorized this statement to furnish the Society with *a copy of the minute made when the Archdeacon's work was admitted.*

The English Churchman. No. 59. *London,* 1844.

We have frequently of late adverted to the Ecclesiastical State of Scotland; nothing can exceed the importance of a right understanding of the whole subject: although, therefore, we have said so much, we make no apology for two articles in our present number, which are connected with it.

We see with pleasure that the Clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen have addressed their Bishop strongly against the innovating movement which is going on, on the subject of the Scotch Communion service.* The remonstrance is ably and judiciously worded, and

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* "May it please your Reverence,—We, the undersigned Presbyters of the Diocese of Aberdeen, beg leave respectfully to address your Reverence on a subject very deeply interesting to us as Scottish Churchmen.

"We have seen with surprise and deep regret that attempts have recently been made, in more than one Diocese of this Church, either to procure the entire abrogation of Canon XXI., in which the orthodoxy of the Scottish Communion Office is asserted, or otherwise so essentially to modify that Canon as to derogate from the primary authority with which that Office is invested in the Church of Scotland.

"Now we, your Reverence's faithful Presbyters, actuated by the earnest desire to obviate, if possible, any similar attempts—attempts which, we are well assured, will never meet with any sympathy from your Reverence—as well as to strengthen, so far, the hands of those Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of this Church, who desire to maintain the authority and use of the national Office, as recognised and warranted by Canon XXI., beg leave respectfully to lay before your Reverence the following *reasons* which have prompted us to address you with this expression of our sentiments:

"I. Although, as your Reverence is aware, more than one of the undersigned Presbyters have availed themselves, from various circumstances, of the permission by Canon XXI., and administer according to the usages of England, yet they cordially unite with their brethren who use the national Office, in expressing their decided conviction of the decided superiority of that Office, inasmuch as therein the great Eucharistic doctrines of the Real Presence and Commemorative Sacrifice are more fully developed, by which its identity with the Divine model appointed by our Lord in Holy Scripture is clearly evinced. These characteristics of the Scottish Office have commanded for it the approbation of all ritualists of orthodox and patriotic principles; and, therefore, we prize it, not only as a mark of the integral as well as independent character of the Scottish branch of the Church Catholic, but also as a rich inheritance handed down to us by our fathers in the faith, and therefore to be by us faithfully transmitted to our children, and those who come after us.

"II. We desire to express our dissent from the idea of those who would seem to erect the principle of *Liturgical conformity* as the one great note of union and communion, and would remind them that the Catholic Church in Scotland is not a mere appendage to the Catholic Church in England, but, though unestablished, still a *national* Church; that 'every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things are done to edifying;' and that in primitive times, almost every diocese had its own particular liturgy prescribed by its bishop, and yet, that a more efficient intercommunion was maintained between the several portions of the primitive Church than has been secured to the various branches of the later Church.

"III. Although we are unwilling to contemplate the possibility of the abrogation, or even the remodelling of Canon XXI., yet, in such an event, we should feel it our duty to protest against the sin which, in abandoning the Scottish Office, the

touches the important points of the question. It is signed by twenty names; a very large portion, we apprehend, if not almost the whole, of the Clergy of that Diocese. We have no doubt that a very strong feeling is entertained in the same direction in other dioceses also; and if this movement passes off, as we trust confidently it will, the first feeling that, we expect, will arise in the minds of the Scotch Clergy, will be that of extreme wonder and astonishment that it should have arisen at all, and curiosity to discover whence and how, and from what peculiar turn and position of things, a small knot of agitators have acquired the strength they have, and that deliberate and serious attention to their proposal which appears to be given and thought due to it.

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relinquishment of such an amount of Catholic truth would involve; for that it *would* involve such a relinquishment, the undersigned cannot escape from the conviction, seeing that the present clamour against the Scottish Office *originated* with individuals who demanded its abolition, not chiefly because it is *expedient* to assimilate ourselves to the sister Church of England, not chiefly because *uniformity* is desirable—but principally and avowedly because, in their eyes, it is deeply tainted with Popish idolatry and superstition.

"IV. In order to guard ourselves against any chance of misconception, we deem it right to declare our conviction, that the Communion Offices of Scotland and England teach the same holy and scriptural truths; both equally remote from the Romish dogma of a *corporeal* presence, and the ultra-Protestant error of a mere *commemoration*, in the holy Eucharist. We are satisfied that the distinctive doctrines of the Eucharist are contained in the one Office, by plain implication, obvious inference, and statements more or less explicit; while in the other we see them clearly and broadly enunciated, and without the possibility of heretical perversion. No disciple of Zuinglius or Hoadley could subscribe to the Scottish Communion Office. It is only when these distinctive doctrines are denied, an opposite and uncatholic sense attempted to be put upon the *English* Office, and the abandonment of the Scottish Office demanded *as a consequence*, that we feel it our duty to resist the repeal of the Canon which recognises that Office, and for the reasons above stated, solemnly to declare that, in our eyes, its relinquishment would be tantamount to an apostasy.

"That your Reverence may long be spared to preside over this diocese, and to the Church whose Primacy you so worthily hold, is the devout prayer of, may it please your Reverence, your Reverence's dutiful and faithful Presbyters,

JOHN CUMMING, Dean.
P. CHEYNE, Presbyter, Aberdeen.
DAVID WILSON, Presbyter, Woodhead.
ARTHUR RANKEN, Presbyter, at Deer.
WILLIAM WEBSTER, Presbyter, New Pitsligo.
WILLIAM ROBERTSON, Presbyter, Old Meldrum.
CHARLES GRANT, Presbyter, Meiklefolla.
JAMES CHRISTIE, Presbyter, Turriff.
JAMES SMITH, Presbyter, Forgue.
ALEX. HARPER, Presbyter, Inverary.
ALEXANDER COOPER, Presbyter, Portsoy.
ANDREW RITCHIE, Presbyter.
ALEXANDER BRUCE, Presbyter, Banff.
GEORGE HAGAR, Presbyter, Lonmay.
CHARLES PRESSLEY, Presbyter, Fraserburgh.
A. LOW, Presbyter, Longside.
JOHN B. PRATT, Presbyter, Cruden.
NATHANIEL GRIEVE, Presbyter, Ellon.

"I beg to express my hearty concurrence in the above address.

"CHAS. WAGSTAFE, Junior Minister of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, and late Curate of *Arundel, Sussex.*"—*English Churchman*, p. 97, *Feb.* 15.

To us we confess the merits of the question are embraced within a nutshell. This is a *doctrinal* movement. We do not say that all the parties who are engaged in it, and whose names are made use of, consider it such. Some of them may have this or that argument to allege, simply regarding conveniency of arrangement, conformity, and so on. But the motive which has produced, and is at the bottom of, the movement, is a doctrinal one. Mr. Drummond's letters are before us. Those clergymen who have originated it are known to be almost all of Irish and English ordination—a significant fact. And the service need not actually to be read in Church, the English service being allowed: then why object to the Scotch except as a statement of doctrine? You are not obliged to use it; if you object to it at all, it must be the principle of it you object to. Moreover, the movement must be accounted for, not by any reason whatever that may be put upon paper, but some reason which fairly applies to and covers it. The doctrinal reason is the only one which can do this. This is a doctrinal movement.

And if this is true, it is of the utmost importance that the movement should be looked upon in this one simple exclusive point of view. The remonstrants of the Diocese of Aberdeen have given the doctrinal point this prominence. We are obliged to them for having done so. Whatever be the ultimate result of this controversy, let the parties in it know what they are about. Let not the change be conceded as a liturgical one, and taken as a doctrinal one. If it is conceded at all, it will not do the smallest good to concede it upon this or that minor or subordinate ground. The real reason will swallow up the marginal one: and "convenience" or "conformity," and other like innocent plausibilities, will be disposed of very summarily in the event. A liberal and "evangelical" and rationalizing or Zuinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper, will find a clear course for itself, if the change now projected takes place. The advocates of the new doctrine will know the real character of the concession they have gained. They will know and feel themselves ascendant. They will know what their own reason was in asking for it, and they will make that reason tell when they have gained the point. In all cases of two sides, and of one party wanting a second party to give it something, the former has an object which is answered by the request which it makes being granted. If you grant them their request, you grant them the object which they have in making it. You may call the object by some different name—a king's crown, a piece of gold—a sceptre, a walking-stick—Magna Charta, a piece of parchment—the abolition of the Scotch Communion Service, the alteration of a form. All things under the sun are capable of being looked upon in the subordinate light of some very second, third, or fourth-rate feature about them, which has nothing to do with their real essence. But such a description makes no difference in the fact. An invader puts the crown of a country on his head: the country may choose to consider that he

has only got hold of a piece of gold: he has no objection to their so considering it: he does *not* so consider it himself. The Scotch Church may choose to consider that, in giving up their Communion Service they are only changing a piece of ritual; and the proposers of the change will let them think so; but they are, in fact, giving up a doctrine. "It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer; but when he is gone his way, then he boasteth."

It may be said that the substitution is, after all, only for the English service, and that the English service is perfectly orthodox. Certainly: we know that the English service is orthodox: we also know of another fact—that it has been made to bear the most unorthodox interpretations; that the omissions are considered by many to be denials, and its falling short of the higher expressions of doctrine that are found in other services, construed into a positive statement of low doctrine. It makes all the difference whether we take the English service as interpreted by our divines, or take it as refuting that interpretation. It makes all the difference whether the Scotch service interprets the English service, or the English the Scotch. Which of these two sides the abolition of the latter altogether would favour, need not, we presume, be a question.

We would, then, respectfully, appeal to the Scotch Church and her Bishops, upon this plain ground. They have it now in their power to do a most important turn, not only to themselves, but to the English Church. We have the richer inheritance of power and wealth: they of doctrine. They have been hitherto blessed with a great share of unanimity; and we have been torn in pieces by dissensions. The Bishops of the Scotch Church have not been backward of late in perceiving this distinction in the career of the two sister Churches, and their charges within the last few years have appealed with honest pride and thankfulness to the calm and peaceable possession of a wide field of high doctrine, long prior to its stormy and anxious revival in this country during the last ten years. It was stated that what we were just beginning to recover, they had been all along enjoying, and that those high truths which almost intoxicated the minds of some of their adopters in this country, because they were unaccustomed to them, constituted the ordinary steady position, and every-day balance of the Scotch Church. The statement was but too true: we could not gainsay it. We only say now—let her not give up her vantage ground. Let her adhere to those formularies in which she has the superiority over us, and to the influence of which she owes that higher atmosphere of doctrine which she so justly recurs to. We are not offended at her admonitions. We yield her the priority: we need her example. We wish to see a spirit of holy emulation in the two Churches in defence of their own proper doctrines; and if the sister of Scotland retains her advance of us, we are too satisfied and glad to reap the advantage of her labour of love. Catholicity in England wants to be more and more in obli-

ıtion to her. Let not her Communion Service disappear from the

list of existing witnesses to Catholic truth, in a perverse and latitudinarian age. A living witness is better than a dead one. We appeal to Andrewes and Laud and Taylor and Forbes: they are depart monumental evidences: the Scotch Communion Service is an existing fact. Let it remain so. Let not it at any rate be numbered with the dead, and have to be looked for among books, and be brought up as a document. Let it speak by the *vivâ voce* power of present existence. We have enough of the past in our composition of Catholicity now. It is the past and the past again that we go to: *fuimus, fuimus;* we were once, but now we are not: the living and acting standard of the Church was once the high one; we have now only the benefit of recollecting and appealing to it. These were not the effects which those great men intended to follow from their active exertions. They did not act that it might be recorded that they had acted; they did not wish to elevate themselves into a monopoly of authoritativeness. They acted that something might come of what they did; they strengthened the Church that the Church might be strong. It was an actual state of things, in respect of doctrine and feeling, that they wished to produce, and when produced to go on and continue and keep alive. They gave the advantage of their labours to the Church that she might possess it; they gave the Scotch Church its Communion Service that she might keep it. They made that service different from the English service, with the express view that it might be different from it, and not that that difference should be got rid of as a blot. Those differences were not accidental. The Scotch compilers had the English service before them. They could have made the Scotch service the same with it if they had chosen; but they chose to make it different.

It may be urged, indeed, that the service may still be respected as a documentary standard of doctrine, though not retained as a service. But this is a fallacy. The service was not left as a document, but as a service. It was left in a very different and in a much more solid and binding sense, than those divines left their mere books and compositions to the Church. You fulfil the intention of an author with respect to his book, if you keep it in your library and refer to it as you want. But if he leaves you a rule of devotion, a religious service, a part of your Prayer-book—and you put that in your library and treat it only as you would any other document that you respected, you do *not* fulfil his intention: you give him up in giving up his rule; you lay him on the shelf, shove him aside, give him the go-by. The Scotch Church cannot consistently retain her respect for the divines if she gives up what they instituted. If she rejects them as legislators she cannot retain them as authors, and in the same breath own and disown them. If she gives up her Communion Service as a service, she must give it up as a document too. There is no middle course fairly tenable. If she gives it up, she must pronounce it to be wrong. She must forthwith be prepared to consider her divines as men who went too far and overstated things, and had too strict a

theology, and must be pared down and accommodated to modern views. She must be prepared to go back, step by step, into that state of things from which the theology of those divines rescued her, and to relapse into the twilight and confusion of the mixed interval after the Knox reformation, when she was neither one thing nor another, —an enfeebled communion without definite voice or shape. She received her form and shape from them; if she abandons the only form and shape she ever had, how does she know that she will get or keep any other. It will be a rash experiment to make.

But conformity is the word with some—conformity to the English ritual. It is no question of doctrine, they say; it is only thought better that both Churches should be alike in ritual. This is not the real motive at the bottom of the movement, as we have said: still a word upon it:—

We must confess ourselves, then, at a loss to see what nameable advantage can be derived from the change on this ground. What is conformity? What is there in the fact of two things being alike, instead of two things being different? How far does this simply and by itself carry us towards the proof of utility? Not a step. The question remains to be asked, *why* this likeness of the two is serviceable? and some ulterior reason must be given for the advantage of it, if there be any, other than the bare fact of the likeness. It is convenient that soldiers of the same regiment, and policemen of the same corps, should have the same coats and dress, because there is a particular object which is answered by it in their case. On the other hand, a far more intimate connexion than that of being fellow policemen and brother soldiers may exist among men, without, in the smallest degree, entailing the necessity of similarity of attire. Brothers and cousins and near relations do not show their kind of connexion and union in this way. The strictest fraternity allows of two different coats in the fraternal parties, and the domestic tie appears through every variety of colour and shape, in the members of the family circle. Churches in the same way may be sister Churches, may have the same creed and the same foundation, may run the same course, entertain the same spirit, and feel the utmost love and respect for each other, and yet differ in form, ceremonial, or ritual. Ecclesiastical unity no more implies complete similarity of the outside of ritual, than fraternal unity does that of dress. It is a unity of creed and heart—a fundamental unity: it does not tie and shackle Churches in all details and particulars. Rather it shows its strength by the very reverse process. It is the shallow, superficial unity that requires to be drilled and put in uniform. The unity that feels its own strength and reality, gives liberty, does not withdraw it. Churches that have it can afford to overlook this and that small variation of external order; and need not look to such preciseness as the evidence of their unity. They rest their evidence of it upon far broader and deeper grounds. The English and Scotch Churches have a common Apostolical origin and a common faith;

they have gone on hitherto in union, and no one has dreamed of this particular service being any interference with it. Two hundred years have passed over the possession of it; and why reject it so late in the day?

We cannot, for our part, regard this application of the point of conformity to the Scotch Church (if any really do go upon the point of conformity simply) as anything else than a simple blunder and mistake. The English Church is an important, weighty, substantial body; more so than the Scotch. Is that any reason why the Scotch should borrow from it in this way? Weight, and substance, and importance, claim respect upon their own grounds; but they have nothing to do with doctrine or ritual. Is the English a purer—a more primitive Church? that would be the more pertinent question. One ecclesiastical body is not an exemplar to another because it is a more powerful one. We respect influential great men: we do imitate them because they are such. It is a wholly different sphere and kind of respect than that of imitation in practice, which such qualities invite. The Scotch Church may entertain all the feeling which is due to her established sister, and yet be perfectly free to think herself superior in this and that point, and be independent on the matter. All Churches are equal as Churches; and the English Church could have no ground to think itself aggrieved by such conduct. The English Church has its character of importance; the Scotch Church also has its own features of interest peculiar to itself. She attends to her importance rather by retaining these peculiar features. *They* are *her* importance, in lieu of the greater power and wealth of her English sister. She would lose greatly in position and interest if she gave up her peculiarities.

The argument of conformity, then, seems to end simply in this: that the Scotch Church would be obviously declining from what her divines made her; for they clearly did not wish her to be like the English Church here, or they would not have expressly made her different: and this to gain no nameable advantage whatever, as regards expediency, while many obvious advantages appear on the other side.

The only argument in this quarter, for the change, that we can imagine at all telling upon any mind, is, that when the question *is once mooted*, deliberately to reject a point of conformity with the English Church, and intentionally keep up a distinction, is an invidious part to take. But this would be certainly a most unfair interpretation of a simply conservative act in the Scotch Church; nor would the Establishment here be at all inclined, we think, to give such an interpretation to it. If our friends in Scotland will allow us to say so, we think we know what the temper of our Establishment is, and will just say a word. That the English Establishment, then, as far as we know it, does not care much for the Scotch Church retaining its service, we freely confess; but, on the other hand, the English Establishment would not thank them for rejecting it. Its

view would be tolerably neutral. If the Establishment likes uniformity, as certainly it does, and has a taste in that direction, it has also a respect for usages, existing and established, and quite allows and appreciates the desire to retain them. We do not speak here of the low-Church section; they could not have any tie whatever upon the compliance of the Scotch Church;—we speak of the moderate and sober part. The English Establishment, we say, will quite understand the feeling, on the part of the Scotch Church, for an old and regular part of their Prayer-Book; and those who may not enter into the particular spirit of the service itself, will allow and expect those who have inherited it, to wish to retain it. There is all the difference between a new and an old thing, and between a direct choice and an involuntary birthright. If the Scotch Church was now setting about an alteration of their service from the English into the Scotch form, our Establishment might have something to say; but, as it is now, the fact of the usage being an existing and established one, appeals at once to the candour and good sense and moderation of persons. The English feeling is strong generally in defence of what are called vested interests, existing rights, and the like; and this is quite a case that comes under the protection of this feeling.

We say, then, that, even taking the ordinary standard of public opinion, the Scotch Church has an unassailable and irrefutable ground to stand upon, with respect to this controversy. We cannot picture a more favourable position for the cause of truth, and a securer shield and safeguard of reasons and arguments under which to defend it. Truth comes forward, guarded up to the eyes, and armed *cap-a-pie*, with proof defences straight from the forge of public opinion. The real point of the case, the point of doctrine, object as it is of the assailants' attack, need not even be referred to and brought into the arena at all by its defenders. It is safe behind its wall, and the enemy cannot get at it, without first penetrating through a whole mass of external breastwork, which they never will be able to penetrate through—that whole public opinion in favour of the existing and established, which we have been alluding to. The Scotch Church is not called upon to enter into a formal elaborate defence of doctrines; it need not enter into doctrinal controversy at all on the subject of the service;—it need only say, This is our Service, it is our inheritance, and we have a right to it. This argument tells like a hammer, especially to English minds. No other is wanted. "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*," said the barons. Let the Scotch bishops simply say No to this proposal of change, and nobody can reply to them; nobody can find a single flaw or hole in that "No;" no person in the whole empire can stand up and say that the Scotch bishops had not a perfect right to say No. The whole established system of thought will support that "No"—so far, at any rate, as to say that the Scotch bishops had a clear right to say it if they chose.

But further, if the negative feeling in the English Establishment could not be against them; the positive would be all strongly in their

favour. Amongst persons of any kind of Church principles, the positive feeling decidedly and warmly supports the Scotch Communion Service. Persons feel its force as a living standard to appeal to, and take a strong interest in the Scotch Church because she offers this standard. She has her hold over the feelings of a large class in this country, on account of these very features in her constitution and history. We will be plain. Any advantage of strength and support which the Scotch Church may derive now and in future from this country, she must derive from those who care for her,—not from those who do not care for her. The neutral and simply Establishment party will never be, of themselves, of much assistance to her. They have the power to assist her,—greater power, perhaps, than the others,—but they have not so much disposition; and if they do so, they have to be moved to do so first by others. It is not their line to go out of the Establishment, and widen sympathies, and deepen communion with other bodies. The strength of the Scotch Church in this country resides mainly in another class,—and that by no means a weak or small class, but, on the contrary, a daily advancing and growing one. It is this class, and not the other, that will befriend and support her; and, therefore, it is this, and not the other, whose good opinion it rather concerns her to have. She has the choice now before her of either connecting herself with the whole catholic spirit, and the whole growing body of Church feeling in this country, or of separating herself from it. If she chooses the latter alternative, she will simply alienate her old friends, without gaining any new ones. She will offend the beneficial class to her, and merely please, if she does please, a class that it is of very small advantage to her to please. But the fact is, that she will gratify no class,—no party whatever—the regular puritanical excepted. All catholic minds will be pained, and the Establishment will not say, Thank you.

The fact of this movement having been originated by parties quite strangers to the Scotch Church—English and Irish clergymen, who have simply located themselves there—is a great addition on the defensive side. People naturally ask what right a handful of clergymen from a distance have to plant themselves within a body, and then try to disturb its regular, old-established usages? to turn reformers, and set themselves up as lights? to regard the Scotch Church as a dark, old-fashioned body that they are come to illuminate? The feeling of every right-minded person is against such an assumption; and if the Scotch Church will simply say that she has her own forms and way of going on,—that she has a right to them,—that if strangers object, they have the option of taking their departure; but that the new-comer ought to accommodate himself to the society, and not the society to the new-comer,—the answer will carry its own evidence of reasonableness. Nobody can require an ancient body to give way to a simply alien influence, and submit to the indignity of strangers' dictating and domineering and upsetting what has been held as a matter of course for centuries. The Scotch Church has hitherto

enjoyed tolerable unanimity on these subjects; and why should she let herself be disturbed and divided by a few new arrivals?

With the utmost deference, then, and with every apology for these hints and suggestions of ours, should they happen to meet their eye, we earnestly entreat the reverend bishops of the Scotch Church to give this innovating proposal that answer which the plain intentions of those divines who compiled the service, the hereditary character of their Church, and a regard to its simple dignity and position, demand. We earnestly ask them, before they make the concession, to see who they are who want them to do so; their friends who care for them, and interest themselves in their welfare, and those who do not care for them, and hardly give their Church a sympathetic thought. We beg, at any rate, to put down and record our deep conviction that such a concession can only tend to consequences the most injurious to her; to the spread, within her pale, of false and latitudinarian doctrine on the sacred subject involved, from which she has been hitherto free; to the growth and exaltation of an alien influence at her expense; and to the destruction of that doctrinal unanimity and internal peace which she has hitherto so singularly, and in such enviable contrast with ourselves, enjoyed.

The Scottish Episcopal Times. No. I. Edinburgh, &c.

We desire to place on record a very singular parallel to the Drummond and Dunbar schism, which has lately fallen under our notice; it would be quite superfluous to commit to the notice of our readers the warning example which it affords, both as respects the unhappy presbyters whose names have gained such a melancholy notoriety, and also as it may influence the orthodox clergy, both of England and Scotland. Perhaps no two cases ever occurred in which the identity of principle and detail was so significant and instructive.

In the second volume of Dr. Hawks' contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States (Maryland), two cases are detailed which, together, involve every point which has been brought forward by the leaders of the new Scotch schism. Certainly we do not give Messrs. Drummond and Dunbar the credit of much research in the recondite ecclesiastical history of other Churches; but at the best they are, though very unconsciously, plagiarists. Their case is by no means a new one; and, at least, in its main features, it has been ruled already. Their scheme has been elsewhere tried, and failed most frightfully.

In 1801, one of the clergy of the diocese of Maryland had been degraded; his offence was not parallel to Sir Wm. Dunbar's, but for a very sufficient reason he was removed from the ministry. Thus far the cases agree. After his degradation he performed ministerial duties; he was prosecuted for so doing, and was acquitted by the jury, "under the charge of the court, which stated that, as he *had received his orders*

in England, no authority in this country could deprive him of them." (Hawks, pp. 338, 339.) As we have more than once, in these pages, helped Sir William Dunbar to the right understanding of his own case—an office in which, from intellectual incapacity, he needs the aid of all the charitable—we make him a present of this precedent. It is not impossible—we do not say that it is probable—but that the English law courts may take the same view of the case as the civil tribunal of Maryland. We mention this parallel, in order that we may be prepared for such an emergency, and in order to show what the bias of the common law may be. If Sir W. Dunbar desires to take advantage of this precedent he may do so. Let our bishops know that there is a likelihood of the Maryland case being quoted against us, and they will of course be prepared for the emergency.

The American Church, however, did not submit to this local decision. "This," continues Dr. Hawks, "was a doctrine at once strange and startling. *If clergymen of English ordination*, who had promised *obedience to the authority of the Protestant Episcopal Church could not be reached by ecclesiastical discipline*, as the court had held, then was it worse than useless for the Church to legislate for the preservation of religion and order within her communion. The subject was of such importance that it attracted, of course, the notice of the convention. That body did not believe the decision of the court to be correct; and as, after it, the degraded clergyman had openly set at defiance the authority of the Church, it was resolved, upon the earliest opportunity, to bring up the question for a more solemn adjudication than that of a county court: and with this view, the Bishop was put into communication with the Attorney-General of the State in order that, in the name of the convention, a prosecution might be commenced against the offender." (P. 339.) Which resolution seems to have had the desired effect; for we hear no more of this anonymous Maryland schismatic.

The second case is even yet more significant. This also occurred in Maryland. In the year 1811, Bishop Claggett was desirous, on account of advancing years and infirmities, that a suffragan Bishop should be consecrated for his diocese. The Rev. George Dashiell, Rector of St. Peter's, Baltimore, who had previously evinced a spirit of turbulence and contempt for episcopal authority, thought proper, on this occasion, to head a very violent opposition to the Bishop's wish; chiefly, as is said, because he had made the unwelcome discovery, "that if a suffragan Bishop were appointed, he would not be the Rector of St. Peter's." (Hawks, p. 379.) Two parties existed in the Church of Maryland; "the term 'evangelical,' was appropriated to itself by the one, and by this class their opponents were called 'formalists.'" (Ibid. p. 387.) "Among the most active partisans of the former, none was more conspicuous or industrious than the Rector of St. Peter's." Indeed, the zeal of his party took a very remarkable turn in the convention of 1813, when a proposition was made by a clerical (?) member of it "to procure such a modification

of the canons as would give to rectors and vestries the power of admitting to the pulpits of their churches *clergymen of other denominations,* who produced satisfactory testimonials," &c. (P. 391.) This proposition was of course rejected: but Mr. Dashiell's party had sufficient influence to impede the appointment of the suffragan for several years. At length, in 1814, Dr. Kemp was elected: a protest against his consecration was forwarded by some of the "evangelical" clergy to the house of Bishops, which, after a most ample and serious consideration by Bishops White, Hobart, and Moore, was rejected; and these prelates consecrated Dr. Kemp suffragan Bishop of Maryland. For the rest we quote Dr. Hawks:

"Upon the communication of this business, seven or eight of the clergy, who were called by the party term 'Evangelical,' resolved to secede from the Church, and *establish a separate Episcopal communion.* The chief actor in the business was Mr. Dashiell: he was *now quite prepared to be the leader in a schism, and to perpetuate it if possible.* He wished, he said, to make 'the Evangelical part of the Church a distinct body, and to enlarge its boundaries by admitting faithful men to labour in the work of the Church.' And to accomplish this object, he attempted to obtain the Episcopate from some quarter: for he still *professed to be,* in *principle,* an Episcopalian."—P. 404.

With this intention he had the desperate folly to apply first to the diocese of New York, where the Episcopate was in a very questionable state, by the singular conduct of Bishop Provoost: however, anomalous as was his own position, Bishop Provoost had the honesty never to reply to what Bishop White calls this most "unprincipled proposal." But the measure of Mr. Dashiell's wickedness and absurdity had not yet reached its climax: disappointed in Bishop Provoost, this person next sought consecration from—Bishop Claggett himself. It is needless to say how this application was met. However, Mr. Dashiell and his friends bound themselves never to acknowledge Bishop Kemp.

Laborious, however, as Mr. Dashiell was for what he chose to call "the Evangelical clergy," in 1815 the standing committee directed an investigation to be made into his private character. We again recur to the historian of Maryland, abridging, however, his narrative.

"Mr. Dashiell refused to be tried by the committee, and demanded a dismission from the Church of Maryland, and produced a certificate *from the vestry,* certifying to the Bishop *their* confidence in the purity of their pastor. The Bishop attested this certificate; but declined to give letters dimissory. Mr. Dashiell then addressed a formal communication to the Bishop, requesting that the investigation might be stopped; and in the event of refusal, he 'begged that his letter might be considered as a *renunciation of all connexion with the Episcopal Church,*' [Dunbar and Drummond to the very words] and that the Bishop would attest his renunciation. The Bishop authenticated the extract from Mr. Dashiell's letter, but did not recognise his right thus to renounce, nor did the Bishop in any way assent to this act as valid. When Mr. Dashiell forwarded this document to convention, the committee wrote demanding of him whether they were to understand his renunciation to be of
" connexion with the Church in Maryland only: or with the Protestant
copal Church in the United States. *In other words, was he or was he not*
piscopalian? He answered that he had renounced all connexion with the

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The committee considering such *unrecognized renunciation* as utterly invalid, informed Mr. Dashiell that the trial must proceed. Failing to appear, the Bishop pronounced the sentence prescribed in cases of contumacy, extending to the total disqualification from any ministerial functions, and to the exclusion of him from Church membership."—*Hawks*, pp. 414, 419.

"The Bishop officially communicated to Mr. Dashiell the sentence, and received a most insulting reply. Notice was served on the vestry of St. Peter's that pursuant to the Canons, the rector being excommunicated, the rectorship was vacant. Mr. Dashiell still officiated. Part of the congregation apply to the civil courts for a *mandamus* to the vestry to report the vacancy to the Bishop, and to elect another rector. The court was divided in its opinion; but the opinion of Judge Nicholson, who held with the petitioners against Mr. Dashiell was generally admitted to be correct. The convention refused to acknowledge St. Peter's, its vestry and congregation, unless they would submit to the laws of the Church, which they were at length induced to do; Mr. Dashiell left St. Peter's, and another rector was elected.

"The unhappy cause of most of this trouble was, however, not yet quiet. One more desperate effort he made, and it was his last. *He attempted to establish what he called* 'The Evangelical Episcopal Church,' and by the act of ordaining, assumed to himself the exercise of episcopal authority. Very few of the clergy adhered to him. Messrs. Handy, Alfred Dashiell, and Gibson, were all. The first was a young deacon, the second his own son; the third had been suspended for intemperance. *These three* were all degraded by Bishop Kemp upon their renunciation of the ministry of the Church. Mr. Dashiell removed from Maryland: and thus ended this schism."*—*Hawks*, pp. 420, 422.

Are Messrs Drummond and Dunbar content to follow their American example? because in Mr. Dashiell's miserable end they may read their own. And if the Bishops of the Churches of England and Scotland are determined to act with the Christian sincerity and firmness of the convention of Maryland, they will be as successful in crushing the new Scotch schism; *but not otherwise.* We have, however, other reasons for producing these singular parallels to the Dunbar and Drummond schisms, which takes from our Northern schismatics even the questionable dignity of originality; for there is not a point in their career—the renunciation of their Bishops—the tampering with their vestries—the overholding their chapels—the setting up an episcopal communion without a Bishop, and resting on their English orders, in which the Maryland Independents have not anticipated them. But *we* have to do with this matter in England;

"———— Jam proximus ardet
Ucalegon;————"

we cannot be altogether comfortable when the very next house is in flames.

We do not attach more than their worth to common rumours: but there has been for some time an indefinite feeling that the more extreme members of that English party which Mr. Dashiell repre-

* Dr. Hawks, though not the highest of churchmen, is unusually severe on this business. "The convention of 1819 took no notice of the 'Evangelical Episcopal Church,' and silently left it to die that natural death to which they saw it was inevitably destined. It was the sickly child of schism, begotten in wickedness, by lustful ambition, and, therefore, no one heaved a sigh over the approaching departure of the poor offspring of sin.'"—P. 433.

sented in Maryland could no longer maintain their indecent and unprincipled conformity to the Church of England. Over and over again have they been assured, by their "dear dissenting brethren," that their "evangelicalism" must be very questionable, while they continued to use the Prayer-Book. And so things seem to be coming to an issue: as principles become more *living* and *life-giving* truths, be it for good or evil, men must *act* upon them. We should not, therefore, be surprised at a Free Church in England, (a direct proposal of this kind will be found below)*—an Evangelical Secession—a new-fangled "Evangelical Episcopal Church without a Bishop," as Mr. Dashiell had it. There are indications of this already; such as these:

1. We desire to call attention to the "Declaration" of the clergy and laity, which will be found in another department of this Review. It has been well styled a direct renunciation of the Prayer-Book and the Catholic faith. Can those who have signed it, with any honour, decency, and consistency, remain where they are? And

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* To make the subjoined paper intelligible, it will be only needful to premise that a Mr. Thompson was incumbent of a district church (in London), S. Barnabas, in the parish of S. Luke, Old-street. This gentleman died last year, and was *not* succeeded by a Mr. Walsh, whoever he may be. Upon this, the congregation of S. Barnabas are addressed as follows, by a layman, Mr. Thompson, the brother of the deceased incumbent:—

"WHERE ARE THE TWO THOUSAND?

"TO THE FORMER COMMUNICANTS AND ATTENDANTS OF ST. BARNABAS.

"CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

"Year after year passed away during my late esteemed brother, the Rev. William Thompson's, occupation of the pulpit at S. Barnabas, and amidst his unceasing efforts for the welfare of the people in its vicinity, you always responded cheerfully to his appeals,—and in the increased attendance on his ministrations, and in the prosperity of your local institutions, you were amply repaid in the cheering evidences you observed of the Divine benediction.

* * * * * * * *

"Infinite Wisdom has seen fit to remove him from the sphere of his labours,—the tie has been broken which united you in works of faith and in labours of love; but are your efforts to Evangelise the parish of St. Luke to end with his ascent to the realms of the blessed?—will you deem yourselves released from the claims of Christian neighbourhood?—will you be content, unless the seed sown among you in past years shall still continue to bear fruit to the praise of the Gracious Master you mutually and so cheerfully served? It is true that you are now a scattered flock; *nor could it be desired that it should be otherwise* after the failure of your numerously-signed petitions to the bishop of Llandaff and your rector, that the warm-hearted, the Rev. J. P. Walsh should be my brother's successor,—such a scattering became unavoidably right and proper—but are there no remedial measures by which your reunion and your future settlement under some faithful shepherd may yet be secured, and by which also the 50,000 immortal beings by whom you are surrounded, may yet have all the benefits which your former association secured?—no ray of hope presents itself but by such re-union; "your schools are still in existence, but they are like dying embers"—no efforts are making to prevent their extinction—all now rests with yourselves.

* * * * * * * * *

"Thousands are looking at the issue of this disruption, and they ask, 'Where are the Two Thousand gone,' whose wakeful solicitude established and sustained these fountains of scriptural knowledge—these labours for home and the distant heathen?

yet more,—can our bishops pass over, without censure, an irregular and uncanonical "Declaration," which is not exceeded in treason by the Solemn League and Covenant, the Millenary Petition, or the conspiracy of Archdeacon Blackburne? If anything could make us despair of the Church of our baptism, it would be that the signers of this Declaration should remain unrebuked by the bishops; and it is with unfeigned sorrow that we learn from the Prospectus of a *Society* formed to encourage and disseminate the principles embodied in this criminal document, that *six hundred of the Clergy alone* have signed it.

2. The following advertisement, which appeared in the *Record* during the present month, is obviously a feeler, however cautious:—

"To Episcopalians, attached to the glorious doctrines of the Reformation.—It being in contemplation to form *an Episcopal Church separate from the State, with a revised Liturgy*, all who are favourable to this object are earnestly requested to communicate, by letter, with B. O., 2, Featherstone-buildings, Holborn, London."

3. And if other evidences of this tendency towards an extensive English secession are wanting, we point to Mr. Baptist Noel using the Westminster Catechism instead of that of the Church;—to the Church Missionary Society persisting to recognise the Scotch Independent sects of Drummond and Dunbar, and to a recent publication of Mr. Bickersteth, "The promised Glory of the Church of Christ,"

Where are those who thought the poorest in the lanes, the alleys, the garrets, and the cellars, had claims on their Christian compassion?

"The Establishment to which you are attached has ceased, or declined to secure for yourselves and your families the spiritual provision on which you had so long been fed, and for the restoration of which, from this quarter, all your hopes must have now vanished;—but is there no deliverance,—no resource, to which you can resort? The great and the heavenly-minded, the late Countess of Huntingdon, was once placed in circumstances somewhat similar; she could not obtain from the Establishment that which her renewed nature so anxiously desired, and she determined to provide for herself and for multitudes, also, the ministrations of holy men; the liturgy, which, like yourselves, she loved, *was retained, with improvements suited to the times in which she lived.* Cannot you testify your grateful recollections of the ordinances you so long enjoyed, by calling a Meeting, forthwith, for general consideration? *Could you not also resolve, in imitation of the great and the good of Scotland, to erect a Free Church,*—and where, free from all State interference, and FROM ALL ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROUL, you might select a minister of your own unbiassed choice, to go in and out among you? Thus, the alarming deficiency of the means of grace, in St. Luke's, which leaves 44,000 unblessed with the ministrations of mercy, might in some measure be supplied.

"Arise! and the blessing of the Most High will rest upon you. Other Christian denominations in the vicinity will not only approve, but they will aid and bless you; thousands, and tens of thousands, in the present and in coming ages, will remember the day when you so decided, and when the deep impressions of your responsibilities urged you onwards to exhibit a model of devoted zeal, as beneficial in its character as it was blessed in its results,—when error was dispersed,—when light, and peace, and love were introduced; and when thousands were pointed to Him whose loving-kindness is better than life, and under whose smiles they pursued their pilgrimage on earth, and by whose grace they were prepared for the unending bliss of the Redeemed.

"Yours in Christian sympathy,
"THOMAS THOMPSON."

"POUNDSFERD PARK,
"*Oct.* 21*st*, 1843."

in which he openly advocates and adopts the resolutions of a "Christian Union Society," held in Exeter Hall last year, to the following effect:—

"I. That this Meeting is fully persuaded that real and essential unity exists among all the children of God, and that being united to Christ, they are in principle and affection united to each other by the Spirit of Christ.

"II. That this meeting is therefore convinced of the duty and practicability of rendering visible, the union of all who hold the Head, Jesus Christ the Lord, notwithstanding the diversity of their opinions and practice with regard to minor points of faith and ritual observance; and that the state of theological controversy, missionary operations, and public sentiment at the present time, renders it peculiarly desirable to attempt the furtherance of such an union.

"III. That this meeting declares itself assembled on the ground of truths common to all Evangelical Churches of the Protestant Reformation from Popery, and based on its first principle, the sufficiency and authority of the Holy Scriptures as the sole rule of Christian faith and practice, and the right of every man to judge for himself of the meaning and interpretation of that rule—and recognises, as the bond of union, the great doctrines unanimously received by all evangelical Christians, viz.—the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; of the infinite love of the Father; of the perfect atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ; of the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit; of justification by faith alone; of the necessity of regeneration to a Christian life and character; and other truths in harmony, and in essential connexion with these. And the meeting believes the agreement to these fundamental truths among evangelical Christians, to be so unanimous in substance and spirit, as to lay a firm foundation for concord and union.

"IV. That this meeting utterly repudiates the sentiment that a true Church, a true ministry, or a true Christian can be constituted, in the absence of spiritual qualifications, by the mere observance of any form, even though of Divine appointment. At the same time it disclaims the least compromise of what is conscientiously regarded as truth or duty on any point of doctrine, discipline, or worship, by any individual bearing part in its proceedings.

"V. That this meeting deems it an imperative duty, for the defence of the truth—for the strength of the Churches—for the spread of the Gospel, to seek Christian union—not in ritual uniformity; not in an exact agreement of creed; not in a universal incorporation of Churches; but in the binding force of love to the truth in things great, and in the harmonising power of forbearance in things subordinate. For this union would the present meeting bear witness before the world, and offer fervent prayer to Almighty God. For the promotion of this blessed fraternal oneness in Christ, it would appeal to all his disciples, on the ground of their Saviour's will and prayer, that thus our holy religion may be honoured in the sight of the world, and the world be converted to our holy religion."—Pp. 398, 399.

Are not such things significant of coming events?

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1. *Lebengeschichte des Baron de la Motte Fouqué.* 1840.
2. *Ausgewählte Werke von Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouqué.* 1841.

Few things tell better for the present day than the growing popularity of Fouqué's writings. When we think on the immoral trash so freely dispersed as German Romance; the *profa*neness and wickedness of what every man reads, and no *one dares censure*—Faust; and the great weight which the

earnestness of German thought, as put forward by Thomas Carlyle and others of his school, has of necessity on a generation driven to be earnest, we cannot but feel most thankful that high Catholic principles have already made sufficient way, to call these Tales forward in a popular and attractive shape. We will just remark in passing that these beautiful Tales of Fouqué may help at least to counteract the evils of a series of Novels, treating, singularly enough, of modern, as Fouqué of ancient, Scandinavian manners. We mean those written by Frederika Bremer, and which Mary Howitt, a Quaker, is translating with railroad speed to out-do her competitors in the market. Beautiful and true as much of them may be, yet, perhaps, this partial truth and beauty makes their many errors but the more dangerous.

Of Fouqué himself, we believe most of his readers know but little. Yet his personal history is instructive, eventful, and illustrative of his works; and our purpose, in the following article, is to set it before our readers, chiefly with the view of identifying it with his works, and pointing out what appears to us a remarkable corroboration of a very remarkable theory. In this our attempt, we would by no means imply that we are fit to form an adequate notion of Fouqué's mind as shown forth in his Autobiography, or what is even a truer type—his works. To appreciate thoroughly either the one or the other, calls for a deep knowledge of the German language and literature, the quickest feeling for poetry, sometimes exquisitely simple, sometimes intricate and metaphysical, a generous abandonment of prejudice to an abstract ideal of the old Northern chivalry; above all, power to realize Catholic conceptions in a tone of mind essentially German. Nay more, to understand Fouqué, or his works, you must throw yourself into a new world,—a world which common matter-of-fact men cannot comprehend; a world of wild forms and glancing plumes; a world where the contest of good and evil is all but visibly carried on, where nature itself, staid and homely as she seems to us, and far removed from sympathy, actually does sympathize and assist in the contest, where bright and holy beings, and, on the other hand, the dark spirits of evil, can appear and disappear without marring the unity of the whole. Although, therefore, we give our readers but a faint and partial view, still, if we can turn but one gleam from those bright tales upon their hearts, we shall feel that our brief sketch has not been without its use.

Friedrich Heinrich Karl, Baron de la Motte Fouqué, was born at Brandenburgh, on the 12th day of February, A.D. 1777. His great grandfather had left France "for true religion," he says, immediately, as it should seem, after the recall of the Edict of Nantes. His grandfather was an early friend of

Frederic the Great, visited him in his strange captivity at some personal risk, held a correspondence with him which still may be seen in the Royal Philosopher's works, served with distinction in the seven years' war, and rose to the rank of General. He seems all along to have kept the good-will of Frederic without sacrificing religious principles, and he ended his days as Domprobst — a sort of Esquire-verger—in the Cathedral of Brandenburgh: thus literally fulfilling the text, "I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God." His father, to judge from his son's account, was a good and religious man for that age. He had served in the army, but was too weakly to bear much fatigue. He, therefore, settled quietly down at Brandenburgh, with his most amiable and earnest wife, a woman who exercised no small influence for good over her son's mind. Frederic the Great was young Fouqué's godfather. His education was conducted ostensibly by private tutors, but not a little by an old soldier, the Count Schmettau, a family friend, who lived with them, one of those few old soldiers, who, like him of whom we have already spoken, are led by the dangers of war, not to a hardened, but a devout life. At sixteen, Fouqué joined the Cuirassiers of the Duke of Weimar, and served against the French in the unsuccessful campaign of the Rhine. After this, he remained inactive, passing his time in literary pursuits, and the society of an accomplished wife. In 1806, after the defeat of the Prussians, he prepared for a siege in Nennhausen, the place of his residence. This did not, however, occur. And finally, in 1812, he collected a troop and fought most gallantly for his country, being present at Dresden, Culm, and Leipzig. From this time his life passed in peace; while the stirring scenes in which he had borne a part naturally brought into more abundant life the seeds of ancient chivalry implanted in his breast. He consecrated his sword solemnly in the church of Nennhausen, and devoted himself altogether to authorship. In 1843 his gallant soul passed away from earth; where we may most truly say it had never dwelt. He has left behind an astonishing number of works: novels, poems, plays. All, so far as we have seen, having one tendency, and for the most part filled with the same class of events. It is true that they embrace every age. We have novels, whose scene is laid in the days when Scandinavia was heathen; and again the Duke of Alva appears in another. Nay, the last which has come before us treats even of the days of Napoleon. Yet for all this difference of time his heroes are the same. The same chivalrous spirit, the same impetuosity, the same faults, the same trials are seen throughout. That is, as he himself was a knight of old, living in the present day, so to his mind there was nothing incongruous in making his characters the same.

The foregoing brief sketch may serve to connect the parts of

his life together, so that we may be pardoned a slight want of chronological arrangement in the circumstances on which we are about to dwell.

Now the theory, to the truth of which, as we think, Fouqué's life and writings bear a very strong witness, is this. Poetry has been defined "the indirect expression in words—most appropriately in metrical words of some overpowering emotion, or ruling taste and feeling, the direct expression of which is somehow repressed." This definition occurs in a criticism* on the Life and Writings of Sir Walter Scott, and is exemplified by a sketch of certain facts in his life and traits in his character, in which the ruling feeling, whose indulgence is repressed, is shown to be a yearning after border chivalry, working itself through the actions of his childhood, youth, and manhood, and especially embodied in his works. We trust that no one will take us to task for not starting a new theory of our own, but contentedly endeavouring to work this out in the present instance. For it seems in an especial manner to suit the view which we take of Fouqué. And further, of all definitions, or attempts at definitions, of poetry, whether in verse or prose, this, in our judgment, comes nearest to the mark. We are persuaded that, though this may not include all, yet, unlike other definitions, it does not spoil its subject. You may add more to it, but it holds thoroughly as far as it goes. Only we are inclined to leave out "words," for we believe poetry to lie in other than words. Compare it, for instance, with another in the contributions to the Edinburgh Review by Mr. Jeffrey. The poetry of Keats is put forward as the type of true poetry, as that which will best test the true lover of poetry, rather than that of the great classical English writers. This view the writer defends on the ground that in the great classical writers, say Shakspere or Spenser, there is enough to please without the genuine inspiration of the poet. That is, the reader's mind is taken by the tale itself, without reference to what Mr. Jeffrey means by poetry. And he goes on to assert that "only where those other recommendations are wanting, or exist in weaker degree, can the true force of the attraction, exercised by the pure poetry with which they are so often combined, be fairly appreciated, when" (to this, as embodying his definition, we would especially call the reader's attention,) "without much incident or many characters, with little wit, wisdom, or arrangement, a number of bright pictures are presented to the imagination, and a fine feeling expressed of those mysterious relations by which visible, external things are assimilated with inward thoughts and emotions, and become the exponents of all passions and affections." We need hardly point out the simplicity of the first, as

* British Critic, No. XLVIII, p. 426.

compared with this second definition. But the main point of difference seems to us, that in the one, poetry is considered as the fruit of one overpowering feeling; in the other, as the image and exponent of *all* passions and affections. And here we think the former immeasurably superior. The latter seems to us deficient in the connecting link between the poet and the poetry. A man cannot have all passions and affections; they would destroy one another. The holy affections would subdue the unholy passions, the tender the harsh, and the like. Or, even though poetry were considered more or less excellent in proportion as it showed forth passions and affections, as assimilated with external things in a greater or less degree, yet it might still lack that truth, or reality, or earnestness, which we feel instinctively in the greatest poets. This view would reduce it to a mere lifeless, abstract idea; as it were a magic lantern, passing group after group, image after image, outward or inward, to the poet's mind, before the spectator's eye. While, in the other, all these images of nature, all these affections and passions, are merged in one: all made subservient to one grand, overpowering feeling which tinges and subdues them. Look at Raffaelle, Michel Angelo, Fra Bartolomeo, Salvator Rosa, Guido; all express affections and passions, all bring bright pictures of the outward before the eye, connected with deep and mysterious feelings of the inward. But their poetry lies not in this; it lies in the poet's own absorbing feeling stamped deeply upon all his works. This it is which is born in the man; and, in proportion as his character has more or less of earnestness and hidden life in it, in proportion as he grasps at higher or lower things, in proportion as his power of expressing it indirectly is greater, or less, in that proportion is his faculty of poetry. We do not propose to enter more deeply into this argument. We have touched upon it thus briefly because Fouqué, in his life and works, bears, as we have said, a remarkable testimony to the truth of the first definition. We believe that he was absorbed in one overpowering feeling; that this was of all that which can least be directly expressed; that his life and writings were, from first to last, its indirect expression, and that the times in which he lived, and various circumstances connected with his early life, were strangely calculated to foster it. And we conceive it to be no less than a most deep and mysterious yearning after the unseen world, simply as the unseen world, unconnected with any other feeling.

Now it is clear that if we can succeed in showing that Fouqué's life was throughout influenced by this one leading idea, such an attempt will possess two advantages. First, it will naturally absorb into itself all the leading passages of his life, without inundating the reader with details which most men have in common; and, secondly, it avoids what we could not

but consider presumptuous, an endeavour more fully to delineate a great man's character. The one leading idea, if clearly established, will serve as a sufficient clue, generally, to his character, and hence to his writings, without searching into those more hidden, though not more powerful, springs of action which all men have, but have to themselves alone.

From his earliest childhood to the last years of his life, we fancy we can trace this longing after the unseen. The indirect expression of it, in every form and shape, as we believe, entirely occupied him. He lived among strange and unseen forms. He realized them; they became the very moving principles of his life. As a child and as an old man he mingled with their joys and terrors He interpreted all outward objects in accordance to this. Their outward shapes signified nothing. He was startled by nothing of the outward. It was to him what to most people the inward is, utterly powerless over his heart.

There is a remarkable instance in illustration of this power of his imagination to subdue the force of outward appearances. When he was not yet six years old, his family went for a short time to Lauchstadt, a watering-place in their neighbourhood. At some balls to which he accompanied them, he was attracted by a beautiful girl, whose more manly lover was a Prussian Hussar. The child pertinaciously followed her, till some of the company, in joke, warned him against his rival, "Have a care of the Hussar." He took the words quite seriously, felt that he was braving danger, yet still kept his quest to the end of their stay. Even when they had returned to Sacro, near Potsdam, their usual residence, the warning words kept their place in the child's mind. He felt that he had exposed himself to the Prussian's vengeance, and daily expected to encounter it. Now it happened that two of the Court pages became intimate in the house; and one of them he firmly believed was the formidable foe from Lauchstadt. He was at first somewhat startled by the difference of age, dress, and manners, but the idea once in his head, the outward appearance, as we have said, stood for little. Everything strengthened his conviction. One day, the page, who was, by the way, a great friend of his all the time, said, rather mysteriously, "Fritz, come with me to the grotto." The boy was now fully persuaded that this was the hour of vengeance so long looked for. Though in great terror he argued the point with himself: "Well, suppose it is the Hussar, some day or other the thing must be decided," and walked boldly out. The page only called him aside to present him with a hunting-knife, and this *περιπέτεια* seems at last to have dispelled the illusion.

Now this, though not exactly proving the view we have put forward of his yearning after the unseen world, bears, it will readily be admitted, very strongly upon it. And

at least it proves, that if the Page could thus easily undergo so complete a change in his mind's eye, as to become, to all intents and purposes, the Prussian officer, thus strangely transferring the seen to the seen, he would still more easily transfer the seen to the unseen; he could find no difficulty in enduing the objects around with mysterious qualities and relations, and feeding his heart upon food drawn from another world.

One other instance will explain this further. The tale of Sintram turns on the doings of Sin and Death; the latter represented by a tall, pale man; the former by a little, deformed, jesting being, whom the translation, literally rendering the German, calls the Little Master. This we connect even with his childhood, in the following strange fashion: When he was about eight years old, the figure of King Xerxes, which he had seen in a hornbook, haunted his dreams. It always appeared the same, awful from its pigmy size. Now any one, who remembers the figures in the little rhyming histories of England, will be struck with the following description of the Little Master in Sintram. To our own minds it exactly recalls a certain figure of Richard III. before the battle of Bosworth. "A small man, clothed in strange-looking armour, with large golden horns on his helmet, and a long vizor protruding in front of it, was leaning on a two-edged spear, and seemed to be looking with derision," &c. (Sintram, p. 76.) Just about the same time, an artisan was employed in the house where the family were living. He was a long, meagre form, with strange and deeply-marked features, arched eye-brows, of that idiotical disposition which is ever ready to laugh, or rather gibber, at nothing, powerless like a maniac over the nerves. This character, he says, always deeply affected him. He could hardly bear to see the clown of a mountebank, where it was merely put on, still less where it was actually real, and set off by eccentricities of person. So the tall, lean artisan, and the small figure, wrought powerfully on his mind. The former we think we can trace in the tall form, which represents now Death, now Madness; the latter in the figure of Sin. They made the impression which was called into shape by the etching of Albert Durer—the Knight of Death. This seems to us in no degree more improbable than that a dream, which all know is the most difficult of all things to remember, and so slight a circumstance as the meeting with the artisan, should have held by him till his sixty-third year, to be recorded as notable events of his life. What we would show by this is the manner in which he fastened strange meanings on small outward things, how they clung to him, and were ever driving him into communion and intercourse with themselves rather than the objects which they altered.

We shall make no apology for continuing these instances of *is remarkable* attachment as a child to ideas which came not

directly from what was before him, but from some innate affection or impulse of his mind.

Dreams always affected him greatly. It is literally true that they were the most important 'events of his life, and his most powerful springs of thought and action. And in relating them, we are most fully illustrating our view that he lived in another world. It will be seen that anything that wrought on his mind came in this manner into form. And these dreams were not merely such as most of us have, born and dying with the night, but actual events worth recording, as regulating his life. The very fact of his remembering them for more than half a century, sufficiently proves this assertion. When not yet two years old, he was in the habit of seeing a lady, with a cord in her left, and a knife in her right hand. "Be quiet," she seemed to say to him and his play-fellows; "I must bind you first, and then cut your throats." Now there is nothing very strange in this, as happening to a child of lively imagination; but what is strange is, that it occurred continually; it actually tinged his life for the time; he dwelt on its details, and made out of it a sort of point for his childish sports.

As connected with his childhood, there is somewhat remarkable in the fact, that he was born in a house reputed to be haunted. In pulling it down, in after years, the labourers heard moans and cries, and durst not finish their work. There was one beam which no one would touch. And there it was left, till, long afterwards, it fell of itself. How far this character of the house might have affected the mind of the baby—for the family left it while he was yet in the cradle—we leave to others to judge. No one can say how soon associations begin to affect and form the child's character. And surely none more than such as this, which, doubtless, influenced both the talk and practice of the household.

There is something in most of the foreign towns, and especially in those of Germany, peculiarly calculated to impress the mind of an imaginative child. Brandenburgh, with its old cathedral and haunted houses, and "Rolandsbild," and narrow streets, and ghostly legends, did not fail to haunt the young Fouqué. Especially the stern old statue of Roland, with his long sword at his shoulder, a natural cap of moss growing on his head, appeared to him in his dreams again and again. On one occasion, in an illness, the child (five years old) was heard to say, "Begone, thou great Roland, I am too little yet to bear thy sword." On awaking, he explained that the figure stood by him, looking not unkindly at him, but as though he would put the well-known huge sword into his tiny hands.

In this same illness he had another strange fancy. His friends brought him every sort of toy and picture-book, but his heart was filled with one desire. He longed to recover a book which he had once seen, and which had left strongly printed on his

mind the image of a lovely woman on a conical eminence, with two long-bearded men standing as though to guard her. The book was of course some Missal, and the picture one of those striking groups of the Holy Virgin Mary between two saints, —St. Jerome perhaps, and St. Christopher, — which bring so strongly before us the idea of the Communion of Saints.

The anecdote may be useful, as serving to show how little strikes a child's mind, and how a well-managed picture, "oculis subjecta fidelibus," may act more strongly than many a lengthy discourse. He was always very fond of Missals. The wild maze of their margins, the sharp clear sprigs, the strange beasts, birds, trees, and flowers; the brightness of their green leaves, the creamy parchments, studded with golden stars; the endless convolutions of the stem, encircling the holy text in all its solid blackness; the initial letters lighting up each fresh part, and the pictures somewhat thumb-worn at the bottom, yet fresh in themselves, as though no older than yesterday, and far surpassing the best efforts of a printing age, were likely, perhaps, more than anything to foster his love of the unseen world. We copy the following passage from "Minstrel Love:" "Arnald perceived that one of his most beautiful heroic legends was blazoned in this book: great was his delight in seeing how the artist had decorated the broad margin with branches and cloudy images of the most verdant green, and the most brilliant red on a ground of purest azure;—never had he seen ought more blooming in his dreams; they all had a reference to the verse in the middle of the leaf. The inlaid lights, nearly all of beaming gold, mysteriously shone through them . . . . . Yet it seemed strange to the Troubadour, that all these forms of men and beasts grew, as it were, out of the cups of flowers, or wreaths of clouds, and so far seemed to have less resemblance to human life than to plants and airy images."

He was educated, as we have said, by private tutors living in his father's house,—a system of education certainly in England almost hopeless of good results. And in the case of the young Fouqué on the whole it signally failed. The first of these, one Fricke, from the University of Halle, was a man of poetical temperament, and hence most likely to understand his pupil's disposition. He alone of the three went to work the right way. He read Bürger's Ballads with him, led his imagination into the proper paths, taught him to love him deeply, and contrived, in reproving him, to hit upon such topics as would touch his heart, rather than, or at least equally with, his head. For instance, when his infant brother died, and he was perfectly overwhelmed with grief, Fricke, instead of prosy arguments about the dead, and sententious sermon-like appeals, stopped him at once with a few words: "Make not yourself sinful, Fritz, by your wild grief." The boy was but five years old, yet he could feel this;

something in him told him that he had done wrong, and he at once checked his tears. Glover's Leonidas was one of the books which Fricke read to him, and we can easily understand how the stately tramp, and pomp and circumstance of war in this Poem, impressed the child's mind. Well had it been for him had not Fricke been called away. He could sympathise with the Poetry and chivalrous feeling growing in the boy's heart; and such sympathy, and quick perception of his character, could alone have saved him from its danger. As it was, his poetical faculty being then first encouraged, and afterwards checked, the results, as we shall show, were most fatal.

His next tutor, also from Halle, was named Sachse, a strong-minded, sensible sort of person, but utterly unequal to his task. He was one of those rule-and-line men, who cannot allow for the difference between human nature and that of stocks and stones; who think that all education lies in laying down certain hours and rules and pursuits, and driving their pupils into them. He could not possibly have understood Fouqué. And the consequence was, that the boy went on listlessly, learning nothing, or worse than this, learning to hate learning. He began to live most strangely to himself. His outward life was that of a listless, idle boy, but his inward was full of mystery and wild imaginings, visions of glittering armour and conquering heroes. He gives an anecdote of this period of his life, which shows what was in him. Frederic the Great was naturally the hero of the time, and, of course, both as a hero, and as personally connected with him, was often in his mind. He saw him alive but once, at a review at Potsdam. The figure of the little old King, with his bright eye and commanding glance, bowed by age, on a high English horse, courteously acknowledging Madame de la Motte Fouqué's obeisance, remained firmly in his mind. Still more, when, not long afterwards, he saw him a corpse. The body was laid on a sofa under a canopy in a great church attached to the Castle of Potsdam, clad in the usual garments, with a solemn repose on the noble and hardly altered features. All was the same as before, but that the nose was sunken at the roots, giving somewhat of the look of an eagle to the face, and that the lips were fast closed; some officers stood near, fanning away the flies. All were admitted to see him, a railing having previously been so arranged, that the multitude should enter and go out at two different doors. All were kept moving forward, and those who wished to observe most closely might return as often as they chose. The Fouqué family, as friends of the departed King, were admitted within the barrier: thus the boy was enabled to observe the awfulness of the scene, and the deep sorrow of the bystanders, and to mark the old Grenadiers, returning again and again to take a last look at their beloved commander, ever as they drew near, putting on a parade deportment, while the tears dropped silently from their hard, weather-beaten

faces. Nothing was left unobserved by him. As they passed through the royal apartments, he was struck, child as he was, with the contrast they displayed. In an alcove behind a gilt screen, stood the little camp-bed which Frederic always carried with him; in another room, the richest damask hangings and sofas, gnawed by his favourite spaniels, and, even in his lifetime, never mended; in another, was a clock once famed for exact time-keeping, but now stopped, whose case was an image of the Emperor Titus, with the legend, "Perdidi diem." We have dwelt on all this thus minutely, because it appears to us very remarkable, that a boy of seven years old, which was his age at this time, should be able to feel them. That he did so, is sufficiently proved by his remembering them till his sixty-third year, when he wrote his Autobiography. It is easy enough to understand how a general impression should be made on any child; but what surprises us here, are the particular and formed ideas that he should be able to feel the poetry and meaning of the circumstances. And what follows is still more striking. He went home, thought as usual, much, and said little or nothing to any one. But the scene had left an impression on his heart, to come forth again in a dream. He found himself at a Court festival, with many of his friends about him. Presently a whisper went about "Frederic is come to life; he is about to join us." Soon after the old King came in, and, accosting the child, asked, in a deep voice, "Are you related to General Fouqué?" He replied, "I am his grandson." "You must make yourself a great man," answered the King, "if only you would be half such as he."

We care not if this anecdote seem puerile. It appears to us most clearly to show what the boy's mind was, and what would really have stirred him. He had already formed an idea of what was great and good, and his inward, or dreaming life, was longing after it; while, at the same time, he was cast into another or outward life, wearily dragging on through a series of lessons and rules without understanding or feeling a word. The objects of the inward life were real, heart-rousing, admonishing; those of the outward were false and useless. Sachse's line of tuition was an endeavour to laugh and drill the boy out of that disposition which was born in him, and which, being neither sinful nor dangerous, if properly managed, but, on the other hand, holy and exalted, it was his business to cultivate as the gift of God, as that in which his pupil should be brought up. This is the most difficult and most neglected part of education. People do not see that it is one thing to strive against the evil and corrupt affections of our nature, and another to kill those which, not being at all evil, are incomprehensible and startling to their shallow minds. Sachse was, however, unconsciously to himself, endeavouring, in fact, to cast from young Fouqué's heart the principle of activity and earnestness, that which might

then have made him, as it actually afterwards did make him, industrious and worthy; to reduce him to the merest well-seeming nonentity.

The boy became daily more reserved and less understood, till at last something very like idiotcy began to develope itself. The germ of poetry, the aspirations after the unseen world, thus suddenly checked, took naturally a morbid growth. The period of his boyhood was fertile in experimental teaching. The useful-knowledge-system was already dawning into light. There were many children's books, but all sadly deficient in that truth and earnestness, we may say that poetry, which alone can touch a child's heart. Numberless small plays were given to be learned, with the view of teaching morality and high philosophical motives for living virtuously to the unfortunate little victim. Characters were brought in to show that anger is bad, because as in that particular case it sometimes makes enemies, it does no good in the long-run; that we should not cheat or lie, because people sometimes, as in the moral tale, find you out and will not trust you, or because it is injurious to the principles of human citizenship; that we should not hoard money, because people sometimes lose it, and the like; involving morals, utterly deficient as well in logic as in the power of convincing the heart. Fouqué gives an amusing anecdote, illustrating the uselessness of these tales. There was a cross little girl in the house with them. He, child as he was, set to work to convince her of her fault, lead her to confess, and then have a school-book reconciliation. Accordingly he read her an account of two children from Africa, one good, one bad, duly expatiating on the advantages which his goodness brought to the good, and the evils which his badness brought to the bad. "What do I care?" was the girl's immediate answer. And "What do I care?" perhaps not in words, but at least in feeling, is, we suspect, the general answer to all these moral tales. Sachse, however, plied him with them vigorously; but the more he struggled to fit his pupil to the tone of German morality of the end of the eighteenth century, the more did the boy shake him off. He made plays and tales for himself, not merely, like most children, inventing, but actually transcribing them; picked up legends of forests and caves, and old ballads, and learned them quickly enough. For there is something in the wisdom of the men of old, so different from the bald morality which we have been deprecating, which at once strikes the heart. Their own minds were awakened by verses of the Bible, and snatches of hymns and old heroic tales. Their hearts and fancies were braced and strengthened, and along with them their understandings also; and so what they wrote bore the same character, and was well fitted for minds like Fouqué's, deeply cast in their mould. He felt the meaning of old things, as well as that of the solemn sights which nothing can take from earth. He lived, as we have

said, in a world, not of objects, but their meanings. Thus he took rapidly to the harpsichord, because he at once grasped the notion that notes expressed sounds. His young mind dwelt much on the mysterious idea of the Antipodes. Outward things began to speak strangely to him of death, till, in his happiest moments, as he says, a gushing feeling of distress came over him, bringing not so much thoughts of himself, as of the grief to those he loved. And the worst of it was, that no one fully understood him. All joined in aiming to convince his heart through his head, rather than his head through his heart.

Yet there is something in a mother's love which cannot be reduced to rule and line, something which is sure to strike home. And Madame de la Motte Fouqué was able, in some degree, to allay the boy's cravings for sympathy. Not, we should say, that she thoroughly understood her son; but this instinct of maternal tenderness supplied the place of accurate discernment of his character. He saw her hanging over his bed at night, and knew the meaning of the prayer which she offered up for his welfare. When, then, he lost her, he lost all that on earth could fill his heart. "November 20, 1788, was," he says, "a fearful morning for me! I had gone joyfully to bed the night before, because both the physicians had pronounced that the danger was entirely past. Next morning, our friend, Count Schmettau, stood by my bedside; and his noble heart must have been all but broken, when, starting up, I asked him, 'How is my mother?' 'Poor Fritz,' he said, 'she is very ill .... You will soon have no mother on earth.'" She hardly recognized her son when he went to her bedside, "but quietly turned her deer-like eyes upon him, and asked him what he wanted?" The terrified boy was carried away, and an hour or two later she died. Her illness was typhus fever; and as her face was much altered, it was immediately covered with a veil. In this state the boy saw her, and the consequence was, that he fell into another of his strange dreams. The very next night he dreamed that he crept into the room where his mother lay. To his horror, she sat up and clasped him in her long cold arms! He strove to free himself, and, in his struggles, he thought he cast at the veiled form a little painted box, which she had given him shortly before. He woke with a shudder of remorse and anguish. This dream, fearful enough under all circumstances, still more so to a child of ten years old, came back again three nights in succession. Each morning he awoke in greater agony, yet could not make up his mind to confide his grief to any one. After the third vision, all health and strength left him, both of body and mind. He fell back to the state of a child three years old. He began to love no sports nor toys, but those of babyhood. Sometimes, however, scraps of poetry fell from him, or he fancied himself some great hero, ridding the earth of wild beasts. Sometimes he would babble about the northern legends, which

he had lately been eagerly reading; sometimes mere babyish nonsense. In the midst of his talk he would faint away. He reasoned to himself, with a strange mixture of madness and childishness, on death and the dead. A morbid love of eating came over him. When his father, and Schmettau, took him for change of scene to Potsdam, his mind still remained the same. everything had a ghostly, unreal look. An awful feeling possessed him that he had to seek something, yet not exactly knowing what; a feeling far other than *ennui*—the craving of an unregulated mind for her who was departed; unregulated, because misunderstood, and lacking sympathy and religious tone. At length, a new train of thought came over him; he began to dwell on his mother's love to him, and his ill return for that love; how many of her wishes he had neglected; how he had missed so much of her when alive, never now to be recalled. This, he says, saved him. The fountain of his tears was opened. Tears softened his heart, gave a vent to his troubled thoughts, and, to use his own expression, staved off imbecility. His mind gradually recovered, and with the mind, the body also.

[We are compelled to break off very abruptly, but we hope to resume the subject in our next Number.]

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1. *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David.* New York: Miller. 1841.
2. *Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.* New York: Swords. 1841.
3. *The Churchman Newspaper.* New York.
4. *The Gospel Messenger Newspaper.* Utica, United States.
5. *The Banner of the Cross Newspaper* (Philadelphia). *The Episcopal Recorder* (Philadelphia). *The Chronicle of the Church. The Western Episcopalian* (Gambier). *The Christian Witness. The Southern Churchman. The Christian Examiner* (Boston). *The True Catholic; Reformed, Protestant and Free* (Baltimore). *Charleston Gospel Messenger. The Primitive Standard* (Clarksville, Tennessee).
6. *The Double Witness of the Church. By the Rev.* William Ingraham Kip, M.A. *Author of the Lenten Fast.* New York: Appleton. 1843.
7. *The Church Almanac for the year of our Lord,* 1844. New York: Protestant Episcopal Tract Society, &c.

PART II.

Perhaps the most valuable materials for the history of the Anglo-American Church, are to be found in Dr. Hawks' "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United

States of America. Vol. I. Virginia; Vol. II. Maryland."—This collection we shall frequently refer to, and in redeeming our promise, of December, too long deferred, we shall partly attempt to give an historical sketch of the rise and progress, or rather of the apostasy and resuscitation, of the Transatlantic Church, as well as furnish materials by which its daily working, its moral temper, its present aspect towards the frightful brood of sectarianism, the waste and howling wilderness to which it has pleased God to banish His faithful witness, may be estimated.

And let us never forget that it seems to be part of our own mysterious probation in this land of England to originate much evil, of which the full fruits are borne in times and places far distant and different from our own: we seem reserved, it may be for a work of repentance, and it may be only for a more signal judgment. We have in many things a bad pre-eminence in evil; and yet we are held back from following our own example, so to say, and from consistently carrying out our own principles. England has led the way in national crimes, and yet she has never been so blackened with actual sins as many nations which, in principle, have only been her imitators and followers. We have set precedents which we have been withheld from following out in all their atrocity; we have in Church and State rocked to our very base, and yet we have righted; other communities have been shattered to atoms by convulsions which seem scarcely to have affected our integrity, and yet which we commenced. England, for example, was the first to break up the feudal empire, and yet there is more of the aristocratic element *practical* among us than in any other part of the world; we were least of all kingdoms merged in the mediæval imperial power, and yet the Roman law is the foundation of the legal practice of half the island; long before the name of Luther was heard we set the example of the frightful conspiracy against ecclesiastical authority in Wicliffe and the Lollards; the Reformation *principle*, in its destructive aspect, state it how we will, had most ample leisure to do its worst among us because backed by the Court; and still, in that tempest of destruction, we alone, of all the bodies which renounced the supremacy of the Western Patriarch, have preserved, however, according to some, shorn, either apostolic form, or discipline, succession, or doctrine. Again, we set the example of successful rebellion; and consummated it by bringing a royal martyr's "discrowned head" to the block, after the mockery of a judicial sentence; and yet, can we compare our rebellion and revolution to that of France? We led the van in the great philosophic school of infidelity, in Lord Herbert of Cherbury; and yet can we measure the actual results of English Deism with the present state of educated minds in Prussia and France?

[illegible] were the first to preach the godless maxim of "civil and [illegible]*gious liberty* all over the world;" but it has been reserved *for us, but for* our rebellious children, to practise it in

America. We have been ever, then, among the earliest to sow the seed of evil; but its harvest has been laid up for others; we have been restrained from carrying out principles, though we have had boldness and sagacity enough in originating them.

And, of course, this view of our social state is at once consoling and threatening. It seems, if we may speak on such a subject, that a very peculiar part has been assigned to the Angel of this nation, to witness for great truths, and, in some sense, still to hold and avow them in theory, and as abstract rules, even while we have been the very first to set the example of direct treason against them in practice and fact. Hence, it may be, the great inconsistency between our subjective and objective state; hence our contradictory words and deeds; hence our alternating and swaying theology; hence our mixed policy in Church and State government; hence the universal assent at present given to the practice of ruling England, civil and ecclesiastical, by mere expediency and negation. For if, as is said, the tendency of all existing political parties is to coalesce upon mutual surrender, so is it also most certainly the all but avowed intention of the present heads of the Church so to trim the balance between *contradictory* views, even upon the very first principles of the Gospel, that a dogma, a decision, a mind made up, a truth settled and acted upon on either side, in a word, *consistency* alone is to be proscribed among us. Our highest aim is to acquire a colourless medium of mind, tinted by all passing shades of thought, but absorbing neither light nor warmth; and when this characterless character is acquired and presents itself under the convenient no-meaning of a prudent man, a moderate man, a safe man, one not given to extremes, then look out for stalls and mitres—then welcome red-tape and despatch-boxes.

The fact is, that we are the most *unprincipled* people, at the present moment, on the face of the globe: who can tell what we are, Protestant, or Catholic; either, or both, or neither? we have not settled it ourselves. We cannot agree whether we are priests or ministers; we do not know whether we believe in the sacraments or not; *adhuc sub judice lis est*, whether ours is part of the Catholic Church, or the same in kind as the Free Secession. Bishop Jewell tells us that "Zuinglians, as some contemptuously call them, are Christians, and friends, and brethren;" and five thousand of our Clergy are ready to talk of "our dear dissenting brethren." And then Dr. Pusey tells us plainly that Zuinglians deny the faith, and are Socinians, all but in form; and Mr. Wm. Palmer calls upon us to "anathematize the very principle of Protestantism" (which, in his sense, we do most fully). And then as to our Prayer-book; we have been disputing for at least two centuries as to its very meaning. From all which plain people get miserably distressed and perplexed; they see,—indeed every one sees but those, however high in

station, whose business and function it is *not* to see,—that of two contradictories both cannot be equally true; *e. g.* it cannot be true that baptism confers regeneration, if it is true that it is only an instructive ceremony. It cannot come to the same thing whether the words "whosesoever sins ye remit" are a commission, or a prayer; and yet, till we have settled these things, till we have pronounced—This is orthodoxy—This is heresy—and till we have resolved to *act* upon such decisions, it is little short of nonsense to talk of "the Doctrines of the Church," and "Our standard Divines," and "Our recognized Theology;" because all these convenient phrases just simply beg the question, and assume that we have settled both doctrine, and standard, and appeal, and authority. There can be no question that we should not have been left to arrive at our present most wonderful state, unless a great moral end were to be attained by it; we should never have been permitted to retain so much, however unproductive, had it not been intended that we should some day or other *claim* our rights as a Church, or, with equal explicitness, formally renounce them.

And this being our present state, it is the natural result of that anomalous and suspended animation, that trance-like life which we have so long led. It is one of imminent danger; few things are so seriously startling as an accomplished hypocrite; few things more inexplicable than fine words and few deeds accompanying; to read our books, to hear us talk, to listen to our claims, since the revival of letters, the Church would seem to be the Sole Reality, and yet what is it in action? It is simply because it does not speak—and is not aggressive—and does not rebuke—and does not display its claims, that the world doubts that it is. And this having been our policy, is our curse, and will be our ruin. Our very heaviest condemnation, perhaps, may be, not so much that we have been rich, or luxurious, or hard-hearted, or neglectful, or latitudinarian, but that having "known the truth," we have not thought the truth to be *therefore* acted out; having permitted such forward claims to authority as a Church to have been made for us, and in us, we have been content to lodge a silent protest; for it was the servant who *knew* his Master's will who was beaten with *many* stripes. Better, far better, may it be for the most miserable set of ignorant Ranters, who are convinced that they are just as good as pope and cardinal, and *who act out this conviction*, than for a bench of Bishops to talk of a Church, and yet to leave ours such as, till the last decade of years, it was.

Nor are these thoughts out of place in resuming our notice of the American Church in the United States; we are much bound up in our daughter's welfare; for much of her sins and weaknesses, where they exist, we are directly accountable; the present religious aspect of the United States is, as for other

reasons, so it may be for an especial warning to ourselves. As we said, the Anglo-Americans are not only what we have shown them the way to be, but what we legitimately should have been ourselves at the present moment, had our own precepts been followed at home. In them, therefore, we must view our own warning, and our own neglects. It is not for nothing that we have been spared the degradation which has swept over others. For to have been mercifully preserved may be only that our final apostasy should be the more conspicuous. Our learning—our claims—our "mitred front"—our primitive model—our literary talents—our witness to ancient truths—our exclusive spirit—our endowments and patronage—these things, of which we have hitherto delighted to boast, shall condemn us; the very amplitude of our means to become a glorious Church, shall be the strongest testimony against us. Never, perhaps, since the days of Constantine, was there a body of men so largely gifted with all external advantages of respect, wealth, acquirements, and opportunities to do their Master's work, as the Clergy of the Church of England; and yet, if they have incompletely or inadequately fulfilled their mission, any cause must be assigned for their failure rather than ignorance of the work which the Church demanded of them. And the very hour of our last trial may be at hand. Let us see how we have, as a Church, treated our colonies in British America.

It must not be supposed that the early colonists were either ignorant or neglectful of the first and sacred duty of making their new homes Christian. They did, to some extent, come up to that heathen piety which deemed a colony a sacred thing, and they lighted the voyaging fire of the Gospel at the paternal altar. Sir Walter Raleigh, the first settler of Virginia, left a hundred pounds "for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia," when he assigned the original patent to Thomas Smith. The first charter granted by James to the London Company, assigns, as one reason for the grant, that the new undertaking was "a work which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of His Divine Majesty, in the propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness, and in miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God;" and the royal instructions issued to the colonists at the same period, 1606, require "that all persons should kindly treat the savage and heathen people in those parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God." Indeed, the Bishop of New Zealand's anxious desire to incorporate the aborigines with the settlers, was anticipated in the settlement of Virginia: the Company were, in the same instrument, instructed "to provide that the true word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might

be, among the savages bordering upon them, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." In accordance with which Christian principles, we find that the *jus connubii* was acted upon between the settlers and natives; Pocahontas, —an Indian princess,—received christian baptism at the hands of the Rev. Alex. Whitaker, son of the celebrated Whitaker, Master of St. John's, Cambridge, and was married to a Mr. Rolfe; and from this union are "descended some of the most distinguished members of the Church in Virginia at the present day." (Hawks, p. 29.) Whitaker, "the Apostle of Virginia," (though in adopting this phrase the first clergyman, Hunt, must not be forgotten,) is known in England as the friend of Nicholas Ferrar; and it was probably at his suggestion that this eminent saint left three hundred pounds to the infant college of Henrico, founded and endowed as a "school for the English, as well as for the natives." This institution was destroyed, and the coincidence is significant, in the unexplained massacre of the colony, or at least the greatest portion of it, by the Indians, in 1622; and it was not till William and Mary College was erected, that the attempt to consolidate the Church, and to convert the natives by a similar provision, was again made.*

In the quaint, yet religious language of the seventeenth century, Virginia and Maryland are styled, in an historical narrative of 1656, "Leah and Rachell, or the two Fruitfull Sisters of Virginia and Maryland." It does not appear with what especial propriety they are linked together, since the first lord proprietary and colonist of the latter colony was the celebrated Lord Baltimore, a conscientious convert to Romanism. With the view of securing for his own communion that liberty which it could not enjoy in the mother-country, this nobleman transported himself to Maryland, but died before he was enabled to found his plantation. Dr. Hawks tells us, that in "his discussions before the council he never concurred with those who deemed the extirpation of the natives to be necessary; he contended that duty required the effort to convert and civilize them." Although the first patent issued by Charles I. to the Romanist Cecil, son of the first Lord Baltimore, professed "a laudable zeal for extending the Christian religion, and the territories of

* Nor were these laudable principles lost sight of. In the instructions given by the London Company to Governor Coyatt, in 1621, he was urged "to use all probable means of bringing over the natives to a love of civilization, and to the love of God and His true religion." The employment of native servants was urged, that they might be employed as instruments "in the general conversion of their countrymen." And a certain number of Indian children in each township were to be educated, and "the most towardly of them fitted for the college of Henrico; and they earnestly require help and furtherance in that pious and important work; not doubting the particular blessing of God upon the colony, and being assured of the love of all good men on that account." Had this noble scheme been ever acted upon in our dependencies, "God's way might have been known upon earth, His saving health among all nations."

the empire, and bestowed on the proprietor the patronage and advowson of all churches which, (with the increasing religion and worship of Christ,) within the said region, hereafter shall happen to be built, together with licence and faculty of erecting and founding churches, and chapels, and places of worship, and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of England," it was not very probable that a colony, consisting almost entirely of Romanist emigrants, should be much of a Leah to the Anglican communion. Indeed, it was but a barren daughter; for we do not hear of any Church of England Clergy till 1676, and then three in number for 20,000 souls. At the Orange Revolution in England, the Lords of Baltimore were violently despoiled of their proprietary; and at the appointment of a royal Governor, Copley, (we believe an ancestor of the present English Chancellor,) the Anglican communion was established in Virginia.

It does not seem too much to say, that State Establishment, as conducted and settled in America, was the bane of the Churches in Maryland and Virginia. Into the lawfulness of Establishments we are not now about to enter; we refer, in the way of objection, to *such* Establishment as that of the Transatlantic Church. The step was itself, upon the very lowest ground, expedient; for at this period the majority of the colonists were Anglicans; we object to the *mode*, not to the thing itself; and to it may be traced, in connexion with other causes to be hereafter alluded to, the final separation of these States from the English empire.

The original endowment of the Colonial Church was, in Maryland, "a tax of forty pounds of tobacco [the staple of the country] per taxable poll, to be laid out in the repairs and building of churches, and in the support of ministers;" and in Virginia, 1621, it was enacted, that "each clergyman should receive from his parishioners 1,500 pounds of tobacco, and sixteen bushels of corn; ten pounds of tobacco being the maximum of tax upon an individual." All which was right enough if the true divine principle of *tithe* had been announced in this payment; but, in fact, it was a mere compulsory money assessment, in which no principle whatever was involved. Tithe is an absurdity in terms, without the full hierarchical system of sacrifice and priesthood, offering and succession, of devotion on the part of the people, and benediction on the part of the Church. It is because tithe has been considered in England apart from its connexion with the full sacerdotal principle, that in tithe commutations and moduses, the essential element of tithe, in its sacred character, has been lost; and it was from a similar blunder in America, that this gift, even of the fruits of the earth, well as it sounds, was nothing more than a State stipend—a bargain of hire—a secret simony and selling of sacra-

ments. A payment, in whatever kind, to "a minister," is one thing; an offering at the altar another. Pew-rents, because they are voluntary, are not *therefore* better than an endowment; so the present American Church must not plume itself upon excelling, in this particular, her tobacco-paid forefathers: and, on the other hand, all compulsory payments, either in produce, or in the value of produce, are not, even though they recognise the separate responsibility of individual souls, *therefore* the divine system of tithe; nor yet because objections lie against the assessments of Virginia and Maryland, must it be concluded that to give "the tenth of all" is other than a fundamental Christian duty.

For, be it observed, there was, strictly speaking, no *altar* in the American Church before the Revolution; and therefore there could have been neither tithe nor priesthood, since these are correlatives. Which thought brings us to the second inherent corruption of the American Church. It was without Bishops, and therefore it was alive only with death. A Church without a Bishop is *vi terminorum* an absurdity—a contradiction—a negation—a logical *non est*. And though this is generally admitted now, we must carry our thoughts back to days when even a Hooker refined such an axiom away. But in this one principle was implied the whole being of a religious community; because our American off-shoots had not this grace, they were but as branches plucked off a tree and planted in a July sun. And so the great Churchmen of the last century were convinced; some, perhaps, from imperfect and unsatisfactory reasons, such as the mere want of a ruling Head; * some upon low grounds of expediency; some from the overpowering testimony of hard fact; and some, it is to be presumed, from the higher and more spiritual conviction and sense of the pervading and sanctifying presence of grace diffused in *all* the ministry of the Church which is inseparable from the Episcopate. Applying this truth to the endowment of the Virginian Church, we can at once understand how temporal prosperity, apart from the Church's life and spirit, would be rather a curse than a blessing: there existed no guarantee for the blessing of Heaven.

Hence it is instructive to trace how the true value of the Episcopate has grown upon us at home. Its existence was preserved in the reign of Elizabeth by the narrowest possible escape from annihilation; in which fact abundant reason may be found for a consequent inadequate perception of its importance. Privileges which are so lightly esteemed as to be all but lost, are slow in recovering their hold on the mind. But apostolic rule was

* A curious testimony to the want of a separate *ruling* order is produced by Dr. Hawks (Virginia, p. 96,) in the records of the Baptist Association of 1774, where this body "set apart *Apostles*, whose work was to pervade the Churches, to do, or at least to see to the work of ordination, and to set in order things that were wanting."

preserved to us that in the fulness of time we might value it; and it was disregarded for the same reason, as we hinted when we began this paper. We have been mercifully forced into an acknowledgment of the blessedness of the Christian Episcopate by finding to what evils its loss, as on the European Continent, its abeyance as in the Colonies, has inevitably and invariably conducted. But it is, at the same time, consoling to observe how, with a godly jealousy, our best Churchmen have always indicated the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of the Continental Church in the absence of the Episcopate.

The jurisdiction of the Bishop of London over the Colonies seems to have originated in an application to that prelate—perhaps for no other reason than because his metropolis was the seat of government—to provide missionaries for America. Such, at least, is Dr. Hawks' conjecture (p. 36) with respect to the emigration of the Clergy to Virginia, in 1619. Laud seems to have embodied this transmarine authority of the Bishops of London by a formal recognition of it.

"And now, at last, 1633, we have the face of an English Church in Holland, *responsal to the Bishops of London for the time being, as a part of their diocess, directly and immediately subject to their jurisdiction.* The like course was also prescribed for our factories in Hamborough, and those further off; that is to say, in Turkey, in the Mogul's dominions, the Indian Islands, *the plantations in Virginia,* the Barbadoes, and all other places where the English had any standing residence in the way of trade."—*Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicanus,* p. 260.

This order in council he procured soon after he was promoted to the see of Canterbury. But we cannot find that either he, or any of the divines of the seventeenth century, felt that the extension of the Episcopate was the only way of planting the Church in the Colonies. Indeed, it was not till after the revolution during Compton's Episcopate, that Ecclesiastical Commissaries, whose office under the English law is "to supply the office and jurisdiction of the Bishop in the out-places of the diocese"* were appointed; Dr. Blair for Virginia; Dr. Bray for Maryland; the former in 1689, the latter in 1687. And it is remarkable enough, that the application for this functionary came from the Colonists themselves, when they asked for a "a superintendent Commissary, or *Suffragan,* invested with so much of the authority of the diocesan as would capacitate him to redress what is amiss, and supply what is wanting in the Church." (Maryland MSS. from the Fulham Archives.) This mention of a *Suffragan* is the first distinct recognition of the need of a Colonial Bishop.†

* Termes de la Loi.

† Mr. Caswall tells us that the first application for a Bishop was in the reign of Charles II. We find no authority for this statement; but it probably exists in a pamphlet of 1661, "Virginia's Cure," prepared by Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, and presented to the Bishop of London.

Indeed, never was the need of a Bishop more apparent. The missionaries and chaplains were poor, ignorant, and profligate. Discipline, waning at home, was extinct abroad. Not only had the Church few, but disgraceful pastors; and the consequences of this it is needless to detail: and though the Commissary might visit and charge, he could neither authoritatively censure nor degrade. And a ministry, whose ordination was to be procured only by a voyage of 4,000 miles, and a people among whom confirmation was unknown, and whose churches and churchyards were unconsecrated as the rule, formed a community as little like a Church as we can conceive.

Dr. Blair discharged his discouraging office for more than half a century with diligence and intrepidity, and to his exertions is due the foundation of William and Mary College, which remains a blessing to the Church, and a noble monument to his memory. Dr. Bray's is one of the brightest names in the annals of our Church; and his tenure of office, as it is perhaps the only bright spot in the early annals of the Transatlantic Church, we may perhaps be pardoned for sketching somewhat in detail.

Dr. Bray was not a rich man; indeed his slender means compelled him to leave Oxford soon after he had taken his first degree. As soon as he received the appointment of Commissary to Maryland,

"With an ardour which seemed to have formed one of the strong traits in his character, he immediately directed his whole attention to a consideration of the best means of accomplishing the great object he had in view. He was well aware that more Clergymen were essential, and that none but the more indigent of that class were likely to forego the comforts of friends and homes for the labours of a Missionary in the Colonies. His hopes, therefore, rested upon the poorer Clergy; but they, as he remembered, would want books to qualify them for the proper end of such a mission; and the possession of a library might also operate as a temptation to some to embark in the plan. To the Bishops, therefore, he applied for assistance and encouragement in procuring proper parochial libraries for the missionaries in America. His application was not in vain; and such was the encouragement he met with, that, ere he closed his labours and his life, he had succeeded in establishing, within the present limits of the United States, no less than thirty-nine parochial libraries, some of which contained more than a thousand volumes. Let it be remembered with gratitude, at least by American Churchmen, that in this great work he expended not merely time and labour, but more money than any other individual who can be named. He gave nearly all his earnings to the advancement of religion and the Church in these colonies. It may sometimes, even yet, fall to the lot of the American Churchmen to meet, in some secluded spot of our country, with a volume which once formed part of Dr. Bray's parochial libraries; (for, alas! the lapse of time, and casualties of the war of independence, have scattered the most of them;) and should it be so, let the sight of the antiquated volume serve for the time in the place of a more enduring monument to the memory of one of the best benefactors that the Church in America ever had. Who can tell how much the faith and piety of our forefathers may have been indebted to the presence of these libraries, extending, as they did, from Massausetts to Carolina? Who can say how far these books contributed to the rrect understanding and faithful preservation of those peculiarities of our *igious system, both as* to belief and practice, which we cannot, as Episco-

palians [Churchmen?] conscientiously relinquish."—*Hawks' Maryland*, pp. 83—85.

To this very day a society—we fear not a very active one—exists at home, "The Associates of Dr. Bray," whose object is to provide parochial libraries for our own country; nor must it be forgotten that Dr. Bray was one of the founders, not only of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, but of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; that he was the friend of Nelson and Grabe, Stanhope and Wheler; that *his* books were among the first recommended by the latter Society; and while the historian of the American Church—no prejudiced or enthusiastic testimony—attributes to his books and his principles almost the very existence of the Church in that continent, we, in England, and in this very Society, have been content, not only to abandon his footsteps, but to reject his works from our catalogue. But let it never be lost sight of, whatever these Societies are, or are likely to be, that to them is owing the Colonial Episcopate of our own days, and the preservation, however crippled, of the Church in America. Well may the Society for Propagating the Gospel be proud of such a testimony as the following:—

"Not disheartened, the grand idea of a congregation, or society, *pro fide propagandâ*, to extend over the whole kingdom, and to be chartered by the crown, which he had laid before the Bishop of London, now took complete possession of Dr. Bray's mind; and early in the year 1699, a few individuals, of whom Dr. Bray was one, began to meet in a voluntary association; hence arose those noble institutions, 'the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' and 'the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.' To this latter institution especially, the American Church owes a debt of grateful affection, not likely soon to be forgotten. When that Society is asked what it has done, it may point to the American Episcopal Church, and say, 'There is our visible memorial—there is one chapter in our history;' and let not the remark be deemed either arrogant or invidious, that the Missionary Society which can point to such a trophy of successful labour, *is not to be reckoned second to any Missionary institution in Christendom.*"—*Hawks' Maryland*, pp. 92, 93.

Dr. Bray's plans for securing missionaries were of the most prudent description; he proposed that each Bishop in England should appoint one missionary from his own diocese; and that the faithful should be urged to contribute to his support at the rate of 50*l.* per annum; such contributions to be paid to the Archdeacon at the Easter Visitation; and which plan was partly commenced, Dean Sherlock engaging to pay 10*l.* per annum, and one of the Bishops 20*l.* per annum, "so as I continue in my Bishoprike." Till this is done, or till a Missionary* College is established, it is worse than useless to attempt to propagate the Gospel with implements which are *too bad for the home market.*

* Now we are on this subject, we must ask why the two *Missionary Fellows* of Jesus College are not compelled to do that for which they receive their endowment, or to resign their Fellowships?

Nor did Dr. Bray's efforts stop here; in 1702, he projected a more extensive scheme for the spiritual welfare of Maryland. He saw that till a Bishop was provided neither permanence nor reverence could be secured to the Colonial Church; he, therefore, published in England a memorial on the necessity of an ecclesiastical superior in Maryland: he proposed a plan for the endowment of a Bishopric, and set about collecting subscriptions; but, owing to the malign influence of the State, and, perhaps, to the supineness of the English hierarchy, the scheme was blighted at home; though, it is pleasant to record among the earliest and largest contributions to the funds of the Society for Propagating the Gospel such benefactions as these, which showed that the seeds sown by the good Commissary were only dormant. In 1715, Archbishop Tennison, 1,000*l.* towards the settlement of two Bishops, one for the Continent, the other for the Isles of America: in 1717, a person unknown, 1,000*l.* towards the maintenance of a Bishop in America when such Bishop shall be established there: in 1720, Dugald Campbell, Esq., 500*l.*, the interest to be applied to the Society's general design till a Bishop or Bishops be settled in America: and in 1741, Lady Elizabeth Hastings 500*l.*, towards the maintenance of one or more Bishops to be settled in the English plantations in America. After Dr. Bray's resignation of his office as Ecclesiastical Commissary, he was empowered to nominate his successor, and it may be well to remark that his choice fell upon Archdeacon Hewetson, the friend and monitor of the more celebrated Bishop Wilson; another proof, if such were wanting, of the theological temper of the founder of the two venerable Societies.

In 1714, Governor Hart and the Clergy formally asked for a Bishop; and, ten years after, this demand was repeated by Commissaries Henderson and Wilkinson, with an offer of the proceeds of their offices and other means to the extent of 600*l.* per annum; and we find, as early as 1702, one of the first missionaries of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, Talbot, in an interesting letter published in the British Magazine for February, 1844,* saying, "we have great need of a Bishop here to visit all the Churches, to ordain some, to confirm others, and bless all;" and in 1703, "we have seen several counties, islands, and provinces, which have hardly an orthodox minister among them, which might have been supplied, had we been so happy as to see a Bishop or Suffragan apud Americanos."

Talbot's history is a very remarkable one: he happened to be chaplain on board the ship which took out another noble person, George Keith, who was the Society's first missionary to America; and so struck was he with his fellow-voyager's self-denying

* Apparently by the present excellent Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, Mr. Ernest Hawkins.

spirit that he voluntarily offered himself as the companion of Keith's missionary labours. Keith, as his name might have led us almost to augur, was a descendant from the great Quaker race: himself a convert from that heresy, he was destined to be a wonderful instrument in making other converts from it in New York and Pennsylvania, and other plantations in which it was settled and endowed. This voyage was a very blessed one: perhaps because—and such testimonies to the practice are very rare—as Keith tells us, "*daily prayers according to the Church of England were offered during its continuance*, in which the whole ship's company, officers and passengers, devoutly joined."—(British Mag. p. 124.) Our own account of the toils and virtues of this pair of friends is confirmed by Dr. Hawks; but the subsequent history of Talbot is so curious, and so little known in England, that a long extract may not be out of place, to show that Bishops Seabury and White *were not the first Bishops* in America.

"When Mr. Keith returned to England, to report to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, Mr. Talbot fixed himself at Burlington, in New Jersey. No one of the Clergy felt more sensibly the indispensable need of actual supervision of the American Churches by a Bishop; no one wrote oftener to the Society on the subject, and in his numerous letters in our possession, there is a manly, direct earnestness, and freedom of speech, which carry with them an irresistible conviction of his sincerity and devoted zeal for the Church. Year after year he represented facts, and prayed that a Bishop might be consecrated and sent. At last he despaired of ever seeing one in the Colonies. He had now become the oldest Missionary on the Continent. Suddenly he seems to have called to mind the Nonjuring Bishops of England. He asked for, and obtained leave to visit his native land. After an absence of two years and a half he returned, and was speedily followed by the Rev. Dr. Welton. It was soon whispered that *these gentlemen were in Episcopal orders*, having been consecrated by the English Nonjuring Bishops: *there is no doubt that such was the fact*. Dr. Welton was invited to Christ Church, Philadelphia, and Mr. Talbot still made Burlington his home; both however travelled into the other colonies, and there is direct evidence that they at least administered confirmation, and wore the robes of a Bishop.—Governors thought the subject of sufficient moment to be presented to the authorities at home, and it was there brought before the Privy Council. His Majesty's writ of privy seal was addressed to Welton, commanding him upon his allegiance forthwith to return to Great Britain; and upon this order Welton sailed to Lisbon.* *Talbot was at the same time dismissed from the employment of the Society for Propagating the Gospel;* and in his answer it is observable, that he intimates his knowledge of the cause and studiously avoids any contradiction of its existence. Both Talbot and Welton had been in Maryland, and had there endeavoured to perform Episcopal acts. They never prayed for the King and royal family, but for the King and Prince. Their success in Maryland was but small; they found but one or two of the Clergy to acknowledge them.—Whatever Episcopal acts they performed were privately done, and tradition countenances the opinion that some such were performed. Bishop White was accustomed to relate a story which he had heard from his elder brethren when he was but a youth, which may be here most appropriately preserved. A gentleman who had been ordained by the congregationalists of New England, and who had officiated

* Where he died in 1726.

among them for many years, at length expressed doubts about the validity of his ordination, and manifested no small trouble of mind on the subject. Suddenly, about the time of the arrival of Talbot and Welton, he left home without declaring the place of his destination, or the purpose of his journey. After an interval of a few weeks he returned, and gave no further information of his movements, than that he had been to some of the southern colonies; he also said on his return, that he was now perfectly satisfied with his ordination.—It was soon whispered that he had visited the Nonjuring Bishops and received ordination from them. He never said so: but among Churchmen it was believed that such was the fact; and the circumstance furnished them with an additional argument in favour of sending over Bishops attached to the reigning family. About the time of the alarm created by the acts of Talbot and Welton, Commissary Henderson, prompted by the fear that a schism might be introduced by the Nonjurors, unless the Colonial Churches were speedily supplied with the Episcopate by the acting Bishops in England, proposed to sell to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, for a sum much below its value, his land, houses, and stock, that it might be appropriated to the support of an American Bishop. We have not been able to discover that the Society ever hearkened to the proposal."—*Hawks, Maryland,* pp. 182—186.

Dr. Hawks does not seem to be aware that Welton was consecrated by a *single* Bishop, Ralph Taylor (and, therefore, in a most irregular way), at some time between March 22, 1720, when he (Taylor) was consecrated by Hawes, Spinckes, and Gandy, and his death, Dec. 26, 1722; and that Talbot was consecrated by Welton himself, and Welton's consecrator, Taylor; nor does Dr. Hawks add, which we state on Mr. Perceval's* authority, (Apology for Apostolical Succession, p. 224.) that Talbot afterwards took the oaths and submitted. It is useless at this time to go into the probable results had this mysterious measure ever been carried out in America. It is more than doubtful whether consecration by a single Bishop is at all valid; and while we cheerfully admit the temptations to which Talbot in the bitterness of his soul was subjected—fearful almost as those of the Patriarch's daughters—we can plainly see that, both for our sins, and for those of the American Church, the Episcopate was withheld in the way of a judgment.

We may now rapidly figure the general aspect which the American Church presented when the war of Independence commenced—that scourge for our mutual sins. It does not fall within our present limited plan, to trace the successive arrivals of false doctrine, heresy, and schism, which were drained off into this unhappy continent: the Pilgrim Fathers, as they are nonsensically called—Penn, the Quaker—Cotton Mather—the Dutch Calvinism of New York—the Puritanism established

* There is some mistake—probably a clerical one—in Mr. Perceval's dates: he states that Taylor consecrated both Welton and Talbot in 1723-24, and yet he makes Taylor to *die* in 1722. We may as well remark, that we are hardly prepared to go so far as to talk of "the wretchedness of the schism" when White, Lloyd, and Turner consecrated Hickes and Wagstaffe. If ever that *opus desideratissimum*—the history of the Nonjurors—is written, we shall perhaps better understand their motives and principles.

by law in New England—the more than inquisitorial despotism which proscribed the Church and its doctrines, as in Massachusetts—the fines and imprisonments inflicted on all who maintained the doctrines and celebrated the solemnities of the Church—all these things are tolerably well known to our readers. The northern settlements were almost entirely colonized by professors of every form of false doctrine; in Maryland and Virginia alone, was the Church established, and in such a way that perhaps this, as we have already hinted, was not the least important element in its fall. The very loyalty* of Virginia infested it with Erastianism; the most extraordinary and stringent laws† against nonconformity, first put forth by Sir Thomas White, in 1611, and partially re-enacted by Sir John Hervey, in 1629, had their share in the spiritual destitution of the colony. The facts that Maryland was settled by Romanists, and that the lords proprietors of the Baltimore family, were, up to 1715, of that communion, were against the growth of the English Church; and the influx of dissenters into the southern states in the seventeenth century, with the low standard of acquirements and character which the established Clergy maintained, are quite enough to account for any amount of evil.

And it ought to be noticed that the settlement of an American Episcopate was opposed by almost every interest. By the American Clergy of the lower class, too often, it is to be feared, lest the presence of any authorized superior should disclose their own disorders; by the people, in whose minds the Episcopate was inseparable from the execution of Sir Thomas Smith's High Commission given in the last note; by the government at home, who thought Bishops must not be made too cheap, which feeling was not altogether perhaps absent from the English bench; by the American Governors, who had been accustomed to lord it in a most extraordinary way over the Church as Governors, and with exactions even yet more peculiar when there was a settled aristocratic proprietor, such as the Baltimores of Maryland.

"Maryland was brought under an anomalous mixed kind of jurisdiction, in which the respective rights of the Baron of Baltimore and the Bishop of

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* Not only did Virginia make a vigorous resistance to the authority of Cromwell, but it became a refuge for the Royalists—of the "Cavaliero Wildrake" cast too often—and it is remarkable that Charles II. was proclaimed at Jameston, by Sir William Berkeley, in 1659—sixteen months before the Restoration of the 29th of May.

† For cursing and swearing, *death* on proof of the third offence—for unworthy demeanour to any minister of the Gospel, to be whipt three times—for not attending the service duly twice a day *upon the working-daies*, for the first offence, loss of his or her day's allowance—for the second, a whipping—for the third, six months in the galleys—on Sundays for neglecting Church, *death* for the third offence—for not attending catechetical instruction for the first time of refusal, to be whipt once—for the second, to be whipt twice—for the third, to be whipt every day; "and vpon the Sabboth when the minister shall catechise, and of him demande any question concerning his faith and knowledge, he shall not refvse to make answer *vpon the same perill.*" These laws were never, it seems, acted upon.

London were never accurately defined. Theoretically the Bishop of London was the diocesan: spiritual jurisdiction, therefore, including the important particulars of discipline, belonged to him, and the clergy had all been long accustomed so to think. But they were embarrassed because they found that jurisdiction was, in some mode or other, in the hands of the proprietor also. Now they saw the Bishop consulting Lord Baltimore, and now his lordship was consulting the Bishop. Delegated ecclesiastical power was ungraciously received by the laity, and met with but little recognition and less respect in the person of the Commissary. At one moment the proprietor would write and inform the clergy that he valued the Church; and at another they would find the Governor representing this same proprietor, opposed to the clergy, forbidding them to assemble in convocation, crippling the efforts of the Commissary to administer wholesome discipline, and aiding the foes of the Church in the legislature. *They were distracted by a divided allegiance, for they knew not where,* and to what extent, ecclesiastical power existed. Thus Lord Baltimore presented to a living: the Bishop of London licensed: the Governor inducted: if the incumbent did wrong the Commissary tried him: and when convicted, *no power* punished him: for, after induction, the proprietor could not remove him: and the Bishop of London, *nominally* his diocesan, could neither give nor take away the meanest living in the province. The common want of a Bishop, so sensibly felt, and earnestly represented, from time to time, by the Colonies, was nowhere more felt than in Maryland. Had a Bishop been present, the conflicting rights of the proprietor and Bishop of London would have been quietly conceded to an ecclesiastical superior on the spot; crime in the clergy would have been punished, and even the proprietor would soon have found it to be his interest to sustain the Bishop. It is not wonderful that when it was the fashion to send to the Colonies the refuse of the English clergy—insomuch that our wonder is less that the Church in many places did not grow, than that it was not utterly extinguished—that the clergy should exhibit but a sad example to their parishioners. It was natural that the laity should feel aggrieved by the imposition on them of inducted clergymen who were a disgrace to the Church, and yet were irrevocably fastened to it. *They saw no remedy but to legislate directly against the clergy:* this exasperated the latter, but it had been wiser if both had united in making a loud and ceaseless appeal for a Bishop."—*Hawks' Maryland,* pp. 189—192.

In the great contest between the Clergy and State of Maryland, in 1726, that object was almost attained. The Clergy, seeing that nothing short of it could prevent the ruin of the Maryland Church, with unprecedented earnestness implored the Bishop of London for a Bishop; and, in reply to this appeal, Bishop Gibson actually invited a Mr. Colebatch to London to receive consecration as a Suffragan: whether the Bishop had secured the consent of the Crown does not appear; but the whole measure was rendered abortive by the Colonists serving Colebatch with a writ of *ne exeat regno!* And, after this, in the Reports of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, we find Mr. Bacon writing—

"Infidelity has indeed arrived to an amazing and shocking growth in these parts; it is hard to say whether it is more owing to the ignorance of the common people, or the misconduct of too many of the Clergy."—1740.

In the friendly bosom of the Society the "faithful among the hless" of the Clergy alone found sympathy. Bishop Gibson, he later years of his life, after having quarrelled with Lord

Baltimore, neglected the Colonial Church; and his successor, Sherlock, seems to have taken up the strange notion that America would be most likely to obtain Bishops if the Bishop of London refused to have anything to do with it.

These efforts were not confined to the southern states; and, in 1763, the celebrated Dr. Chandler, himself a convert from Congregationalism in early life, pleaded so successfully the cause of the Church, that, in a few years, throughout the New England States, a general application for the Episcopate was made.

"New York and New Jersey, with the occasional aid of Connecticut, were conspicuous in these solicitations. They spared no efforts to get up an unanimous appeal to the Church of the mother [or rather step-mother] country; the Clergy of these states formed a convention, with Seabury, *afterwards first Bishop*, for its secretary, and despatched two of their members to secure the operation of the southern Churchmen in procuring an American Episcopate."—*Hawks' Virginia*, p. 126.

To this appeal the Maryland Clergy responded, by drawing up addresses to the King, to the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and Lord Baltimore, praying for a Bishop. What reply it received from, or whether it was ever forwarded to, the three former, we are not informed; but the latter coolly told the Clergy that "all the livings in Maryland were his donations, and *therefore* stood in no need of Episcopal supervision." (Hawks' Maryland, p. 257.) But it was soon found that the question of the Episcopate was now out of date; the time had gone by; the fingers were on the wall. Schism out of the Church, and profligacy standing at its altars; rebellion nurtured by dissent; neglect at home, and sin, moral and spiritual, in the Colonies, had filled the cup of vengeance; two centuries of wickedness had sown the wind, and civil war was the whirlwind. The American Revolution had begun before Bunker's Hill.

Thus, as early as 1771, the significant answer of the Virginian Clergy to the New Jersey Mission, showed that even the minds of the Clergy were possessed with the notion that the Episcopate would only link the Colonies more closely to that mother-country, with which political ties were completely, for all practical purposes, already broken. At this time Commissary Cann summoned the one hundred Clergy of Virginia to address the King on the subject of a Bishop; so few attended the summons that it was felt that so small a meeting could not assume the authority of a *Convention*. On a second summons still fewer met—only twelve in number; and when the proposal was laid before this scanty assembly it was *rejected*; and four of the most active clerical opponents of the plan actually received an unanimous vote of thanks from the legislature for their rejection of a Bishop, which they had embodied in a protest, delivered to the Convention, in which, amongst other reasons, they argued against the appointment,

"Because the establishment of an American Episcopate, at this time, would tend greatly to weaken the connexion between the mother-country and her Colonies, to continue their present unhappy disputes, *to infuse jealousies and fears into the minds of Protestant Dissenters*," &c—*Hawks' Virginia*, p. 128.

The Clergy were for the most part loyal, though some of them were violent and some consistent partisans of the popular cause. Such were Bp. Madison, Bp. White, and others on the one side; and on the other, the Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg, "who relinquished his spiritual charge, accepted a commission as a colonel in the colonial army, raised his own parishioners [against his King], and retired from the service as a brigadier-general;" and the Rev. Mr. Thruston, (the man's name savours of belligerency) who bore arms also as a colonel, mindful of the noble example of Odo, Bp. of Baieux, and Bp. Compton, who rode at the head of a troop of horse for Church-principles and the Orange Revolution of 1688. About one-third took part against the Crown; but the loyalty of the remainder made them especial objects of persecution; and it seems like reading the old history of our civil war, to be told of the Clergy of one state, Virginia, reduced, in the eight years of Revolution, from one hundred to twenty-eight—of roofless churches—desecrated chancels—the priests starved, scourged, and hunted down, or saying the service with "pistols concealed under the surplice;" and if in the Cromwell rebellion Will Dowsing had an American counterpart in one Claiborne—a felon convict, who was employed in the holy "work of rooting out the abominations of popery and prelacy in Maryland"—the atrocities of the Transatlantic Reformers and Revolutionists of the eighteenth century, where "chalices are used for morning-drams and marble fonts for horse-troughs," (Hawks' Virginia, p. 236,) are not exceeded by the malignity and devilish malice of any reformers and rebels in the world. Never did a wilder storm sweep over any part of the Lord's vineyard: Gebal and Ammon and Amalek, the quiet malignity of the Quakers, the open violence of the Baptist, the old Puritan and covenant spirit of the Congregationalist, all were armed against the Church; and it was but the earnest prayer and prevailing intercession of such men as Jonathan Bouchier that, as we have told the fall, we shall have to tell the more extraordinary revival of the Church. Well might he and such as he say—

"Why hast Thou then broken down her hedge: that all they that go by pluck off her grapes?

"The wild boar out of the wood doth root it up: and the wild beasts of the field devour it.

"Turn Thee again, thou God of hosts, look down from heaven: behold, and visit this vine;

"And the place of the vineyard that Thy right hand hath planted: and the ch that Thou madest so strong for Thyself."—*Ps.* lxxx.

(To be continued.)

Charge of H. E. Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester. London: Murray. 1843.

Charge of R. J. Wilberforce, Archdeacon of the East Riding. London: Burns. 1843.

Statements by, and Communications to, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Society for the supply of Additional Curates.

The Bishop of Tasmania is only one among many of our Colonial Bishops who has cures with stipends attached to them, and can find no one to accept them. At this time he is in want of seven priests, and is able to offer 200*l.* per annum to each for his support. Neither is it abroad alone that this difficulty of finding a due supply of well-qualified applicants for the office of the ministry is experienced. Most of our readers will remember, each some one or more poor cures, in his own immediate neighbourhood, which have waited long, or are still waiting, for any person fit to undertake them. At this moment we have in our eye the assistant-curacy of an agricultural parish, the stipend of which is 60*l.*, the population under 900, for which the Bishop of London is unable to find any person qualified for, and desirous of, being ordained upon it as a title. This is only one case out of hundreds, although to us a peculiarly startling one; because there are not required, in this case, those sacrifices of strength and of taste, in the high sense of the word, which are often attached to a poor curacy. The reports, however, of the Societies above-mentioned, which are full of most painful statements of demands uncomplied with, furnish, perhaps, a stronger proof of the melancholy fact, *that we have not, as yet, the men to do the work which must be done.*

The Societies complain continually that they have not the pecuniary means to relieve the cases of spiritual destitution which are brought before them; but how is it that *these* means are so universally required? Are there no persons who study law without a hope or intention of living by it? Are there no men who give up their lives and fortunes to scientific pursuits for science's sake? Are there not hundreds of young men of energy and enthusiasm, who fritter away those energies, and that zeal, without an object in life towards which to bend them? Whilst these are to be found, so long the complaint of the Church, if truly read, is this, that she wants not wealth so much as men; that she seeks the energies of her children rather than their possessions. The Additional Curates' Fund has fifty applications from a single county; and wants both money and men.

"Not walls, but men, are cities," is an eternal truth, and one which, in its universal application, it were well to remember.

"Let the Church," says Archdeacon Manning, "enter upon the field of its spiritual warfare in apostolic poverty, so it be with apostolic zeal. What she needs, at this crisis of her trial, is not acts of legislature, and grants of money, but living men, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, wise in the truth, gentle in ruling, makers of peace; sons of consolation, kindled with charity, choosing, above all earthly boons, to spend and to be spent for the souls for whom Christ died."—*Charge*, 1843.

This is a very sad conviction, for it is easier to get anything about a man, however near to him, than his very self. It is easier for men to make any sacrifice of property, than to render one long offering of their lives to a painful service. It is harder, therefore, to supply this want than any other; and, in addition, it is a work requiring longer time for its accomplishment. Meanwhile, golden opportunities are slipping away, and whilst the harvest is white, the labourers are few.

Now, if any member of our Church is tempted by these painful thoughts to turn away, even for a moment, from loving his spiritual Mother, and to fix his eyes, with a half-longing gaze, upon that mighty mistress of men, who seems, without an effort, to pour forth her countless clergy, and, without the delay of deliberation, to send out her bishops and inferior ministers to fix rival altars, and rival chairs, in every district of our colonial empire, he is grieving himself, and endangering his allegiance, most inconsiderately.

We would refer any persons, whose minds have been ever crossed by such thoughts, to that part of Wordsworth's postscript to Vol. V. 1835, in which he proves, that the lowering of the value of ecclesiastical benefices, only makes them an object of ambition to a lower class of society. This lower class is necessarily a larger class, and there is, therefore, naturally, a more numerous body of candidates for such preferment as is obtainable in the Romish communion, than for that which we enjoy. None of our readers who have travelled in Romish countries, however little, can forget having been struck by the fact, that the clergy in those countries are drawn from, and connected with, persons of much poorer circumstances, and of lower rank and education, than those from which our ministry is generally derived. The education, too, required, is to be had much cheaper than is possible here, and very much lower indeed than is usual.

Not that these are the only causes to be taken into account. We must not forget that there is very little opening abroad for young men in secular occupations; and that the absence, or unpopularity of schismatics, turns all those into the ministry of the Church, whose misdirected zeal fills our conventicles, and gathers our congregational crowds in streets and fields.

Far, then, as it is from our wishes to derogate from the high praise due to the zeal of the Romish Church, we think it right to state these circumstances in defence of that Church which has a far greater claim upon the affections and energies of her children. We are desirous, however, of examining impartially, as far as may be, into the causes of our grievous deficiency; and we will endeavour, with our readers' leave, to mention several lines of conduct which may, in some degree, remedy the evil.

I. One of the main causes of our want, appears to us to be, that the ministry of our Church has been so long regarded as—in the worldly sense of the word—a profession. Our connexion with the State misunderstood and abused, our Establishment having come to

be regarded—very much because it really was so—as a *provision* for younger sons, together with the great amount of lay patronage, have all tended to produce, and that not ineffectually, a worldly view of a spiritual society. It is never, or next to never, a question in a parent's mind, "Shall I bring up my son for God's service, or for a worldly calling?" But "to what profession or trade shall I educate my children? Shall I send them into the law, into business, or into *the Church?*" The ministry is put on a par with any other calling, and the decision of the parent or guardian is formed upon the same principles in the one case and in the other. "Is there any opening?" "Will he get on in the Church?" "Is so and so likely to take him up?" These, and similar queries, with their answers, too often supply the premises from which the conclusion is obtained, that A. and B. shall become clerks in the counting-house, or clerks at the altar.

The gentlemanliness, the tranquillity, the literary pursuits of the clerical life, have been some of its best inducements to many. The opportunities for field-sports, the introduction to the rich, or mere lucre, have been the motive causes of too many.

It was upon the former of these inducements that Sir R. Peel, if we remember aright, grounded his hope that there would always be an adequate supply of ministers for the poor benefices which his new scheme is to form. He trusted to the worldly, rather than to the unworldly, advantages of the ministry for its continuance. He relied upon the English love of gentlemanly life, rather than upon that burning zeal to serve God which consents, nay, rejoices, through evil report and good report to witness to His truth. The fact is simply this, that neither parents for their children, nor children for themselves, have learned to *make a sacrifice in the choice of their calling.* The Clergy will make sacrifices—the greatest sacrifices—when once they are in orders. When they have felt the yoke, they do not shrink from it, but embrace it. One taste is foregone, and then another; one habit and luxury is sacrificed, and then another. The gun is given up, and the ball; the horse is laid down, the pictures are sold (we speak from instances within our knowledge); the use of the daily prayer, in church, or at home, is felt to be a clerical duty and positive obligation; society, however necessary and dear before, is found too expensive in time and money; a curate is kept who receives *double the income of the benefice;* schools are built, and the Church restored at such a sacrifice of the little fortune possessed as would astonish the world if it ever knew these things. But all this generally comes *afterwards.* We need but allude to Mr. Newman's sermon, "Make *ventures* for Christ's sake." Very few candidates for Orders know what they are doing when they bind themselves by those solemn vows, which will make them the basest or the most glorious of men in the morning of the resurrection. They make sacrifices for the calling *when chosen*, but very few make a conscious sacrifice in the *choice of that calling.* Still fewer look forward years before to a

dedication of themselves to a work, which, if their souls be saved, will cost them infinite self-denial, weariness, and disappointment.

The efforts made by poor parents to educate their sons at the Universities, and to make clergymen of them, are no proof to the contrary of our position. These efforts are nearly always made from motives however laudable, equally worldly. To have a learned son, a "scholar," and a minister, is more a subject of parental than of Christian satisfaction, to this class of people.

If our position were not sound, we should see parents, on all hands, bringing up their children to minister in the sanctuary; caring comparatively little whether in the wildest rural district, or the crowded city; whether (when they are gone to their rest, perhaps even before) in distant lands, or at home, they are able to exercise their calling; so they do but once obtain that calling, and ever after duly honour it. We should see the rich setting apart not only the subscription, but the child; not only the child, but that which shall enable him to serve the Church gratuitously; dedicating, in fact, out of pure love towards God, and a deep practical experience of the blessedness of Gospel privileges, a minister unto the Lord, who should be able and ready, wheresover and whensoever the Church ordain, to exercise her holy function.

II. Another reason of this evil is, that we have not that hold upon the middle class which we must obtain before the Church can be sound throughout. We are stronger than Rome in this respect; but still we are miserably weak. That body of the nation in which most energy resides is not ours. In confirmation of this assertion we would refer our readers to Mr. Maurice's Letter to Lord Ashley, and we will quote again from Archdeacon Manning.

"It is perfectly true that a middle class has existed among us for at least two centuries and a half; and that the same class has ever been the seat of an active spirit which, in times of excitement, has before now been found opposed to the Church. At this day the middle class has attained to a measure of wealth and numbers, and to a vigour of understanding, and energy of character, unequalled in earlier times. But it is not penetrated by the pastoral ministry, as the upper class by kindred and association, and the lower by direct instruction and oversight. It is, therefore, open to the inroads of sectarianism, and to theories of all kinds, social, religious, and economical. Perhaps in no one region of English society is religious unity so much wanting. It is full of fine gifts and sympathies, with strength of intellect, great activity, solid love of truth, justice, reality, and manhood. These are the elements of a noble character, capable of great things in the ministry of Christ's kingdom. Now these will be either for us or against us, according as we draw them into communion and brotherhood with ourselves. This, then, is the critical element of our day. All other difficulties and contentions, political and theological—all changes in our ecclesiastical system, and in the statute law, as it affects the Church, are light and transient compared with the fact that, between the lowest and the highest of our people, there is a class, numerous, wealthy, active, powerful, among whom the Church partly has neglected, and partly has been unable, to discharge her pastoral office."—*Charge*, 1843.

If once we can bring these our brethren by Country into the fold of the brethren in Christ, we shall be able to draw from their ranks

recruits well adapted for our service; men of patient and constructive minds, accustomed to oppose and conquer difficulties; anxious for objects of pursuit, and indefatigable in following them when chosen; and in every way fitted for the work in hand. The zeal which is now wasted in the support of schism and of heresy, will then, under the banners of the Church, be turned with overwhelming force against infidelity and sin.

III. A further cause of the malady was hinted at whilst we were speaking of the Church of Rome, viz. the Expensiveness of our Clerical Education.

Independently of the cost of schooling, which would be commonly greater to the future minister than to the future man of business or tradesman, a college education, with its books, expenses of degree, and other charges, cannot be reckoned under, generally much over, 600*l.* And if this be not mitigated by scholarships or exhibitions, which presuppose interest or talent, or some peculiar educational circumstances, the amount is altogether greater than those persons can afford whom we are especially anxious to interest in the supply of a faithful ministry to the Church. It is true that literates are ordained for the colonies, and, occasionally, or rather very rarely, for England. But this is not generally known; neither are the clerical collegiate institutions which have been formed, and will, we trust, continue to gather around our cathedrals, yet familiar to the country.

The university authorities can do something, perhaps, to diminish this evil, which presses especially upon the Clergy, who are seldom able to bring up their sons to their own beloved calling. But far more may be effected by a general effort to dismiss the notion that a university education is necessary to give influence to a clergyman; and that gentlemanly manners, and classical knowledge, (both of which may well exist without a college life,) are required in a clergyman more than, or so much as, sound doctrine, and deep theology, and fervent piety.

It must no longer be thought that a man must be a gentleman, in the vulgar sense of the word, in order to be an English Clergyman; nor that for a poor man ordination is tantamount to emigration. Nor need we fear lest our Church should lose weight, by losing somewhat of caste. She could better endure to have more zeal and more faithful servants, with less elegance, than she can bear up against the polite indifference of too many of her servants. Some parts of the following earnest words of Archdeacon R. Wilberforce, in favour of license of preaching to an order of Deacons, well express our opinion as to the vanity of some of the fears which would be urged against the remedy.

"If men teach, whose natural interest is to foment divisions, who can only justify their own lack of commission by disparaging ours, while we rejoice if they do good, we must needs lament when they do harm, and be jealous, not of their popularity, but their errors. I repeat it, then, the remedy is to call in the assistance of those who will speak the *whole* truth. Let them have commission from the same authority with ourselves, and their worldly interest would not

tempt them to disparage it. Let them understand and set forth those higher functions which God's priests are especially set apart to discharge; and instead of grudging their popularity, we should rejoice at it. Would God all the Lord's people were prophets."—*Charge*, 1843.

We have quoted these words in support of our belief that there is no need to fear, that an educationally inferior body of men would not safely and well discharge the duties of an inferior ministry: only if, in the exercise of that ministry, they be found wise and zealous, learned and persuasive, then let it be seen to England and to all the world, that no educational disadvantages can exclude high merit from high reward.

We have already indirectly mentioned some remedies for the mischief, of which we have endeavoured to explain the causes. We will, however, subjoin four definite suggestions:—

I. First, we would propose, not of our own thought, nor in our own words, the establishment of an order of Deacons, as a means of drawing many into the ministry, and as forming a body of candidates, according to merit, for higher orders.

"Is there not zeal enough in the lower ranks of society, which asks only to be moulded into a Church form? And this is the staple material for the Church's growth: give her *men* of zeal and devotion, and the sordid help of endowments she could either command or despise. What need we then but the aid of those numerous spirits in every generation, to whom the spectacle of that vice and misery which overspreads our land is a resistless call to array themselves against it? Why not give mission to those to whom God has given zeal? As to the objection, that we could scarce employ their aid, I will say a word afterwards; meanwhile observe, that the present hindrance is not with the Church."—*Archdeacon R. J. Wilberforce*, Ibid.

II. Secondly, it seems clear that there ought to be some retiring pension for Clergy disabled by age or sickness. Mr. Gresley proposed this in one of his early Tales, ("Clement Walton,") and it is a plan which, in respect of justice and charity, needs no words of ours to recommend it. But our object in mentioning it here is this, that we conceive its adoption would remove some of the obstacles which now prevent an adequate supply of ministers. We can scarcely expect that affectionate parents will educate their sons for Holy Orders, with no further wish for them (which is the thing we so much desire) than that they should usefully and purely discharge the duties of low and ill-paid offices in the Church, if those dear children are to be left exposed to want in the hour of sickness and in the helplessness of age. The parents in whom we most especially desire to see the longing spring up which should dedicate their best, even their own flesh and blood to God, are chiefly, as we have before mentioned, persons who can barely educate their sons sufficiently to fulfil their wishes. These, then, have a right to ask of the Church, that their offspring shall not be deserted in their hour of need; unless they see the claim which is founded upon that right regarded, we must not expect them to bestow their children. A parent's heart within it the voice of God, even as the Church has; and the call

of love and the call of duty, must not be brought into unnatural collision.

Again, one of the chief lessons which the Church is called upon to teach in this crisis, is disinterestedness and self-devotion. Now, so long as she demands unlimited exertions of her servants, and labours exclusive of all other occupations, and destructive often of health, without endeavouring to alleviate, as far as may be, the temporal evils which she causes, she negatives her own teaching. She asks sacrifices of others, and for them makes none.

The Church should be enabled to say to those whom she calls into her poorer benefices and offices, that they must be content to labour on in poverty; that holy orders are no vocation for the amassing of money; that the calls upon their liberality are such that they must not expect to save from their scanty pittance; that they must not be looking away from their work to prospects of preferment, but rather devote themselves, and form their plans, *as for life*, in the position which they first receive; that, as they took up the burden poor, so poor they will lay it down in death, having lived a strait life here to obtain the fulness of the life hereafter. But, at the same time, she should say to them, Be faithful to me, and I will be true to you; give to me your youth and strength, and I will support your age and sickness; feed my people with the bread of life, and you shall never want, whilst I have anything.

To do this, is only to do what is right; and to do less than this, is a grievous wrong to those who brave the danger, and a sore and fatal discouragement to many. No State grant, even if attainable, is to be sought for this purpose. A diocesan fund could be obtained for it, from the alms of the faithful, just as easily as that which is now formed for the maintenance of the widows and orphans of the Clergy; and numbers of the wealthier Clergy, and their relatives, would be found to increase this endowment, from time to time, by donations and bequests.

III. Another remedy, and one in which we have the greatest confidence, is to be found in frequent and earnest endeavours, on the part of the Clergy, to set men's minds and hearts right as to the motives, duties, and privileges of the ministry of Christ. We would respectfully entreat them to set forth this blessed office, from time to time, in all its beauty; to speak of all the severe but lasting joys attendant upon its rugged life; to preach of the unspeakable blessings attached to the due fulfilment of its duties; to tell of its unrivalled usefulness and benevolence; to say how high is the dignity, how weighty the office, to which the ministers of God are called, even to be representatives of Christ, ambassadors of God, stewards of His mysteries, dispensers of eternal life; to bring before men's minds the assurance that "beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace;" and "blessed are they that sow beside all waters, that send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass;" and the very words of promise

which God has spoken to His ministers, "When the Chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."*

The Clergy should no more shrink from thus declaring the dignity and the blessedness of their calling, than from setting forth their authority and their commission. It would be as foolish and wrong in a Priest to hide the doctrine of Apostolical succession, through fear lest he should appear to arrogate to himself peculiar honour, as it would be in a parent to forego his parental authority for similar reasons. Equally dangerous, also, is it to neglect to bring before men's minds the blessedness and dignity of the Christian priesthood; equally, because upon the same principle in each and all cases, what God has set forth must not be hidden; what God has blessed and honoured, and endued with power, must be openly reverenced and esteemed.

There are many opportunities in which a parish Priest might, with especial force, perform God's work in this portion of His vineyard. In peril, in sickness, in affliction, before the gift of children, and when that gift, well nigh withdrawn, has yet been continued, to the speechless joy of parents; at these seasons, the public or private teaching of the Clergy would go home to a mother's and a father's heart, as they were telling of Hannah's joy, and of the dedication of the youthful Samuel, or of the mission of St. John the Baptist, or of the calm surrender of her child by the Blessed Virgin, as she became more and more convinced of His heavenly calling. And thus, true sacrifices would, from time to time, be made by thankful hearts, real resignations of something valued and beloved back to the Giver. If in such cases the parents were rich, they would be easily led to see that they were called upon to give to the Church, without a drawback, that they had the means and the invitation to provide a minister of sacred things who could *serve gratuitously* as to this world's payments. There need be no difficulty through the laws respecting titles to Holy Orders, for a father could subscribe as much to the general funds of the Church as the Church was giving to his child, so that the gift should be *perfect*.

But all this special advice and guidance would be absolutely nothing, compared with any teaching which would convince young and old, fathers and children, that there is but one motive which can lead a man into the ministry with any hope of salvation to himself and to "those that hear" him, and that that one motive is the love of God. To teach the parent that, under peril of the sin of sacrilege, he may not bring up his son to Orders for preferment, or station, or tranquillity, or a life of letters; to imprint upon the hearts of the young that to serve God in the sacred ministry of His Church is of itself the object, the *only* object, of the aspirant for such a dignity, would be to confer a blessing on the Church which would relieve her of half her sorrows; which would give her, in a few years, a true

* See such texts as 2 Tim. iii. 6—8; Dan. xii. 2, 3; Luke xii. 42, 44; Matt. 28.

Priesthood; neither squires, nor men of fashion, nor farmers, nor caterers of trashy literature, nor politicians, nor lovers of the table, nor possessors of any other character than that of sober, self-denying, earnest, gentle, long-suffering, humble, studious, loving and beloved pastors of their several flocks.

Let men be constantly admonished to watch their children, as God's talents committed to their care; and in their choice of callings for them, to seek His good, and not what seems to them their own; to pass by the best hopes of ecclesiastical preferment sooner than send a doubtful servant to so hard a work; to surrender all desire of worldly honours for their sons, if they perceive that their children's hearts are set to dedicate their peculiar powers to God. Let them, too, be constantly held back by priest and layman from giving the weight of their influence to the prevailing error, from speaking with lightness of the holy calling, of spiritual dignities, and spiritual offices. Let them be cautioned not to look upon Holy Orders as a mere profession on a par with all others, but to regard it as a calling differing from all other occupations, pursued though they be to God's glory and man's good, as the cathedral from the house, as the altar from the table, as the font from an ordinary vase; as God's own peculiar, consecrated, and awful ordinance, to be approached with fear, and to be discoursed of with reverence. Let the young be guided to decide, with all the powers of their will, for or against this sacred calling; to feel that Holy Orders must be *the one* object of their lives thenceforth, or no object at all; that the only doubt that can arise as to their future path will spring from uncertainty as to their eventual fitness, or from obligations to parents or near relatives; but that nothing else; neither poverty, nor hardest labour, nor loss of home and friends, may turn aside the purpose of their hearts; that, as to difficulties, they must be vanquished; that the human will steadily fixed by *self* on one design is strong to accomplish it, but fixed towards God, by the motions of His Spirit, must prevail; that as others have toiled upwards in spite of every obstacle, for science, for learning, for arts, for glory, and even for gold, so that their own resolution being steadily fixed on Holy Orders as its object, will surely be accomplished; that even to be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord is enough, or more than enough; that the usual course of education is sweet, with its privileges of the public schools and of the universities; that a rural cure in England is a paradise to a heart so set; but that all these are nothing compared with the great end, and that to be a schoolmaster and a catechist, and by degrees a missionary, in whatever corner of the globe, is welcome, so that the one purpose be attained—the holy, glorious purpose of serving God as an ambassador from heaven. Let this be our teaching more and more, and, bright though our picture was of the Clergy which we might possess, it would assuredly have its reality, and be but a faint copy of many portions of that glorious estate.

We will mention one further light in which the dedication of chil-

dren to the ministry may be placed before the minds of parents—that of a safeguard from sin. It is not so usual a subject of fear with fathers as with mothers; but with the last, if they be lovers of good themselves, the chief anxiety is even for the preservation of their children from the contamination of vice. There are many moments when even a mother's delight in the support of her children's presence is cast out by such fears for them in their lives, that she could well resign them to her Heavenly Father. She sees all around her the promises of families blighted by the deadly touch of sin: she sees the young, in all their freshness, seized hold of, one after the other, by the world, and her heart fails her. Gladly would she give them to the convent or the monastery, were it possible; but this cannot be: and the dishonest ways of business, and the brow furrowed with this world's cares, and the many gallant vessels wholly shipwrecked, turn her fears continually to her own home. Now it were something to tell a parent in this frame of mind, of a sacred calling which, the dangers of education (common to all) once passed, forces the mind, in so far as it is honestly pursued, away from the world, away from grosser temptations, out of self, and all thoughts of gain and glory; which is a life in the sanctuary, a perpetual contemplation of sanctities, a continual sacrifice of self, almost as exclusive of secular pursuits and thoughts as the monastery itself, and wholly marked out in the eyes of all men for peculiar holiness. It were something, surely, to cheer the parent, to be able to teach her for her comfort, to mould the hearts of her sons as wisely, and gently, and prayerfully, as she would do so successfully, towards such a life, and to guide their feet into this way of peace.

And thus the minds of future ministers would be turned, even from childhood, towards a quiet and good life, and to the cherishing of tastes and powers which best befit their intended calling. A boy thus trained "will remember, first of all, that which he has often been told by his earliest instructors, that, just so far as he nourishes all gentle affections within him, and keeps himself from sensual defilement, and seeks the temper of a little child, and thinks on things which are lovely and pure, and maintains a cheerful heart, and does good according to his opportunity, and strives to avoid noisy excitements of the flesh or the spirit, and is not impatient of present perplexity, or greedy of distinctions,—so far he will be able, in quiet meditation and prayer, to learn the mind of the Spirit, and to know in what part of His vineyard God has destined him to labour;" and afterwards, when he finds "that a certain stronger sense is given to him than to others of man's highest destiny, mixed, perhaps, with a less keen perception, than in other men would be desirable, of those necessities which, though they may be baptized with a heavenly life and adopted into religion, are themselves of the earth earthy,—when spiritual forms, which the majority have need to see reflected in sensible mirrors, rise up before him in their naked substance and majesty,—when good and evil present themselves to him, not as

means to some result, but as themselves the great ends and results to which all is tending,—when the conflict which is going on within himself, leads him to feel his connexion with his kind,—when there is imparted to him a lively sense of temptation, and of its being most perilous to those whose objects and vocation are the highest,—when he has been endued with a certain habit of measuring acts and events, not by their outward magnitude, but according to their spiritual proportions and effects,—when he has been taught to reverence poverty and helplessness,—when he has understood that that truth is the highest, not which is the most exclusive, but which is the most universal,—when the immediate vision of God, and entire subjection of heart and spirit to His loving will, seem to him the greatest gifts intended for man, after which every one for himself and his fellows may aspire; then "* he has surely discovered his calling, and the Church has obtained such a servant as she needs.

IV. Our fourth hope is the Church's great weapon, *prayer*. "The harvest truly is great," said our Lord, "but the labourers are few; *pray* ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth labourers into his harvest." Now it is strange that whilst we have in the prayers for the Ember Weeks, the Collects for the Third Sunday in Advent, St. Matthias' Day, St. Peter's Day, St. Bartholomew's Day, and in the daily prayer which precedes that of St. Chrysostom, opportunities of asking as a Church of its blessed and ever-present Head, that His ministry may be holy and effectual; yet we have no means whatever in our public services of beseeching Him to incline the hearts of holy men to His especial service. The cause of this omission may have been, that at the last revision of the Liturgy, England was not a missionary country, nor so over-peopled at home as she now is. But whatever the cause may have been, we venture to hope that Convocation will accompany such steps as it may think right to adopt with regard to the establishment of more numerous clergy, with a form of prayer which will enable the whole Church publicly to entreat the public blessing of an adequate ministry.

And whilst we are upon this subject we would make another suggestion of a similar character.

When Convocation meets for the first time after so long an interval, it will do so under peculiar difficulties; greater, perhaps, than any which it has encountered since the Reformation: for it will assemble, as it were, on *trial*. We do not mean that the State will be able, if its measures are opposed by Convocation, to prevent any future representation of the Church, but that the moral influence of Convocation, its weight, and its whole value, will be to be sifted and tried. Churchmen will watch its proceedings with hope, not unaccompanied with deep anxiety; and should it be found unequal to its

* Maurice's Kingdom of Christ, vol. ii.—The Ministry.

office, they will look upon it as a fresh hope cut away from under them; as a dream and a delusion unworthy of another thought.

But, independently of the future prospects of this body, no thinking member of it will look forward to its session without great anxiety and self-distrust, when he remembers how much is to be done, how dangerous it is to do, what an infinity of counter-schemes will be proposed, how desirable it will seem to make some changes in the Book of Common Prayer, how worse than undesirable it would be to make a hundredth part of the alterations which will be contemplated, how unsafe it will be to tamper with the allegiance of the Clergy by changing that to which all are as yet solemnly sworn and pledged. And if these fears weigh upon the members of Convocation, as doubtless they will, with many others in addition, then surely one of the first acts of Convocation should be to put forth a form of prayer similar to that for Parliament, by which the Church may pray continually for its safe guidance through all difficulties, and for God's blessing upon all its labours.

We hope and trust that Convocation will give us forms of prayer for both these necessities. Meanwhile, every true Churchman can remember the first in his private devotions; and can occasionally recur to it in the congregation, also, when he says, "Thy kingdom come."

We cannot conclude without stating our belief, that, after all, perhaps the chief cause of our want of ministers is to be found in our unhappy divisions. We do not bring them forward to complain of them. They are the necessary result of previous evils, and of the clashing of divine principles through an unholy alliance and conjunction with the evil principles of man's nature. Every one of us, too, must feel that part of the evil lies at his own door, and is to be charged to his own uncrucified temper, and his many sins against his brethren. But this we do say, that if the Church be anything, —if oneness be any note of its existence,—if there be one Spirit in the Communion of Saints,—if, in short, Christianity be not a name and a delusion, *this evil is remediable to a very great extent, and must be remedied.*

It would be of little use to speak to the Noels, and Sutcliffes, and Spencers, and Bickersteths, even if they were to hear us. Their desire of unity seems only to embrace a oneness with those who, of whatever so-called denomination they may be, yet agree in this one thing, that they deny the distinctive doctrines of the Church. But we do hope that such men as Lord Ashley will listen to those who speak to them as Mr. Maurice has done, and will think of the incalculable evil which the weight of their example is doing by driving in still farther the wedge of our sad divisions. We do hope, too, that men like Mr. Bedford will consider how more and more difficult each act of indiscretion, each uncharitable opposition to the prejudices of the weak, renders the great work of presenting the Church to the hearts our countrymen as a Power and Presence to be loved and trusted.

Every idle word, and every idle act, is in these days doubly amenable to judgment; and if, by God's grace, they are pardoned in the agent, they seem to be allowed to do incalculable mischief to those to whom they are offences.

All men who desire to see God's people fed with the food of life, should weigh well the minutest portions of their social life—their words, their manner, and their habits; should support the truth as the *only* thing worth contending for, without faction, or satire, or precipitancy—by love, by persuasiveness, and by constancy; for let them be well assured, that, so long as the middle classes consider our Clergy inclined to Romanism, and so long as the upper classes know that he who acts out his Prayer-book will be opposed, and libelled, and denounced, and thwarted; so long will there be an unwillingness in parents to expose their children to the dangers and the trials of ministerial life.

Contributions to the Edinburgh Review. By FRANCIS JEFFREY, *now one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland.* 4 vols. London: Longman and Co. 1844.

WE learn from the last *Quarterly* that the re-publication of Reviewals has not hitherto proved a profitable speculation. We hope, however, that the disappointment (if disappointment there be,) neither is nor will be such as to discourage the practice: for whatever good it may have as yet done to the Booksellers, there can be no question, we think, that it is likely to prove highly serviceable to Letters. Some time ago we expressed our satisfaction on the appearance of the "Recreations of Christopher North," "as rescuing some of the most remarkable literature of the day from the oblivion which the fugitive form of its first appearance must otherwise have entailed upon it;" and the same consideration applies to whatever is really valuable in any other of our periodical works. There seems to us to be much; indeed, the authorship of a great deal is sufficient by itself to prove that; for how can long and elaborate Essays on interesting and important subjects by such men as Southey, Jeffrey, Macaulay, and Brougham, be other than valuable? But were they allowed to remain where they first appeared, not all the celebrity of their authors, nor all their intrinsic merit could save them from oblivion. The many never dream of *exploring;* that which is to be found somewhere in forty or sixty volumes is to all intents and purposes *nowhere* to them. Besides, when the rumours attending an article's first appearance have died off, its authorship becomes more uncertain, except the style be a very marked one, and even of that the

many possess but little power of perception. The *Spectator*, indeed, and one or two works on the like plan, survive in men's minds, although their form has never been altered, nor each author's contribution detached from the place wherein it was at first embedded. But then they never exceeded certain very moderate limits: so moderate as to make none of them, when completed, more than a moderately-sized library book; and, in the case of the *Spectator*, the whole has a unity of scope and character, totally unlike what can possibly characterize the long ranges of the Edinburgh or Quarterly Reviews.

Further. Ever since Periodical publication took its present form, it has been the only means of presenting the world with much valuable matter which it is fit should be formally affiliated on its authors, after that value has been well ascertained. All who know anything about the matter, know how seldom a man can escape pecuniary loss in publishing grave disquisition of any sort that does not tell on some prevalent excitement of the moment; and how blamelessly unwilling are the publishers, by trade, to transfer such loss from him to themselves. But ever since the great northern journal first hit upon the ingenious plan of disguising Essays under the form of Reviews; ever since it has been an admitted custom that an author write his article first, and then look about to see what book or books will do to put at the head of it, many an ingenious person has been enabled to give to those capable of appreciating them, the benefit of his researches or his reflections, at a time when they could no otherwise have been published; and had to congratulate himself on a system which, whatever be its defects, has turned what would have been a ruinous expense, into a moderate profit, bringing a little money into a pocket from which any other mode of publication would have drawn a very great deal. We may boldly say of other journals, that they contain many an essay which is the best extant treatise on its subject; while we cannot but think that views have been exhibited in our own pages with which we have not met elsewhere, and which, but for the present system of reviewing, might not yet have seen the light.

This being so, most people must feel a satisfaction in seeing the Essays of a Southey, a Carlyle, or a Macaulay, gathered from their previous dispersion through the long ranges of journalism, and formally recognised by their respective parents. The majority, as we have said, *search* for nothing, and to them they would have been otherwise lost; but even we, who sometimes like the scholastic attitude of consulting an index and turning over many books, at other times relish the juxta-position f that which comes from the same hand and relates to similar atters.

There is another advantage which may be looked for from

re-publications like those before us, though some of the authors in question have not chosen to avail themselves of it. We have said that one great justification of our present system of reviewing consists in its ushering into the world many valuable Essays on important matters, which might have otherwise been detained in the darkness of MS. At the same time every adept in the craft knows how anxious the publishers and proprietors unavoidably are not to have too much undistributed weight, too much unrelaxed gravity; how they dread Philology, look cold on Metaphysics, and avert their face from obscure or remote Divinity; how pathetically they implore a little seasoning to the more solid viands, how their countenances brighten at the announcement of a *light article*. All this tempts the author to connect his speculation, if he can, with matters of present and passing interest, to choose unworthy texts for his grave theme, to affect an inappropriate vivacity. Indeed, one of the drawbacks of our calling is its tendency to infuse an element of impertinence into the style, which is apt to intrude itself even into our gravest lucubrations. Now when the Essayist is republishing, he may rid his work of such superfluities, may raise it to its appropriate dignity of aspect, manner, and accompaniments, may wash out from it the stains of *journalism*. Neither Mr. Smith nor Lord Jeffrey have chosen to do this, for which omission several reasons might be offered peculiar to their case; but allowing them their due weight, we think it would, on the whole, have been better if they had.

It is from the Edinburgh Review that most of our recent republications have been made, and it is with the Edinburgh Review that we shall mainly have to do in the sequel of these remarks. Indeed, all that we have hitherto said, may be considered as connected with that Review, it being undeniably, with all its faults, the parent of that numerous progeny to which we belong. The various Reviews which have followed in its train have all been moulded into its form and outline, while nothing at all like it, as far as we ever heard, existed before. Indeed, we believe that no question exists as to the utter worthlessness of periodical criticism in the period immediately preceding the Edinburgh Review. We say *we believe* this, for we cannot own to much personal acquaintance with it; nor are we aware of any of our acquaintances who could; but so universal a tradition must be derived from fact. There can be as little question that the Edinburgh Review was the beginning of a new and better epoch. Quite independently of the actual merit of its criticisms, or the depth and value of its speculations, it aimed high, it invited and gathered together the best powers of the time, it gave a new tone at once to criticism and to letters; and to it, as their model, must we ascribe the merit of the many able Reviews which now fill Christendom.

But, in spite of their community of character, the Edinburgh possesses an interest confined to itself and to that periodical, which, far more than the rival Quarterly, undermined its power and subverted its literary authority — we mean Blackwood's Magazine. These two alone owe their birth and vitality to *coteries*, whose history and character it is interesting to trace.

Edinburgh has for a century been eminently the city of *coteries*. A provincial and comparatively limited metropolis must ever be more favourable to their rise and vitality, than such a vast universe as London: and in Edinburgh, more than in any other, do many things combine to foster them. It is the seat of an university, which is not drowned, as one in London must necessarily be, in the roaring sea of business and bustle around. It is full, too, of men uniting just so much of daily occupation and daily leisure as can hardly fail to engender the literary spirit. We cannot, indeed, in spite of all its outward beauty, find it in our hearts to call it "the Modern Athens," except as a joke. It is not the home of genius—the soil fertile of all that is brightest and grandest in the powers of man. It would be bitter irony to describe its inhabitants as

> ἀποφερβόμενοι κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν
> ἀεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου
> βαίνοντες ἁβρῶς αἰθέρος.

Florence alone, of modern cities, answers to the notion of Athens. She only has been a sacred spot, fruitful of genius, asserting an intellectual rule over the whole bright land whereof she is the "brightest star"—the mother of profoundest wisdom and of purest and most ethereal art. But, though Edinburgh be nothing of the kind, though there be no plastic influences in her atmosphere marvellously forming men into the choicest and noblest specimens of their race, (and though woe betide us all if we took to cultivating her peculiar dialect!) yet is she a very pleasant city to all who can live amid a good deal of conceit, very strong prejudices, and a still stronger east wind. She is, as we have said, very favourable to what is called *literature;* and did possess, when the Edinburgh Review rose into being (we know not if its vacancies get worthily filled up), as remarkable a literary coterie, in the total absence of any really great man, as existed anywhere in the wide world. Of this coterie, Mr. Jeffrey was, in virtue at once of his position as editor of the Review, and also of his personal claims, the perpetual president.

Now one circumstance at once distinguishes this northern junta of men of taste and letters from any that exists, or could exist, here in London. It was mainly composed of the legal ›fession; and the gentleman whom we have just declared to its head, the editor and principal writer of its great Review,

the soul of all the society around him, the brilliant no less than perpetual converser, the man of sparkling fancy, of taste, discernment, and sensibility, the arbiter of poetical triumphs, the living antithesis of all that could be deemed dry, and dull, and grave, was, during his whole literary course, at the very head of the bar, making as handsome a fortune thereat as so limited a bar admits of, and a sound and learned, as well as a successful, lawyer. And in this, to English ears, singular combination, he was far from alone; he was, in fact, only *primus inter pares.* The gentlemen around him were like him—the very wittiest and merriest, as well as the most intelligent and elegant-minded company in which a man could find himself; and at the same time receiving the highest emoluments and honours of a profession, at the course and character of which bright, elastic, and literary spirits in England are apt to look with no little dismay, as, of all others, the most adverse to their tastes and temperament. And assuredly they do so with some reason, supposing them in the least danger of eminent success, for the circumstances involved in eminent success at the English bar are indeed frightful to think of. Accordingly, we do not remember many instances among our lawyers, of any one uniting the highest powers and attainments of his profession with the capacity of *arbiter elegantiarum*, dispenser of authoritative criticism on all sorts of art, and sovereign of his company, as was done by Lord Jeffrey, and, in their measure and degree, by the men who surrounded him.

Now for this peculiarity of the Scottish bar, there may be several reasons. Obviously, it may be in great measure accounted for by its limitation. Much as the Scotchman of every degree loves law, the whole country cannot furnish more than a small proportion of the legal business in a year which passes through Westminster in a term. Consequently, eminent success in Scotland is not the unspeakable calamity which we cannot but deem it here. It is true that there are no fortunes made of twelve or fifteen thousand *per annum;* but it is also true that the Scottish barrister can enjoy his two or three thousand a-year infinitely more than the English does his far more splendid income. He can meet his friends at dinner with a body not much jaded, and a mind only stimulated by the change from the morning's occupations; he is not incessantly obliged to fly from the brightest society to a weary consultation; and (no unimportant circumstance) when he holds such, it is not in dusty, worm-eaten chambers, looking down on a dingy court, but in the elegant study of an elegant house, looking out on clear space and bright sunshine, and perhaps on a prospect of scarcely-rivalled beauty. Now, men who have the habit of daily tasking their brains just enough to make them enjoy evening society, instead of unfitting them for it, cannot lay aside the mental activity which they have just been cultivating: their sinews are still

braced for vigorous exercise; their faculties are clear and bright, and move nimbly. But, as good taste prohibits professional conversation, and frivolous talk is, by hypothesis, out of the question, how is all this superfluous energy to find vent, except on matters of general intellectual interest?

It may, too, admit of question, whether the professional education of the Scottish barrister be not more akin to literature than that of his brother in the south, grounded, as the former is, on the Civil Law. However great a privilege it may have been to England to have possessed that body of indigenous law in which she has ever gloried, we cannot help suspecting that, as a matter of individual culture, the mind has more food from, and is better—at all events more elegantly—formed by studying the Roman jurisprudence than by our long and dingy series of decisions. Law, we imagine, is far more of a science depending on first principles, and presenting the beauty of method, symmetry, and logical connexion in the one case than in the other. But whether or not the Civil be thus more congenial to the literary spirit than the English Common Law, the mode in which, till lately, it was learnt by the Scottish student had some undeniable advantages in this respect. The last generation of such uniformly, when they could, finished their legal educations abroad, —generally, we believe, at Leyden or Utrecht. Everybody must remember Bartholine Saddletree's lamentations over his father's infatuation in not having sent him to the latter place. Thus, belonging for the most part to the highest classes of his country, —for the bar is the aristocratic and all-governing profession of Scotland—finishing his education by some better experience of foreign life than the modern system of lolling in carriages, and carrying on all intercourse with the natives of other lands by means of a courier, and afterwards, at the very height of success, enjoying as much intellectual leisure as any man ever should, or as any man of mental energy ever will, desire, it is no wonder that the eminent Scottish barrister should, as a general rule, have been a very different sort of person from what one can ordinarily hope to find amid the corresponding grade of his English brethren, brilliant as may be individual exceptions amongst the latter.

These considerations may partly serve to solve the puzzle of an eminent barrister at the head of his profession, and during the very busiest of his profession, being not only editor and principal writer of an elaborate and important Review, but, also, in range of literature, in delicacy of taste, in liveliness and versatility of mind, in frequency of gay and brilliant intercourse with others—all that Lord Jeffrey is known to have been. Other circumstances in his position may perhaps serve to explain his defects.

But if the circle in which this distinguished gentleman has

always moved, possessed the advantages on which we have been descanting, and many besides, it laboured under some grievous disadvantages also. A *coterie*, anywhere, has a natural tendency to be epicurean and *poco curante*. Among persons tolerably equal in intellectual power and accomplishment, those who eschew earnestness and enthusiasm, always, in the ordinary intercourse of life, obtain the ascendency over those who are romantic and eager, the latter being far more ashamed of their warmth, when not sympathized with, than are the former, if in the same circumstances, of their coldness. But, if this be the natural tendency of all literary *coteries*, much more is it that of a Scotch one. Among the subordinate evils of the course which Scotland unhappily pursued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has been the all but complete cutting away of the cords that bound her to the past, and the accompanying removal of outward objects and institutions, which must at once demand and stimulate veneration. You may pass through the whole land and see no ancient architecture, except here and there some lonely ruin, attesting, by its fragmentary sublimity, both the grandeur of one age, and the barbarity of an ensuing one. In the ears of the grand majority of Scotchmen no ancient ritual was ever sounded; no awful ordinances have ever fenced in their rebellious minds; no institutions, the legacy of a distant past, have ever lifted them to a larger or more commanding level than the present. The courts of law are nearly the only exceptions, and they are surely not enough to fill and expand the mind in this direction. The Scottish antiquarian is thrown on the subjects which filled the mind of Scotland's great poet and novelist, —the legends and traditions of the old families of the country, seldom very worthy or ennobling ones, to which the genius of Scott gave far more than he could ever have got from them. And if his capacity of veneration, which was surely beyond the common, found no better scope, what remains for men of a literary turn, with a far inferior capacity, to whom the subjects which delighted Scott were felt to be intrinsically uninteresting, and whose professional pursuits gave them no license for the severity of science, but a cold epicurean literature? The ecclesiastical establishment, we need scarcely say, has never had any hold on Scottish men of letters; and the Church is too unknown, too unmanifest, to exercise any influence except over such as seek her.

It would have been very wonderful, therefore, had the literature of the early part of the Edinburgh Review been of a higher tone than it is. Its Rev. Chaplain, Mr. Sydney Smith, was obviously not the person to confer on it any benefit of the sort. But, in the absence of veneration, earnestness, a high imaginative character, and depth, there is much to admire in Lord Jeffrey's moral tone. His papers are, with few exceptions,

in that true and pervading style of courtesy, which marks none but gentlemen in the highest sense of the word. They are full, too, of amiable feeling, an assertion which we need hardly modify by any reference to the bantering character which marks several of them; for if Mr. Jeffrey was not a very earnest character himself, he can hardly have been expected to calculate on the effects of earnestness in others; or to imagine that they would care much for what he, in their place, would have dismissed with a shrug and a joke.

These merits, combined with the literary range, which is unusually wide, with a tenderness of feeling which gives a wonderful charm to much of his writing, with a liveliness of style, in great measure compensating for its want of purity, and an eloquence, small and tinkling indeed, yet musical and fascinating, with an acuteness of thought and argument apparent, perhaps, in proportion to the smallness and insignificance of the subjects, give some considerable value to Lord Jeffrey's present re-publication. In addition, we must remark, that, in his capacity of critic and reviewer, he was a careful, nay jealous, watcher over the great land-marks of morality, at a time when many popular writers were unobservant of them, and some even labouring to effect their removal; and, though we fear latitudinarian enough in his religious principles, he was no scoffer in his literary capacity; the articles in the Edinburgh Review which are most offensive in that respect, being the contributions of his Reverend co-adjutor.

We are disposed, therefore, to look indulgently on Lord Jeffrey's faults, as not being materially worse than the natural result of his position and circumstances, combined with his own especial sort of talent and temperament. It does not, for example, greatly move us to find him maintaining against Mr. Stewart that the Philosophy of Mind, though furnishing a good and bracing game, is not intrinsically a valuable pursuit; because, on his premisses, we think he arrived legitimately at such a conclusion; and, because, all the mental philosophy he ever saw, all that Scotland has, till very recently, fed and fostered, hardly deserves higher praise.

Neither have we much fault to find with him because of his treatment of the greatest poets of his day. In the volumes now before us, we are presented with reprints of the Edinburgh Reviews, of *The Excursion*, *The White Doe of Rylston*, and some other criticism on Wordsworth. To the first named paper, the critic appends the following note:—

"I have spoken in many places rather too bitterly and confidently of the faults of Mr. Wordsworth's poetry; and forgetting that, even on my own view them, they were but faults of taste, or venial self-partiality, have sometimes lited them, I fear, with an asperity which should be reserved for objects of oral reprobation. If I were now to deal with the whole question of his poetical

merits, though my judgment might not be substantially different, I hope I should repress the greater part of these *vivacités* of expression; and, indeed, so strong has been my feeling in this way, that, considering how much I have always loved many of the attributes of his genius, and how entirely I respect his character, it did at first occur to me whether it was quite fitting that, in my old age and his, I should include in this publication any of those critiques which may have formerly given pain or offence to him or his admirers. But, when I reflected that the mischief, if there really ever was any, was long ago done, and that I still retain, in substance, the opinions which I should now like to have seen more gently expressed, I felt that to omit all notice of them on the present occasion, might be held to import a retractation, which I am as far as possible from intending; or even be represented as a very shabby way of backing out of sentiments which should either be manfully persisted in, or openly renounced, and abandoned as untenable.

"I finally resolved, therefore, to reprint my review of 'The Excursion;' which contains a pretty full view of my griefs and charges against Mr. Wordsworth; set forth, too, I believe, in a more temperate strain than most of my other inculpations,—and of which I think I may now venture to say farther, that, if the faults are unsparingly noted, the beauties are not penuriously or grudgingly allowed; but commended to the admiration of the reader with at least as much heartiness and good-will.

"But I have also reprinted a short paper on the same author's 'White Doe of Rylstone,'—in which there certainly is no praise, or notice of beauties, to set against the very unqualified censures of which it is wholly made up. I have done this, however, not merely because I adhere to these censures, but chiefly because it seemed necessary to bring me fairly to issue with those who may not concur in them. I can easily understand that many whose admiration of the Excursion, or the Lyrical Ballads, rests substantially on the passages which I, too, should join in admiring, may view with greater indulgence than I can do, the tedious and flat passages with which they are interspersed, and may, consequently, think my censures of these works a great deal too harsh and uncharitable. Between such persons and me, therefore, there may be no radical difference of opinion, or contrariety as to principles of judgment. But if there be any who actually admire this White Doe of Rylstone, or Peter Bell the Waggoner, or the Lamentations of Martha Rae, or the Sonnets on the Punishment of Death, there can be no such ambiguity, or means of reconcilement. Now I have been assured, not only that there are such persons, but that almost all those who seek to exalt Mr. Wordsworth as the founder of a new school of poetry, consider these as by far his best and most characteristic productions; and would at once reject from their communion any one who did not acknowledge in them the traces of a high inspiration. Now I wish it to be understood, that when I speak with general intolerance or impatience of the school of Mr. Wordsworth, it is to the school holding these tenets, and applying these tests, that I refer: and I really do not see how I could better explain the grounds of my dissent from their doctrines, than by republishing my remarks on this 'White Doe.'"—Vol. iii. pp. 233, 234.

This, it must be confessed, is dying *game*. If ever critical decisions have been reversed in this world, those of Lord Jeffrey's on Wordsworth have undergone that mortifying fate. He must surely know this himself; he must surely know that the phrase, "there are such persons" as "actually admire this White Doe of Rylston," &c., most inaccurately represents the real state of the case; that not certain "persons" only, but the whole rising intelligence of England, whether or not considering these Wordsworth's "best and most characteristic productions,"

differs altogether from the northern critic's estimate at least of some of them: and though we have some respect for dying *game,* it would have been better and manlier, we think, if he had acknowledged this; if he had admitted that, whilst he retained his original estimate of the poems in question, the educated public had gradually, but decisively, formed a different one.

As far as our memory serves us, the articles on the Excursion and the White Doe are reprinted *verbatim;* so that we have only Lord Jeffrey's declaration, "I said so then, and I say so still," to go by; he has produced no new arguments in favour of the ground he took. The whole question is thus reduced to a mere question of taste. If he does not admire the White Doe, and we do, why, we can only pity him, and he us; but the tables are turned, so that we now pity him in company with others, whereas he pities us, we suspect, in nearly solitary grandeur.

But, bating some unfairnesses of which he has been guilty, we really think Lord Jeffrey's treatment of Wordsworth in the Edinburgh Review, calls for much less apology than he has seen fit to make. Such "asperity" as he alludes to was a matter of very little consequence; and his main estimate of the poet was constitutional, natural, and necessary to him—one which we do not see how he could have helped forming. We do not believe that he ever had the capacity of discerning, admiring, or relishing *greatness;* and greatness, to the mind which does not acknowledge it, must always seem ridiculous. Lord Jeffrey has a fine perception of sweetness, delicacy, and pathos; such a genius as that of Campbell is one altogether congenial to him; and, accordingly, there is scarcely any poet of the age to whom he has done such hearty justice. To Keats, too, he was able to give praise no less sincere than generous; and no man has ever shown a keener relish for the sweetnesses of our elder drama. Sublimity, transcendent greatness, are the things into which, as we have already said, he never has been able to enter. And, therefore, though he has been guilty of the grossest unfairness in dealing with Wordsworth, which we suppose must be considered a good joke, and though no person can be referred to his writings on the subject, as capable of at all informing him what is the peculiar character of Wordsworth's genius; though none but that poet's *subordinate* beauties are ever displayed there; and though no one could guess from Lord Jeffrey's account of the matter, that Wordsworth was, with the exception of a few eccentric productions, the most truly *classical* poet of the day,—the one who approached most nearly to the pure, calm dignity of Grecian art; we will not, as we now once again declare, quarrel ith the author now before us, either for his past treatment of, his now re-published criticisms on, a man who is by this ne as far above his praise, as he is independent of his censure.

But we confess we think that our critic might, with great advantage, have spared us the re-publication of a *post-mortem* attack on Coleridge, which occurs in a review of *Mackintosh's Memoirs*,—Lord Jeffrey's "*last* considerable contribution to the Edinburgh Review," as he himself informs us. That we may do him full justice, we present our readers with the whole passage nearly entire:—

"In the 'Table-Talk' of the late Mr. Coleridge, we find these words:—'I doubt if Mackintosh ever heartily appreciated an eminently original man. After all his fluency and brilliant erudition, you can rarely carry off anything worth preserving. You might not improperly write upon his forehead, "Warehouse to let!"'

"We wish to speak tenderly of a man of genius, and we believe of amiable dispositions, who has been so recently removed from his friends and admirers. But so portentous a misjudgment as this, and coming from such a quarter, cannot be passed without notice. If Sir James Mackintosh had any talent more conspicuous and indisputable than another, it was that of appreciating the merits of eminent and original men. His great learning and singular soundness of judgment enabled him to do this truly; while his kindness of nature, his zeal for human happiness, and his perfect freedom from prejudice or vanity, prompted him, above most other men, to do it heartily. And then, as to his being a person from whose conversation little could be carried away, why the most characteristic and remarkable thing about it, was that the whole of it might be carried away—it was so lucid, precise, and brilliantly perspicuous! The joke of the 'warehouse to let' is not, we confess, quite level to our capacities. It can scarcely mean (though that is the most obvious sense) that the head was empty—as that is inconsistent with the rest even of this splenetic delineation. If it was intended to insinuate that it was ready for the indiscriminate reception of anything which any one might choose to put into it, there could not be a more gross misconception; as we have no doubt Mr. Coleridge must often have sufficiently experienced. And by whom is this discovery, that Mackintosh's conversation presented nothing that could be carried away, thus confidently announced? Why, by the very individual against whose own oracular and interminable talk the same complaint has been made, by friends and by foes, and with an unanimity unprecedented, for the last forty years. The admiring, or rather idolizing nephew, who has lately put forth this hopeful specimen of his relics, has recorded in the preface, that 'his conversation at all times required attention; and that the demand on the intellect of the hearer was often very great; and that, when he got into his "huge circuit" and large illustrations, most people had lost him, and naturally enough supposed that he had lost himself.' Nay, speaking to this very point, of the ease or difficulty of 'carrying away' any definite notions from what he said, the partial kinsman is pleased to inform us, that, with all his familiarity with the inspired style of his relative, he himself has often gone away, after listening to him for several delightful hours, with divers masses of reasoning in his head, but without being able to perceive what connexion they had with each other. 'In such cases,' he adds, 'I have mused, *sometimes even for days afterwards*, upon the words, till at length, spontaneously as it were, the fire would kindle,' &c. &c. And this is the person who is pleased to denounce Sir James Mackintosh as an ordinary man; and especially to object to his conversation, that, though brilliant and fluent, there was rarely anything in it which could be carried away!

"An attack so unjust and so arrogant leads naturally to comparisons, which it could be easy to follow out to the signal discomfiture of the party attacking. But, without going beyond what is thus forced upon our notice, we shall only say, that nothing could possibly set the work before us in so favourable a point of view, as a comparison between it and the volumes of 'Table Talk,' to which

we have already made reference—unless, perhaps, it were the contrast of the two minds which are respectively portrayed in these publications.

In these memorials of Sir James Mackintosh, we trace throughout the workings of a powerful and unclouded intellect, nourished by wholesome learning, raised and instructed by fearless though reverent questionings of the sages of other times (which is the permitted necromancy of the wise), exercised by free discussion with the most distinguished among the living, and made acquainted with its own strength and weakness, not only by a constant intercourse with other powerful minds, but by mixing, with energy and deliberation, in practical business and affairs; and here pouring itself out in a delightful miscellany of elegant criticism, original speculation, and profound practical suggestions on politics, religion, history, and all the greater and the lesser duties, the arts and the elegancies of life—all expressed with a beautiful clearness and tempered dignity—breathing the purest spirit of good-will to mankind—and brightened not merely by an ardent hope, but an assured faith, in their constant advancement in freedom, intelligence, and virtue.

"On all these points, the 'Table Talk' of his poetical contemporary appears to us to present a most mortifying contrast; and to render back merely the image of a moody mind, incapable of mastering its own imaginings, and constantly seduced by them, or by a misdirected ambition, to attempt impracticable things:—naturally attracted by dim paradoxes rather than lucid truths, and preferring, for the most part, the obscure and neglected parts of learning to those that are useful and clear—marching, in short, at all times, under the exclusive guidance of the Pillar of Smoke—and, like the body of its original followers, wandering all his days in the desert, without ever coming in sight of the promised land.

"Consulting little at any time with anything but his own prejudices and fancies, he seems, in his later days, to have withdrawn altogether from the correction of equal minds; and to have nourished the assurance of his own infallibility, by delivering mystical oracles from his cloudy shrine, all day long, to a small set of disciples, to whom neither question nor interruption was allowed. The result of this necessarily was, an exacerbation of all the morbid tendencies of the mind; a daily increasing ignorance of the course of opinions and affairs in the world, and a proportional confidence in his own dogmas and dreams, which might have been shaken, at least, if not entirely subverted, by a closer contact with the general mass of intelligence. Unfortunately this unhealthful training (peculiarly unhealthful for such a constitution) produced not merely a great eruption of ridiculous blunders and pitiable prejudices, but seems at last to have brought on a confirmed and thoroughly diseased habit of uncharitableness, and misanthropic anticipations of corruption and misery throughout the civilized world. The indiscreet revelations of the work to which we have alluded have now brought to light instances, not only of intemperate abuse of men of the highest intellect and most unquestioned purity, but such predictions of evil from what the rest of the world has been contented to receive as improvements, and such suggestions of intolerant and tyrannical remedies, as no man would believe could proceed from a cultivated intellect of the present age—if the early history of this particular intellect had not indicated an inherent aptitude for all extreme opinions,—and prepared us for the *usual* conversion of one extreme into another.

"And it is worth while to mark here, also, and in respect merely of consistency and ultimate authority with mankind, the advantage which a sober and well-regulated understanding will always have over one which claims to be above ordinances: and, trusting either to an erroneous opinion of its own strength, or even to a true sense of it, gives itself up to its first strong impression, and sets at defiance all other reason and authority. Sir James Mackintosh had, in his youth, as much ambition and as much consciousness of power as Mr. Coleridge could have: but the utmost extent of *his* early aberrations (in his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*) was an over-estimate of the probabilities of good from a olution of violence; and a much greater under-estimate of the mischiefs

with which such experiments are sure to be attended, and the value of settled institutions and long familiar forms. Yet, though in his philanthropic enthusiasm he did miscalculate the relative value of these opposite forces (and speedily admitted and rectified the error), he never for an instant disputed the existence of *both* elements in the equation, or affected to throw a douht upon any of the great principles on which civil society reposes. On the contrary, in his earliest as well as his latest writings, he pointed steadily to the great institutions of Property and Marriage, and to the necessary authority of Law and Religion, as essential to the being of a state, and the well-being of any human society. It followed, therefore, that when disappointed in his too sanguine expectations from the French Revolution, he had nothing to retract in the substance and scope of his opinions; and merely tempering their announcement, with the gravity and caution of maturer years, he gave them out again in his later days to the world, with the accumulated authority of a whole life of consistency and study. At no period of that life, did he fail to assert the right of the people to political and religious freedom: and to the protection of just and equal laws, enacted by representatives truly chosen by themselves: and he never uttered a syllable that could be construed into an approval, or even an acquiescence in persecution and intolerance; or in the maintenance of authority for any other purpose than to give effect to the enlightened and deliberate will of the community. To enforce these doctrines his whole life was devoted; and though not permitted to complete either of the great works he had projected, he was enabled to finish detached portions of each, sufficient not only fully to develope his principles, but to give a clear view of the whole design, and to put it in the power of any succeeding artist to proceed with the execution. Look now upon the other side of the parallel.

"Mr. Coleridge, too, was an early and most ardent admirer of the French Revolution; but the fruits of that admiration *in him* were, not a reasoned and statesmanlike apology for some of its faults and excesses, but a resolution to advance the regeneration of mankind at a still quicker rate, by setting before their eyes the pattern of a yet more exquisite form of society! And, accordingly, when a full-grown man, he actually gave into, if he did not originate, the scheme of what he and his friends called a Pantisocracy—a form of society in which there was to be neither law nor government, neither priest, judge, nor magistrate—in which all property was to be in common, and every man left to act upon his own sense of duty and affection.

"This fact is enough:—And whether he afterwards passed through the stages of a Jacobin, which he seems to deny—or a hot-headed Moravian, which he seems to admit,—is really of no consequence. The character of his understanding is *settled* with all reasonable men: as well as the authority that is due to the anti-reform and anti-toleration maxims which he seems to have spent his latter years in venting. Till we saw this posthumous publication, we had, to be sure, no conception of the extent to which these compensating maxims were carried; and we now think that few of the Conservatives (who were not originally Pantisocratists) will venture to adopt them. Not only is the Reform Bill denounced as the spawn of mere wickedness, injustice, and ignorance; and the reformed House of Commons as 'low, vulgar, meddling, and sneering at everything noble and refined,' but the wise and the good, we are assured, will, in every country, 'speedily become disgusted with *the representative form of government, brutalized as it is* by the predominance of democracy, in England, France, and Belgium!' And then the remedy is, that they will recur to a new, though, we confess, not very comprehensible form of '*pure monarchy*, in which the reason of the people shall become efficient in the apparent will of the king!' Moreover, he is for a total dissolution of the union with Ireland, and its erection into a separate and independent kingdom. He is against Negro emancipation—sees no use in reducing taxation—and designates Malthus's demonstration of a mere matter of fact by a redundant accumulation of evidence, by the polite and appropriate appellation of a 'lie;'

and represents it as more disgraceful and abominable than anything that the weakness and wickedness of man have ever before given birth to.

"Such as his temperance and candour are in politics, they are also in religion; and recommended and excused by the same flagrant contradiction to his early tenets. Whether he ever was a proper Moravian or not, we care not to inquire. It is admitted, and even stated somewhat boastingly in this book, that he was a bold dissenter from the Church. He thanks Heaven, indeed, that he 'had gone much farther than the Unitarians!' And to make his boldness still more engaging, he had gone these lengths, not only against the authority of our Doctors, but against the clear and admitted doctrine and teaching of the Apostles themselves! 'What care I,' I said, 'for the Platonisms of John, or the Rabbinisms of Paul? *My conscience revolts!—That* was the ground of *my* Unitarianism.' And by and by, this infallible and oracular person does not hesitate to declare, that others, indeed, may do as they choose, but he, for his part, can never allow that Unitarians are Christians! and, giving no credit for 'revolting consciences' to any one but himself, charges all Dissenters in the lump with hating the Church much more than they love religion—is furious against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and Catholic Emancipation,—and at last actually, and in good set terms, denies that any Dissenter has a *right to toleration!* and, in perfect consistency, maintains that it is the duty of the magistrate to stop heresy and schism *by persecution*—if he only has reason to think that in this way the evil may be arrested; adding, by way of example, that he would be ready 'to ship off—*any where*,' any missionaries who might attempt to disturb the undoubting Lutheranism of certain exemplary Norwegians, whom he takes under his special protection.

"We are tempted to say more; but we desist; and shall pursue this parallel no farther. Perhaps we have already been betrayed into feelings and expressions that may be objected to. We should be sorry if this could be done justly. But we do not question Mr. Coleridge's sincerity. We admit, too, that he was a man of much poetical sensibility, and had visions of intellectual sublimity, and glimpses of comprehensive truths, which he could neither reduce into order nor combine into system. But out of poetry and metaphysics, we think he was nothing; and eminently disqualified, not only by the defects, but by the best parts of his genius, as well as by his temper and habits, for forming any sound judgment on the business and affairs of our actual world."—Vol. iv. pp. 520—527.

We think Lord Jeffrey was far more excusable in first writing than he is now in re-publishing this passage. When it first appeared, the loss of Mackintosh to his friends was not many years less recent than that of Coleridge to his. He must, moreover, be excused for then resenting with needless warmth a derogatory estimate of the man, who was at once the great Whig intellectual idol, and we believe his own admired and beloved friend; and though his own recollections of the poet can hardly be favourable,* we think he might have paused in the present case before repeating his attack, and might have meditated on its exceeding unfairness, as well as the extent to which it was uncalled for. By way of example of the former fault, take one speci-

* Those derived from their interview at Keswick, in connexion with the facts of which Lord Jeffrey afterwards gained as great an advantage over Coleridge, as ever was gained on a question of facts by one man over another. We commend, however, the good feeling, which we doubt not contributed to banish from this collection the review of the *Biographia Literaria*, supposing that to have come from Lord Jeffrey's pen.

men—a pretty fair specimen by the way—of the *Jeffrey* notion of what is just and right in adverse criticism. Coleridge "at last actually, and in good set terms, denies that any dissenter has *a right to toleration!* and in perfect consistency, maintains that it is the duty of the magistrate to stop heresy and schism by *persecution*—if he only has reason to think that in this way the evil will be arrested, adding, by way of example, that he would be ready 'to ship off—*anywhere*, any missionaries who might attempt to disturb the undoubting Lutheranism of certain exemplary Norwegians, whom he takes under his special protection.'"

Certain exemplary Norwegians! Whom he takes under his special protection! What a funny air does this way of putting it give to the passage *supposed* to be cited;—cited, too, not from a treatise sanctioned or deliberately given to the world by its author, but from the reminiscences of a great man's *Table-talk*. Now, we will, by the aid of an imperfect recollection, not having the volumes before us at present, give what we conceive to be the substance of what Coleridge really said.

If we remember aright, he spoke of the practical necessity for toleration in modern England, as something felt to be axiomatic on all sides; and yet when one begins to think about it, singularly difficult in theory,—of the doubt which might attach to what is taken for granted to be the dissenter's *right* to it on general constitutional grounds, irrespectively, of course, of the Toleration Act. He then says, that, though practically an advocate of toleration in England and countries similarly situated, he might be very much disposed to "ship off" any disturber of religion among a people like the Norwegians, who are united in a faith and practice, right at least relatively, to the supposed disturber. Now, if Lord Jeffrey can see no difficulty here, if the case supposed be perfectly clear to him, he must excuse our saying that it is because he has never really estimated the several bearings of the subject.

But we must hasten to a close. Mr. Macaulay's contributions to the Edinburgh Review have, as we need scarcely say, a far higher literary value than Lord Jeffrey's; but by the time that the former gentleman got access to that Review, it had ceased to have any national character, whole numbers being written, quite as probably in England as in Scotland. About Mr. Macaulay, whether we look at his birth, education, acquirements, or cast of thought, there is obviously nothing Scotch save the name. We may, therefore, stop at this point of our reviewing labours, and ask in what the intellectual life of Scotland either has consisted, or is likely ever to consist?

Its past character, has, in every important point of view, been deplorable enough; but is it likely to be better hereafter? We fear not, except as regards one ground of uncertain hope. At present, we fear that Scotland is undergoing a steady process of

deterioration and vulgarization. The coterie of Lord Jeffrey was a refined and brilliant one—that which dispossessed it, the school of our princely friend, *Christopher North*, though very superior in its literature, was too eccentric, to say the least, to guide the national mind. Is there any third one at present worth naming? Is there any refining, humanizing influence at this moment at work in Scotland? There is a spread of prejudice and vulgarity—a *Yankee* state of matters—fearfully on the increase there; but we could look at such a state of matters in the face, frightful though it be, were we sure that there were opposing powers in operation. But the aspect of Scotland is not encouraging. Year by year does the past seem to get more obliterated there. Year by year does a mere mechanical progress gain ground over the real civilization of ceremony and observance, and fierce passions grow in ever-increasing strength, without any venerable objects to check, and soften, and raise and purify them. This people seems unable to keep the little that is fine in art which it had spared to itself in the hour of its madness. The venerable minster of Glasgow, the only complete one left in Scotland, except that of Kirkwall, is now propped up along the north-side; and so unable has that wealthy Presbyterian city proved itself to preserve its grandest ornament, that, if it remains much longer in their hands, this beautiful and very *peculiar* structure must perish.*

In so dark a time, we must turn to the *Church:* she alone can preserve Scotland from passing into an altogether *iron age.* She is now preparing for herself a college. Let her remember all her functions; let her betake herself to the sedulous cultivation of whatsoever things are lovely and of good report; let her preside over the minds as well as the consciences of her children; let her draw out their faculties; let her get ready (for it will soon be her task) to cultivate that national character which, amid the wreck of all else, remains tough and ineradicable in Scotland; and she may yet become the mother of a literature and a school of sentiment as well as of practice, as superior to all which that country has hitherto known, as are her divine character and universal aim, to the human origin and narrow scope of the sect which has too long usurped her place and obscured her claims.

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* We believe that what is called the *Residuary* Establishment, finds liberal town-counsellors not over-willing to support all the kirks now thrown on their hands, maintained as those in towns are by pew-rents, which do not appear to be sufficiently forthcoming. Might not wealthy Churchmen bide their time, seize the favourable rtunity for purchasing what was the cathedral of Glasgow, on such terms as make both buyers and sellers willing to obtain the necessary parliamentary ion, and thus restore a noble temple to a body, from which it should never have taken, and which, unlike its present sectarian usurpers, would, we trust, know how to maintain and how to use it?

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Über das verhältniss der Bischöflichen kirche von England zu der ursprünglichen Apostolischen. Von M. CHLEBUS, *Licent. d. Theologie, &c.* Leipzig, 1842.

Die Zustände der Anglicanischen kirche, mit besonderer Berüchsichtigung der Verfassung und des Cultus. Von HERMANN F. UHDEN, Candidat des Predigtamts. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1843.

THERE is no lack of tokens of a movement of the powers of the mind in the generation in which we live toward the work which all good Christians believe that the Author of the Gospel left behind him upon earth. It is impossible to accuse this generation of apathy and inactivity; and, however justly Mr. Uhden may characterise the past century as a time of universal torpor, and forgetfulness of the terrible issue of all human action, which the Gospel foretels will be consummated by the powers that obey God in another world, it would be clearly unjust to bring such a charge against this present generation. We have clearly made a step towards an earnest and thoughtful anxiety for the things of the world to come. We have begun to be concerned about the issue there promised, to the different schemes and efforts which we observe to be now making here. In some wonderful manner the idea of a day of reckoning, a literal tribunal, a judge, an inquiry, and a sentence, has stolen over the mind of the English nation, and has found a resting-place in the hearts and thoughts of many amongst us; who, by their possession of those worldly advantages, would at another time have been thought above the reach of notions so superfluous, or at least so unwelcome. Let it, then, be understood that all that is said, talked, written, and controverted upon questions which either draw their interest out of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, or affect the Church which He has left upon earth, is something more than a mere caprice of the human mind, wandering in the wilderness, and fixing its gaze upon Mount Sinai, only because it is tired of Mount Hymettus, and is tempted to go a honey-gathering in some fresh region. The heart of man is the same on the whole, and the Revelation of Jesus Christ is certainly the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever; and though to speak of one time as a time of religious indifference, and another as a time of religious activity, is so far an *ex cathedrâ* judgment, upon which but little real dependence is to be placed. The Apostle would say, "judge nothing before the time," yet the acts and the conduct of any people undoubtedly afford materials for the formation of a judgment approximating to the truth, as far as truth is required for practical purposes, provided the person taking the office of judge upon himself be careful to look well and patiently below the surface, and, above all, see that he brings an unbiassed and an unwarped discernment to the task. Upon this score, as will appear by and by, we have less fault to find with Mr. Uhden

than *primâ facie* could be expected in the case of a German theological student, brought up in the hot-bed of mere intellectual theology, and writing, as most German authors have now for some years accustomed themselves to write, without any clear practical object in view. As for Mr. Chlebus, we are at a loss to know what possible end the author could have intended his pamphlet to serve; and, with all the kind feeling which is due to a foreigner, and to one who takes up so important a subject, the perusal still leaves us in the dark. "What meaneth this great display of knowledge and discernment?" Good sir, whom are you labouring to persuade? and what is the particular line of thought which you seek to recommend?—Like the Barmecide's entertainment, the table is decked out with its garniture of plates, couches, and carpets, and an endeavouring entertainer would have all his guests believe that he has nobly provided for their satisfaction, but, when it comes to the question of literal viands, he leaves us most cruelly in the dark; where they are to be found, and at what hour of the feast he will please to order them to be brought in. Perhaps, however, we are throwing away time and space even in this passing notice upon a publication, the chief characteristic of which seems to be its off-hand exhibition of superficial research, the more to be regretted, for the author's sake, from the miserably low estimate he must needs have formed of the sacred character and deep interest of the subject he has so lightly approached.

We have now introduced our two authors, chiefly, as probable samples of a class hereafter to become more and more numerous, in proportion to the increasing intercourse between our own nation and the cultivated portion of northern Germany; and before we lay before our readers any portion of their labour, it may be desirable to say a few words upon the nature of the circumstances under which the Protestant of Germany is compelled to form his views of religion.

Professor Möhler has well remarked, in his singularly lucid investigation of the heterogeneous religious associations which issued out of the convulsion that attended the Reformation, that the grand dilemma into which its leaders came, was felt to be, how to provide for the authority of the Teacherhood that was to stand in the place of the Apostolic Ministry which they removed. They tried various pleas, such as the utility of the public preaching of the word of God, and the expediency and propriety of maintaining order, and providing for the service of the houses of God (which were retained, notwithstanding that the liturgy that had been before connected with them was banished). Yet, if it were lawful to cast out an Apostolic succession of ministers, and to discard their ritual, it was not less lawful for all who desired to reject that which came in their place; and to set up, as soon as ever they had a mind, some rival something more in unison with their individual taste: Luther and those who succeeded laboured strenuously to deter from all such attempts, and to support the authority of the ministrations which they were the means of forming; but the only one ground which can maintain the minister religion—"*the power and commission of Almighty God*,"—they did t dare to claim for their institutions, except upon such weak and gue grounds as threw the claim open to all others whatsoever.

The Apostolic power, conveyed by the laying-on of the hands of the Bishop, they could not appeal to; they had put asunder what God had joined together, and their self-formed ministry proved unable to stand the test of time.—It was subject to the denunciation of the Prophet, (Isaiah viii.) "Associate yourselves, oh ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; take counsel together and it shall come to nought; speak the word and it shall not stand, for God is with us." What more, it may have been thought, can be wanting according to the best human foresight? Here is the glorious light of the Reformation, the pure evangelical truth of the Scriptures, proclaimed and set forth by men earnest in their work, who have braved great personal dangers for the sake of their belief. What more can be desired? Yet something more was wanting, as the sequel has shown; and that was, that, however pure the truth may have been, however earnest the intention, however irreproachable the object, it was still incompatible with the glory and honour of Almighty God that men should associate themselves to do these things. Almighty God has decreed that what He does, that shall stand,—and that what men associate themselves to do, shall not stand; and therefore it is that for the three hundred years that have passed since the days of Luther, the associations which he and his friends formed to maintain the purity of the Gospel, as they thought, have been growing worse and worse; and it needs no more than a superficial acquaintance with the actual state of society, as it has grown up, and now is, in Northern Germany, under the influence of these associations and their innumerable subdivisions, to have abundant proof, that, though they may have spoken the Word, yet that it has not stood, and that, though they may have taxed human efforts to the utmost to maintain their cause, yet that their cause has failed. Theology has fallen in the hands of these associations: in one point of view, into a mere quagmire of the intellect, and in another, into a profession that is recruited from the refuse of the people. So that with the exception of one or two individuals remarkable for their sagacity, the reputation of a theologian holds the lowest rank in Protestant Germany; and it is not beyond the truth to say, that, putting the talent and qualifications of individuals aside, and the plain, humble, and praiseworthy zeal of some few of the country ministers, the whole body of German religious teachers are held in the meanest estimation by the people at large. So true is Professor Möhler's observation, that the doctrine of Luther was equal to the task of destroying the fabric of spiritual allegiance to the existing Church, but it could not compass the building up a new Church in its place.

It would be foreign to our object to make any allusion to the existing state of the particular religious association of which Mr. Uhden is a member. What we have said belongs to our subject, as an explanation of the fact, Why a foreigner should take such an interest in exhibiting the different parties and rival interests actively at work in the bosom of the Anglican communion. The very atmosphere that a Protestant German student of Theology breathes from his birth, is party spirit; the gymnasium where his boyhood is passed is full of it, the university where he attends his theological course is

literally nothing else; his society is nothing but disputation; his home in most cases an irreligious one; his notion of the pulpit is that of a mere place of vent for his laboriously-acquired knowledge. From his earliest days his ideas upon religion are trained in the confused spectacle of discordant thought and principle, which is ever before his eyes; how, therefore, can such a training have any tendency to place before the conscience of a mortal man the conviction that he is, or is to be, the servant of the Almighty Ruler of the kingdoms of the world; and that his work is to be the building up, the training, the teaching, the ministering in the things of God unto a divine society, the fundamental principle of which is, that the association is the work of God, the only reason entitling him to think that what he may say or do, in the province of Theology, will have any issue for good, being the assurance that he has a commission from the Almighty God, which all men will recognize, to speak and preach and labour in His vineyard? It is manifest that the Protestant German theologian's idea of Theology, and its application to the wants of human society, is immeasurably far from such a view as this. He looks upon Theology as the science of a revelation, a province subject to the powers of the human intellect, like chemistry, or geology, in which truth is to be attained in the Baconian way, by the multitude of inductions. He looks upon mankind precisely as a heathen philosopher would, that though in general they are incapable of going deep into the subject, and on that account less deserving of attention than if they were better judges, yet as this cannot be helped, the materials for disciples and followers must be taken as they are, and the best must be made of them. We mean, this is the view of what the abstract German theologian would be in whom the tendencies of their system should be fully developed; of course it is not ventured to be asserted that the better feelings of the human heart are always so effectually rooted out that such a scientific monster of Theology, is a phenomenon of common occurrence; but such is the system; and it will be borne in mind that out of this system Mr. Uhden, whom we judge to be a young man, from the title of his work, came to study and learn the actual working of the ministry and institutions of the English Church.

It is obvious at first sight, that the main stumbling-block in the path of such an observer, who has throughout shown a patience of investigation and a dispassionate tone of judgment highly to be commended, would lie at once in the principle of association peculiar to the body, the condition of which he came over to examine. Is the Anglican Church one of those associations which the movers of the great religious convulsions of the sixteenth century, formed for the purpose of maintaining and propagating what they considered to be the Evangelical religion of the Scriptures? or is she part of the Catholic kingdom of Jesus Christ, associated by the power and Spirit of God to protect and propagate what the Apostles delivered as the faith committed to the Saints? The Anglican Church, as a living fact, is a corporate body possessed of sufficient visibility and sufficient distinctiveness of constitution and practical energy, to induce a student "no ordinary discernment and power of observation, to quit his own ıtry, to acquire a strange language, and, having acquired it,

patiently to accumulate the various details, not only of the actual state of this Church, but also of her past history and fortunes; and withal, he has thought it worth while to obtain an accurate and minute account of many portions of her legal and canonical constitution, such as is possessed by few of her own members; this looks little like an impression on the author's mind, of the *invisibility* of the Anglican Church. It may be a matter of some wonder, then, that an observer who has taken such praiseworthy pains in the execution of his task, should stumble over the very question, which is the most momentous of all, and which is, in fact, that very one from which the whole investigation derives whatever value and importance it may possess.

It is, as was before hinted, inconsistent with the supremacy and majesty of Almighty God, that any corporate body, the principle of whose association is founded by human contrivance only, should long continue together. Virtue and sanctity alone enable men to act together, and these qualities are the work of God in his new creation. It is the nature of all human beings to prey upon each other like wolves, until God has been pleased to cleanse them and give them a different mind; and, in whatsoever society they are placed, it is their nature to seek to destroy, mutilate, disorder, and to dissolve that society, unless God work a miracle upon them and give them the heart and mind to seek instead to build it up and to join it together. The reason why Nineveh, Babylon, Persia, and Greece—which are tolerable specimens of vast associations of mankind—have been broken in pieces, is simply that God had no motive of His own glory to interpose, and therefore suffered human wickedness to run its course; and it ran of itself to dissolution. One society only, of all the associations of the earth, is secured from this inherent tendency to dissolution, but the price that is paid for this protection, is the giving over into the hands of God the principle and work of the association; and God, Who is a jealous God, Who has made all things for His own will and pleasure, and Who has placed before Himself His own glory, as the end for which He suffers this world to prolong its existence in the midst of the universal wreck of all human associations whatsoever, is pleased to preserve one *society* whole and compact in the world; because the members of this society ascribe to Him the glory of the work of their association. This society is the Catholic Church, and the instrument of its association is the sacrament of baptism, which joins the person receiving it to the mystical body of the incarnate Son of God,—and God, who is a jealous God, jealous of His own glory before the nations of the world, has hitherto, for eighteen hundred years, maintained this association in the world, and has not suffered it to be broken in pieces, because it ascribes its association to Him. All other associations whatsoever He disowns, and, although the design they propose be ever so praiseworthy, yet He brings them to nothing, because they do not manifest themselves in the earth as His work. For the very reason that they presume to act of themselves, He allows them to run their own course; and this course is towards dissolution.

Mr. Uhden opens his work by stating that the "*Anglican Church goes back to the Reformation as the occasion and ground of its*

coming to life, but that it differs from all other associations which sprung up out of the Reformation, in the predominant consciousness of its continuity as a Christian Church, as shown by the effort to maintain even an external union with the visible Church." A confused and indeterminate statement, certainly, but made, it would appear, on purpose to slur over the real difficulty. Is this consciousness of *continuity* a well-founded one? The fact that an Anglican Church could come to life at the Reformation, and yet possess a consciousness of her continuity, is a description of something so wonderful, that, though it might be a matter of less surprise, were it known to come from the other side of St. George's Channel; but in the thoughtful and well-considered work of a German scholar, and at the very outset too, and, as it were, a sample of the whole investigation! We own we are a little surprised that the genius of Green Erin should have so effectually migrated as to find an abode in the far-famed city of intelligence—the philosophical Berlin. This, however, is the real difficulty: the Anglican Church, whatever her present state may be, has a deep, unextinguishable sense of her *continuity;* that she is a living part of that vast Christian society who have the mark of the finger of God upon them, and whose vocation upon earth is to set forth the glory and honour of Almighty God, Who hath chosen her for this very end. How can such a conviction admit of any reconciliation with the notion of a matter-of-fact birth at the time of the Reformation! The contradiction is plain; yet it is only as one of the daughters of the Reformation, in common with the production of a similar birth, that the theologians of Germany can take any interest in the Anglican Church. They seem to have been themselves awakened at some sound or cry of the bridegroom's coming, and finding the oil in the lamps of their discordant societies—which they persevere to call by the name of Churches—to be all but spent, like persons beginning to see themselves in a bad plight, they cast about for help, and seeing the Anglican Church in apparent force, they come over to her, and show symptoms as if they were inclined to say, Good Sister of the Reformation, for sisterhood's sake, give us of your oil, for our lamps are going out. It is well known to be matter of grave consideration in the cabinet, as in the consistorial bench, of Prussia, that the Protestant multitude of Germany has lost all unity of thought and affection; that they are in a state incapable of reconciliation by legislation; that the study of Theology does but promise to add fresh materials of discord; that the liturgic life and ritual habits of the people have sunk far below the measure of even Pagan worship in the times of the Roman Republic; nay, have almost ceased to exist at all, so that any revival of individual zeal does but bid fair to increase the existing confusion, until it should be ascertained in what path zeal, if revived, might safely and beneficially advance. Thoughts of this nature beginning to operate in a cabinet, which has for many years placed its confidence in the strength of its power and apparatus of war, have been the occasion of such visits to England as that of Mr. Uhden, and the evident intention has been to discover, if possible, with a view to adoption, some remedy for the religious evils of Protestant Germany; to ascertain, in short, where the great

strength of the Anglican Church lies, in virtue of which, notwithstanding her many grievous defects, she is still continued a visible corporate body, impressed with the consciousness of her own unity and her *continuity*.

This cannot be regarded otherwise than as a mark of praiseworthy care on the part of German statesmen.—Yet how such investigations as these of Mr. Uhden are to minister a remedy to the evil, it is impossible to see. That very thing in which the strength of the Anglican branch of the Church does lie, has been entirely overlooked; as if it were of no sort of importance to the existence and permanence of a corporate body, that the work of its association should be the work of God, and the honour and glory of the Almighty God of the Universe should be at stake, in the eyes of the nations of the earth, that His work should be found such as to last. The Church, in the eyes of Mr. Uhden, is a mere Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, and he accounts it to differ from other societies only in the circumstance of the subject it takes in hand, and as a society to be upon a par with any other society; for example, that for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, or for the Suppression of Mendicity or Cruelty to Animals, or in fact any society. The Reformation, he would have to be the standard of what is meant by the Gospel, though Professor Möhler's work has now made it evident that for any man who is in earnest, and who, as a Protestant, desires to gain some definite notion of the Gospel, to go to the time of the Reformation for a definite view is merely to go to a *rudis indigestaque moles*, of conflicting sentiment, on which the mind of the dove can find no rest for the sole of her foot. Yet, nevertheless, owing to the marvellous, inexplicable, and invincible attachment of the human intellect to the systems of its own creation, the era of Reformation, or, as in Germany it might be more truly called, the era of Rebellion against the Apostolic Succession, is clung to with the tenacity of drowning men catching at straws, as the standard of the truth of the Gospel of the Son of God. As long as this continues to be the case, Protestant Germany can never become other than she now is; for she hereby persists in disowning the one only power of God which He has given for the healing of the nations.

This, however, is rather a digression from our subject. We shall now present our readers with the heads of the chapters in Mr. Uhden's work, that they may form an opinion of the nature of his task.

1st Chapter,—Characteristic of the Anglican Church; 2d. Of the Clergy, and the Constitution of the Church; 3d. Of the Parties within the Anglican Church; 4th. The Book of Common Prayer; 5th. Preaching and the Cure of Souls. 6th. Of the Outward Means at the disposal of the Church, and the New Churches that have been built. 7th. Religious Life and Morals. 8th. The Position of the Anglican Church towards sects of Dissenters. Appendix, containing various Documents of Interest.

It will be easily perceived that titles similar to the above betoken a work of mere investigation, such as, were we to look for a parallel in heathen times, we should fix upon the narrative Herodotus has left

of his own inquiry and examination into the ecclesiastical system of Egypt, the comparison being entirely in favour of the heathen writer; particularly the point which in the case of a professed Christian is the less pardonable: we mean awe and veneration for the mysterious and sacred character of the subject under examination. The men of Bethshemesh looked into the ark of the Lord, and they were smitten—fifty thousand three score and ten men—a token that curiosity and an unchastised approach to learn the secrets of God should be an abiding abomination in His sight. Does not such a work as the one before us seem dangerously like an attempt on the part of its author to look into the ark of God, to search out the secret of the great strength of the ark; to find out why it stands upright when the surrounding people see their religions totter and fall down; in fact, to learn and educe the secret of this from his investigation? Whether God will be pleased to suffer those to learn who draw nigh in this spirit is not for us to determine; the responsibility of the deed is before God to judge, who knows under what circumstances it was undertaken and finished.

Yet we will, notwithstanding, say that we are not sorry to hear that it has been translated by a Mr. Humphrey, and published by Lover.* It is the privilege of the Christian to draw good out of evil. What can be more evil at first sight, than to see faithfully represented in the narrative of a foreigner, a minute account of the various factions which are at war in the city of God; and who are busy biting and devouring each other, and spending their precious time in strife and contention and every evil work, which they are called to spend, in doing the work of the Lord's vineyard? Yet, if this be the melancholy fact, what can be more instructive to the members of the Anglican Church, in their several stations, than to find that a student from a foreign country has seen and discerned their unchristian disunions; and has gone home to set before his countrymen a detailed narrative of the jealousies and dissensions, the animosities and unkind suspicions, which alienate Anglican Christians one from another, in such a manner, that if we should prove unable to blush for ourselves, there is little doubt they will blush for us; and will be sincerely ashamed for those, who, while their pretensions are so lofty, and are yet not wanting in actions so unbecoming, and in behaviour towards each other so little Christian? Viewed in this light, the third chapter of the book before us, overcharged as it is with the offensive details, and adopting and seeking to perpetuate the names and unauthorized watchwords of the day, in an almost gratuitously irreverent and disrespectful manner, is most instructive to us as coming from a foreigner. It holds us faithfully up to ourselves,† in a manner which no home production would be entitled to assume. It is a

* Not that we intend the slightest commendation of the translation; a worse version we never saw of any foreign work; it is disgraced by an offensive title, and notes, whose vulgarity is only equalled by their ignorance. And we quite regret to see Mr. Hatchard's respectable name employed as a bait and make-weight to what is a mere bookselling speculation of the lowest class.

† Thus how startling ought it to be to find Mr. Uhden, of course only describing what he saw, gravely declare it to be "the *usage* of the English Church to *sit* during the prayers."

proverbial saying, that listeners never hear anything good said of them; yet listeners who have chanced to hear themselves spoken of have often felt the justice of what has been said come home to them, with a force and power that a formal taking to task would in vain have sought to produce. Who, among such writers as ourselves, is entitled to take the English clergy or the English laity to task for the many grievous scandals with which the Church abounds? It is beyond our province. Natural modesty strongly points out, that to mourn in silence over the stains and blemishes of the fair and goodly inheritance of the Lord's vineyard is more becoming a Christian than an unkind though zealous exposure of them to the eyes of the scorner and the infidel, with a view to the extorting their removal by clamour and outcry; remedies in themselves worse than the evils they profess to seek to cure.

Yet may we not quietly imbibe a lesson from the history and representation which a German Protestant has drawn up with no inconsiderable care, of the state, prospects, and condition of the Anglican Church? If even one individual, here and there, should but ask himself, on rising from the perusal of this work,—Is this state of things, here described, becoming the city of God?—something has been gained. And if he finds himself constrained in conscience to condemn many things, of the truth of which there is no little to doubt, then let him take courage: let him not shrink temperately to avow his disapprobation. We must see and know, rather we must be taught and learn to know, our failings and short-comings, before we can hope to take any step towards an amendment. How quiet, how unsuspected a means of gaining this most needful knowledge does this voice from Berlin, which we have been considering, afford us. We have all been nourished up in an atmosphere of empty and unmeaning and laudatory phrases, and have contracted a habit of believing them strictly applicable to the Anglican Church; and it is more easy and more natural to subside into a belief in the excellences of that which is very dear to us, than to be painfully alive to her defects and blemishes. And though we would most earnestly deprecate any approximation to the hateful sin of the wicked son, who could make it his boast that he had seen his parent's nakedness; yet every day must make it more and more evident, that the hope of improvement in the actual condition of this our branch of Christ's Church in the path of Catholic devotion, is much more bound up in individual readiness to acknowledge past error and neglect, than individuals are ready or disposed to believe. The individual must step forward in his sphere and vocation, and must, temperately and affectionately, disown the boastful titles, which have so long cheated us with the shadow, while they have kept back from us the substance, of excellence. The individual must not be afraid to own, that while the Church has boasted of her holding the seats of the Apostles in possession, she has not done their works; she has not fed the poor, clothed the naked, visited the sick, instructed the ignorant, reclaimed the rebellious and disobedient, in any manner or degree, compatible with her claim to be the Apostolic body, with a commission from the God of Heaven to discharge these duties. No, let not an individual among us be ashamed to con-

fess, that the poor have been consigned over to the forced arms of a legislative provision, the sick have been suffered to die unvisited, the ignorant have been left a prey to the emissaries of Satan, and the ministers of division; the rebellious and disobedient have been, and still are, suffered to run their course unchecked and unawed by any censure from those who profess to sit in the seat of him who delivered the irreclaimable offender over to Satan, that he may learn not to blaspheme. Until the sense of these things presses upon the minds of the members of the Anglican Church with a burning sense of the inherent shame that is contained in them, let our words be ever so encomiastic in speaking of our Church, we are not, as the people and vineyard of the Lord, in any real progress of amendment. We are but carrying on and prolonging the old cheat, which has for so many years lulled the energies of our best members asleep; propping up the miserable notion that improvement was out of the question where perfection had been attained; whereby we have made it most plain, that to be deceived into the notion of our own perfections has been the most effectual barrier to the removal of our real defects; and, in the multitude of self-congratulations, we have forgotten the scripture truth, that not he who commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth.

Of the truth of these remarks we are very forcibly reminded in the circumstance that Mr. Uhden has twice noticed, that the Church has gone on for three hundred years to declare that a restoration of godly discipline is much to be wished for, without so much as making an effort to carry into effect that which she obviously so much approves. Are we, then, so callous, that we can bear that a member of another nation should display this instance of the unfaithfulness of the Anglican ministry to the powers committed to them; and we continue without any sense of shame at our inconsistency and neglect? Jacob, on one occasion, when he reproved his sons, urged upon them the consequence of their misdeeds, that they should make his name to stink in the sight of the people of the land. Have we no suspicion that our continued neglect of that godly discipline, which we declare to be so desirable, will make our name to stink in the sight of the people of the land? rather has it not already had this effect? and do not our parochial clergy know, from bitter experience, how much the neglect of this godly discipline has weakened their hands, and strengthened the hands of the wicked, that they should not turn from their evil ways and live? To what other purpose, also, do the services of the festivals, and the order for the fasts remain in the book of prayer, when it appears from Mr. Uhden's report that their memory and observance has totally perished from the minds of the people?

In these and many other points of our plain and inexcusable neglect of duty, we must submit to be described faithfully, as we really are, by one of a strange communion; and happy will it be if the plain and circumstantial account which he has sought to give, become the means of awakening even one individual, who may contemplate the state of his Church, as here reflected in the mirror of a foreigner's mind, to rouse himself to do his part at least to remove those blemishes and spots which dishonour the city of God. And happy will

it be for all those, before whom this work may come, if they will allow themselves to draw this benefit from it, and avoid the example of those people whom the prophet condemns; to whom, though God would speak with another tongue, yet they would not hear.

The Search after Proserpine; and other Poems. By AUBREY DE VERE. Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: Rivingtons. 1843.

THE interest with which we naturally greeted another volume by the author of "The Waldenses" was a little damped on finding that it was not destined to give any indication of progress, the principal poem in the present collection having been written in 1840; and the others, either in the same year, or earlier; so that, instead of being essays subsequent to those by which he has won our attention, they are, probably, previous—and many of them considerably previous. If, then, Mr. de Vere's first volume was youthful in all things,—its beauties, as well as its defects,—much more is his second. We have here less self-restraint, and more mimicry of others; less discrimination in the selection, and a more bewildering confusion of imagery; in short, all the faults incident to boyish poetry, whatever be its power or promise. Still it is full of beauties of no common order; neither have we any right, because it does not answer a particular expectation, to be otherwise than thankful for so agreeable a recreation as it affords us.

The poem from which the book takes its title, is a short lyric drama, founded on one of the most beautiful of all mythological legends. Mr. de Vere has adorned it with a profusion of song and imagery; the latter painfully crowded, considering that it is often delicate and original. Human interest, of which the author has elsewhere shown so great a command, is obviously not to be looked for here; but, in those joyous moods, when we love to be dazzled by gorgeous hues, and to have our ears filled with ringing melodies, in the same moods as those in which we read Shelley, we shall often have recourse to "The Search after Proserpine." The blank verse dialogue bears but a small proportion to the lyrical, which is both natural to Mr. de Vere's temperament as a poet, everything with him running into song, and suitable to the character of the poem. Of that blank verse we shall content ourselves at present with one very beautiful specimen. It is thus that Hermes encourages Ceres in her descent to the shades, whither her daughter has gone:

HERMES.

Not comfort only,
Deep-bosomed Goddess, grave, and dulcet-voiced,
But aid I bear: and need there is of both!
Alone she sits beyond the utmost bound
Of laughter from the Gods, or shaft Phœbean—
And thou art justly restless for thine own.
Hear then the ordinance of Jove—Descend!
Yon rock shall like a billow arch thy way—

Descend into the Stygian waste: behold
Once more thy tender daughter face to face:
Kiss her once more: once more upon thy knee,
And in thine arms possess her. This is much—
Yet more: if seed not yet of flower or fruit
Unblessed have touched her lips, henceforth and ever
With thee she dwells in sweet society!
Descend! the will of Jove, before thee running,
Makes smooth thy path, and the Caducean charm
Waved from this wand, around thy feet shall beckon
A quire of bright Immortals fit to grace
The steps of a departing Deity.
Ethereal Seasons! from the snowy clouds,
Your ambient nests on cold autumnal days,
Hover once more about this spot: and ye
Gift-feathered Hours, at heaven's wide gate for ever
On broad and billowy wing suspense, the cord
Aerial, that detains you, bursting, fly
With unreverting faces to the earth,
And breathe a sudden spring on valley and plain.
And ye, infantine Zephyrs, on whose lips
The Gods have breathed—thou, too, delight of Heaven,
Iris! descend; and o'er the shadowy glen
Thy many-coloured scarf from both thy hands
Fling wide; and cast the brightest of thy smiles
Upon the head of this descending Power!"—Pp. 28, 29.

This is followed by a Chorus, sustained in turns by the Hours, the Zephyrs, and the Nymphs of Sicily.

(The Hours sing.)

STROPHE.

A beam on Earth's chill bosom
Falls pointed 'mid her sleep;
And leaf, and bud, and blossom,
Up from their dull trance leap:
That bright beam at Earth's centre
Hath found the mailed Winter,
And touched his snow-cold lips;
Upon his breast that beam doth rest
And frost-bound finger tips.

ANTISTROPHE.

From deep grass gently heaving
Quick flowers in myriads rise,
A wreath for Winter weaving—
It falls below his eyes!
His old grey beard it covers
Like locks of mirthful lovers;
It makes him laugh with pride,
As he a youth had grown in sooth
And found a youthful Bride!

(The Zephyrs sing.)

STROPHE.

The bright-lipped waters troubling
Of the pure Olympian springs,
We caught the airs up-bubbling,
And stayed them with our wings!
From the beginning sealed,
Like sweet thoughts unrevealed,
Those airs till then lay hid;
Like odours barred in buds yet hard
Or the eye beneath the lid.

ANTISTROPHE.

Our pinions mildly swaying
With an undulating grace,
We bid those airs go playing
Over Earth's beaming face;
On the laurel banks new-flowered,
On the ridge of pine dew-showered,
On every leaf and blade
That leaps on wings and all but sings
In sunshine or in shade!

(Hours and Zephyrs sing together.)

STROPHE.

Over the olives hovering,
Brushing the myrtle bowers,
Dark ground with blossoms covering,
The Zephyrs and the Hours,
With laugh and gentle mocking
We play, the green boughs rocking,
Above each other rolled
From laurel leaf to laurel leaf,
That sing like tongues of gold!

ANTISTROPHE.

Now like birds fast-flitting
On from bough to bough,
Like bees in sunshine knitting
Murmuring mazes now:
Parting oft—oft blending;
And for ever sending
Spangled showers around;
With eddying streams of scents and gleams,
And deep Olympian sound!

(*Sicilian Nymphs singing.*)

FIRST STROPHE.

Numbers softer than our own,
And in happier circle running,
Like Flora's crown, or Venus' zone,
They are braiding in their cunning.
All the God-thronged air is glowing
With a ferment of delight;
All the flowers in rapture blowing,
Every moment swell more bright,
And higher round the pale stems clamber
In vermilion wreaths or amber.

FIRST ANTISTROPHE.

Half in terror, half in pleasure,
Little birds on warmed boughs waking,
Launch abroad a rival measure,
Floral births with songs o'ertaking:
O'er the shadows little lights,
And o'er little lights a shadow,
Bound along like gamesome sprites
On the green waves of the meadow;
And new streams are up and boiling,
And new insects round them coiling!

SECOND STROPHE.

On one side a cedarn alley,
On the other a myrrh brake,
Downward streams the mystic valley,
As flushed rivers their path take
By hills their devious waters curbing—
Airs ambrosial forth are swung
From boughs their crimson fruitage orbing—
Iris, borne those airs among,
Flings o'er the dim wildernesses
Her illumed dishevelled tresses.

SECOND ANTISTROPHE.

Through a mist of sunny rays
Gleam bright eyes and pinions shiver;
O'er the mountain's breast of bays
Panting dew-gems bask and quiver.
All the Gods with silent greeting
In this sumptuous harbour met,
Make the palace of their meeting
Rich as Juno's cabinet;
Golden-domed, and golden-gated,
With sacred pleasures never sated.

Hush—wild song, no more!
Nor dance of lyric lightness—
A shadow from the shore
Steals, and blots the brightness.
Like children tired of play
The splendours melt away:
Trips by each elf—mark! Iris' self
Dissolves in waning whiteness!

Pp. 29—33.

We have no space to quote copiously from this interesting volume; nor need we, for the purposes of criticism: the whole, both in merit and demerit, being of the same character as the "Search after Proserpine." Some strains, however, it contains of a higher mood, such as might well have appeared in the author's former volume. Of these, the following extract, from a very fine poem on visiting Delphi, must suffice as a specimen:

Were these but fancies? O'er the world they reared
The only empire verily universal
Founded by man—for Fancy heralds Thought;
Thought Act; and nations Are as they Believe.
Strong were such fancies,—strong not less than fair.
The plant spontaneous of Society
In Greece, by them with stellar power was dewed,
And, nursed by their far influence, grew and flourished,—
A state of order and fair fellowship,
Man with man walking, not in barbarous sort
His own prey finding, each, and his own God—
A state of freedom, not by outward force
Compressed, or ice-like knit by negatives;
A frank communion of deep thoughts with glad,
Light cares with grave—a changeful melody,
Varying each moment, yet in soul the same—
A temple raised for beauty and defence—
An armed dance held for a festival—
A balanced scheme that gave each power a limit,
Each toil a crown, and every art her Muse—
O! frank and graceful life of Grecian years!
Whence came thy model? From the Grecian heaven!
The loves and wars of Gods, heir works and ways,

Their several spheres distinct yet interwoven,
By Greece were copied on a lesser stage.
Our thoughts soar high to light our paths on earth.
Terrestrial circles from celestial take
Their impress in man's science. Stars unreached
Our course o'er ocean guide. Orphean sounds
The walls of cities raised—thus mythic bards
For all the legislators legislated!

Yet these were idols: such as worshipped these
Were worshippers of idols. Holy and True!
How many are there not idolators?
Traditions, Systems, Passion, Interest, Power—
Are these not idols? Ay, the worst of idols!
Not that men worship these; but that before them
Down-bent, we neither worship them, nor can
Worship at all. Man's spirit alone adores,
And can adore but Spirit. What is not God,
Howe'er our fears may crouch, or habit grovel,
Of sensuous fancy dote, we worship not:
Unless God look on man he cannot pray—
Such is Idolatry's masked Atheism!
—Yes, these were idols, for man made them idols.
By a corrupt heart all things are corrupted,
God's works alike or products of the mind.
The Soul, insurgent 'gainst its Maker, lacks
The strength its vassal powers to rule. The Will
To blind Caprice grows subject: Reason, torn
From Faith, becomes the Understanding's slave;
And Passion's self in Appetite is lost.
Then Idols dominate—Despots by Self-will
Set up, where Law and Faith alike are dead,
To awe the anarchy of godless souls.
Nought but a Worship, spiritual and pure,
Profound, habitual, and disinterested,
A true heart's tribute to the God of Truth;
From selfishness redeemed, and so from sense
Secured, though conversant with shapes of sense—
Nought but such Worship, with spontaneous force
From our whole Being equably ascending
As odour from a flower or fount's clear breath,
Redeems us from Idolatry. In vain
Are plausible appeals that deprecate
Rites superstitious; vain are words, though shrill
With scorn—stark, pointed finger,—forehead ridged
With blear-eyed Scepticism's myriad wrinkles:
Saintly we must be, or Idolatrous.
After his image Man creates him Gods,
Kneading the symbol (as a symbol holy
And salutary) to a form compact
With servile soul and mean mechanic hand—
Thus to their native dust his Thoughts return,
Abashed, and of mortality convinced.

At Salem was the Law. The Holy Land
Its orient terrace by the ocean reared,
And thereon walked the Holy One, at cool
Of the world's morn; there visible state He kept.
At Salem was the Law on stone inscribed;
But over all the world, within man's heart
The unwritten Law abode, from the beginning
Upon our nature stampt, nor wholly lost.
Men saw it, loved it, praised—and disobeyed.

Therefore the Conscience, whose applausive voice
Their march triumphant should have led with joy
To all perfection, from a desert pealed
A dolorous note alone—" Repent, repent;"
And men with song more flattering filled their ears.
Yet still the undersong was holy! long
(Though cast on days unblest, though sin-defiled,)
The mind accepted, yea and the heart prized,
That which the Will lacked strength to follow. Conscience
(Her crown monarchal first, her fillet next,
Snatched from her sacred brows) a minstrel's wreath
Assumed; and breathed in song her soul abroad:
On outcast Duty's grave she, with her tears,
Dropt flowers funereal of surpassing beauty;
With Reason walked; the right path indicated,
Though her imperative voice was heard no more.
Nor spake in vain. Though fallen, man was great,
Remembering ancient greatness: Hymn and tale
Held, each, some portion of dismembered Truth,
Severely sung by Poets wise and brave.
They sang of Justice, God's great attribute,
With tragic buskin, and a larger stride
Following the fated victim step by step.
They sang of Love crowning the toils of life:
Of Joy they sang; for Joy, that gift divine,
Primal and winged creature, with full breath
Through all the elastic limbs of Grecian fable
Poured her redundant life; the noble language,
Strong as the brazen clang of ringing arms,
With resonance of liquid sounds enriching,
Till soft the vowels grew as infants' laughter
That bubbling swells through springs of Paradise.
Of heavenly Pity, Prophet-like they sang;
And, feeling after Good though finding not,
Of Him that Good not yet in flesh revealed,
By ceaseless vigils, tears, and lifted palms,
And yearnings infinite and unrepressed,
A separate and authentic witness bore.
Thus was the End foreshewn. Thus Error's "cloud
Turned forth its silver lining on the night."
Thus too—for us at least a precious gift,
Dear for the lore it grasped, and, by its failings,
Needful not less vain-glorious thoughts to chasten,
Wisdom shone forth—but not for men unwise:
Her beams but taint the dead. Man's Guilt and Woe
She proved—and her own Helplessness confessed.
Such were her two great functions. Woe to those
Who live with Art for Faith, and Bards for Priests!
These are supplanted: Sense their loftiest hopes
Will sap; and Fiends usurp their oracles!

Olympian dreams, farewell! your spell is broken—
I turn from you away. From Eros' self,
From heavenly Beauty on thy crystal brow,
Uranian Venus, starred in gentlest light,
From thee, Prometheus, chained on Caucasus,
Io from thee, sad wanderer o'er the earth,
From thee, great Hercules, the son of Heaven
And of Humanity held long in pain;
Heroic among men; by labours tried;
Descending to the Shades; leading from thence
The Lost; while infant still a serpent-slayer;
In death a dread and mystic sacrifice—

From thee, more high than all, Phœbus Apollo!
Light of the world whose sacred beam, like words,
Illustrated the forehead of the earth!
Supreme of harmonists, whose song flowed forth
Pure from that light; great slayer of the serpent
That mocked thy Mother; master of that art
Healing man's ancient wound; oracular:
Secretly speaking wisdom to the just;
Openly to the lost from lips unheeded
Like thy Cassandra's flinging it to waste—
Phœbus Apollo! here at thy chief shrine
From thee I turn; and stern confession make
That not the meanest flower or weed yon ripple
Casts at my feet, but holds a gift more precious
Than all the Grecian Legends.—Pp. 84—89.

Some of Mr. de Vere's sonnets are good, but not proportionably so, we think, to his other verses; and he is most perversely partial to ending them with Alexandrines—and very serious disfigurements these are.

The *Report of the Chaplain* [Mr. C. J. Daniel] *of the Hackney Union* is so much above the average of such accounts, that we have the greatest pleasure in acknowledging it. *Because*, perhaps, amongst those requiring the soundest judgment and the most delicate discretion, the office of workhouse chaplain is usually like that of the missionary—much in times past, but too much now—confided to the siftings of the Clergy. In a sense of duty and in ability, Mr. Daniel is a praiseworthy exception: it is comforting to find such men undertaking such responsibilities. We hope for better things in workhouses: the Bp. of Exeter is bringing the subject before parliament, and as it seems with success.

Dr. Kalley and the Church in Madeira (Mackenzie) is, we believe, a reprint from the *English Churchman* furnished by a resident on the island, and contains a very sufficient refutation of the alleged "spiritual tyranny" exercised against a mischievous and weak-headed person.

Mr. Maitland, in reprinting the valuable series of papers which appeared some years ago in the British Magazine, under the title of "The Dark Ages," (Rivingtons,) has prefixed a preface of some twenty pages in reference to what has appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer*, upon the head of "Revival of Conventual Institutions." Mr. M. is opposed to the notion of such a revival under every modification. In many points, perhaps, we should, as he states or understands them, ourselves be disposed to agree with him. Our respected correspondent has scarcely done justice to his own proposal in introducing the term "conventual." The monastic life without vows (as contemplated by him) is not a modification of what is usually understood by that expression, but something new and different, and, it may be, better; and it is certainly not desirable, for the sake of an inappropriate name, to revive ancient prejudices. It is the name alone, for example, which has provoked this protest from Mr. Maitland. Willingly, therefore, would we give up the name, if that were all, but for the thing itself we believe that the Church has not at this time any one more urgent want. In other words, there are certain great ends of primary concernment, if not to our being, at least to our well-being as a Church, which can scarcely be accomplished in any other way than by bodies of men and women

living together in colleges or fraternities. Such are the training of priests and of schoolmasters, the perfect exhibition of the choral service, the visiting of the sick and poor in large towns by those holding the Church's commission, the life of intercessory prayer, and other objects that might be named. We deeply regret to observe that Mr. Maitland has seemed to sanction the vulgar ridicule with which we had hoped he had no sympathy, in reference to a proposal which, we are bold to say, was made in the purest, and humblest, and most devoted spirit, and with the most unquestionable fidelity to the distinctive principles of our own Church. We always deplore anything like want of generosity—inability to make the smallest concession from the rigid formula of their own ideas—in those whom we have been wont to respect as masters in Israel.

Having alluded to this temper, now so unhappily prevalent, we cannot forbear a few words of comment upon the tone of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*. The affairs of the Irish Church are wholly disregarded; for example, but one notice, and that an unfavourable one, has been vouchsafed by the Editor, of the long and noble struggle which has been maintained by Dr. Boyton, Mr. Henn, and a few others in the diocese of Derry, against a detestable, persecuting spirit, worthy of the worst days of the Puritans. The British Critic and Mr. Newman have been for months the almost exclusive theme of this periodical; and the spirit displayed has been the malevolence of the *Record*, enhanced by the proverbial warmth of Irish feeling—and this from a professed advocate of high Church-principles!

We call attention to the "Foundation Documents of Merton College," published by Mr. Heywood of Manchester (Pickering). From these, it appears, that the object of Walter de Merton, in his foundation, was the training of secular priests for the service of the Church; and yet we learn from the Oxford Calendar, that there are more laymen on the list of his Fellows than in any other college in the University: yea, so far is theology from being studied, that not one of the Fellows appear to have proceeded in this faculty. It would be unjust, of course, to throw the responsibility of this grievous unfaithfulness on any one generation of men; but, surely, a great debt is owing by the college to the Church; and an effort ought to be made, from funds devised for this very purpose, to supply the existing lack of Clergy. It is almost superfluous to observe, how strongly this publication shows, that any reform in the university system should be not in the direction of "general education," but to make the colleges more directly nurseries of the priesthood. "It is certain (says Huber) that the colleges were not originally establishments for instruction. The Fellows had no other duties than those of religion prescribed by the college statutes, and those of study prescribed by the University." And, again—"Since the statutes nowhere lay upon the Fellows the duty of teaching, no evidence is needed to prove the assertion so often made, in modern times, that instruction was their original duty, and that the neglect of it in the present day is an abuse." On the contrary, it appears to us incumbent on the colleges, if they choose to devote themselves to the useful and more *profitable* work of general education, that they should out of their funds endow certain seminaries of the priesthood.

The Life of Lord St. Vincent, by Mr. J. S. Tucker, affords one of the strangest specimens of English composition that we ever remember to have met with. The author is unable to construct the very simplest sentence correctly; and his other qualifications for a biographer appear scarcely of a higher order. It is sad that the life of a really distinguished man should not have fallen into better hands. Any member of the family, possessing an ordinary degree of common sense, and a competent knowledge of the English grammar, and who had at heart the honour of his illustrious relative, and not the *returns* to be produced by two meagre octavo volumes, would have done a good deed in furnishing a

memoir of Lord St. Vincent. But these volumes are really a disgrace to the family, to the naval service, and the English language.

A Letter to the Lady of the House, may be had at most of the respectable booksellers, (at least we picked it up at our publisher's,) ready folded and enveloped for the post; and we hardly know a more useful *development* of the penny-post system than for our readers to procure some copies, and circulate them largely in London. It is a very touching appeal from a lady to ladies, in behalf of the cruelty and oppression exercised—we trust unconsciously—by the higher and middle classes, towards the unhappy females employed as washerwomen, charwomen, and daily needlewomen. The present movement in so many quarters towards popularizing the Church by protecting Christ's poor, is among our happiest auguries.

Mr. Isaac Taylor has at length brought his "Ancient Christianity" to a close, winding it up with a "Supplement, including Index, Table, &c." (Jackson and Walford.) We have more than once had occasion to express our opinion of this work. Now that it is finished, we will say, once for all, that, in spite of some grievous blunders in fact, it is a very important book, making out a very strong case, presenting a view of sacred antiquity, which we have no doubt is the just one, when it is looked at from *a certain standing ground. Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute;* and, if people choose a sectarian standing ground, we have no doubt they will see the facts of Church-history pretty much as Mr. Taylor does. That gentleman has made his choice; and on points subsequent to that choice, cannot, perhaps, on the whole be answered. His animadversions, however, in the present supplement, on the Anglican Calendar, cannot be allowed to escape so easily. We believe dissenting ignorance of the Church and the Prayer-book to be generally something far grosser than Churchmen are prepared for; Mr. Taylor would not like to shelter himself under such a plea; but if so, what other remains for him? and in what light, without any plea for such perversion of truth, would he have us regard him?

The Rev. Mr. Cattermole, to whom society is indebted for that delightful miscellany—"Sacred Poetry of the Seventeenth Century," has just published a larger, but on the whole, corresponding work, entitled, "The Literature of the Church of England," (Parker,) consisting of selections from our eminent divines of other days, "with Memoirs of their Lives, and Historical Sketches of the Times in which they lived." This is an excellent book for the library of the christian layman, being, from its smaller dimensions, more accessible, and though less full, yet more comprehensive, than the "Christian Institutes" of Dr. Wordsworth, which were, we believe, designed, as they are beyond all doubt admirably adapted, for the same end. Mr. Cattermole seems, as far as we can judge, to be a man of much literary discernment, a fair amount of reading, and of moderate, though on the whole, orthodox views. We wish he had not fallen into the common error of deploring the ground taken, and the measures adopted by Laud. We think that, under God, he was the human instrument, not of overthrowing, but of preserving the Catholic Church in England. Instead of being the beaten man he is commonly regarded, we hold him to have proved, like other martyrs, eventually a victor. Imperfect as our Church still is, we are sure that the facts bear us out in attributing her consolidation to the great Prelate who shed his blood for her. Mr. Cattermole's plan excluded, we presume, such divines as had merely professional, and no literary merit; and, considering that the greatest have ever possessed abundance of both, we dare say his book loses little by the exclusion. But why, since he takes us into the last century, does he take Atterbury as its sole representative? The clear, manly grace of Waterland surely possesses literary merit; the prettinesses of devout Horne often expand into *beauties;* while Butler's two sermons on "the Love of God," wind up more sublimely than any with which we are acquainted. Indeed, much as has been said and written on Butler, we do not

think that it has been generally observed how full are his writings, as of wisdom so of beauty.

"Horæ Apocalypticæ," is the title of a Commentary on the Apocalypse, in three volumes, by the Rev. E. B. Elliott, (Seeley and Burnside.) It seems (for we have had no time as yet to master so considerable a work) the result of much research. We observe that the author's general doctrine is Calvinistic.

"An Historical Account of the Church of St. Margaret, Stoke Golding, Leicestershire, by T. L. Walker, architect, of Nuneaton," (Weale, High Holborn,) is a very beautiful volume, on a very interesting subject. Mr. Walker seems to have the true spirit of a christian architect. Such *monograms*, to borrow a phrase from natural history, seem to us far more really serviceable than all the general dissertations of which amateurs at present are enjoying such an abundance. The present volume is illustrated by six plates. This rarely beautiful church now needs extensive repairs. We hope that Mr. W.'s labours will ensure its receiving them.

Mr. Wilkinson, late of Harrow, in a Farewell Sermon (Hatchard) tells us that "there is *no other test* of a true minister than *true doctrine*," p. 7. If this statement be sound, Mr. Wilkinson's own position as "a minister" must be very questionable.

Mr. Brock's Sermon, (Seeley,) preached at the Christmas ordination of the Bp. of Winchester, is remarkable rather for the occasion on which it was delivered, and the station, that of Commissary for Guernsey, which the preacher holds, than for its theology, which is of the old Calvinian school of Davenant and Ussher. The Church not having censured her Bishops for such teaching, however contrary to the analogy of faith and Catholic consent, individual clergymen cannot, or will not, consider themselves more tightly laced; but, we doubt as well the charity as the discretion of taking the subject of mere personal assurance and private experience, as drawn from the common and most erroneous interpretation of Romans vii. for this particular occasion. Mr. Brock must know—none better—that his view was never, and is not, held by the majority of *our* standard divines, which is not the highest of tests, but one sufficient for this purpose: and he must have known, too, that many of his hearers had been taught to repudiate this gloss, and also to love and revere (and this from "personal experience" too) certain parties whom he thought it decorous at such a time to misrepresent and to sneer at as mere formalists, &c. If any occasion requires a preacher to abstain from exasperating and harassing subjects, surely it is a "general ordination." Why, then, with ingenious perversity, fix upon such a "still vexed" question as this particular one? We are glad to see an approximation to an orthodox view of baptism in the appendix: but this also neutralized by that most strange figment of "absolute regeneration"—only in the "judgment of charity." If Mr. Brock's exercise of discipline—and his powers as Commissary are not inconsiderable—may be argued from his doctrine, we are not much surprised at the strange accounts which we hear of the state of the Church in the Channel Islands.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of Lichfield, *March* 3.
Bp. of London, *March* 3.
Bp. of Lincoln, *March* 3.
Bp. of Peterborough, *March* 3.
Bp. of Ripon, *March* 3.
Bp. of Salisbury, *March* 3.
Bp. of Glouc. & Bristol, *April* 14.
Bp. of Chichester, *June* 2.
Bp. of Salisbury (for B. & W.) *June* 2.
Bp. of Ely, *June* 9.

ORDINATIONS.

By the Lord Bishop of Norwich, *at Norwich, on Sunday, Jan.* 28.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—E. C. Adams, B.A. Magd. H.; T. J. Brereton, Ch. Ch.; W. S. Thorpe, B.A. Wad.

Of Cambridge.—R. H. Cobbold, B.A. St. Peter's; B. Girling, B.A. St. John's; C. W. Green, B.A. St. Peter's; F. Morse, B.A. St. Peter's; W. G. Royle, B.A. Queen's; H. Shuker, B.A. St. John's (*l. d.* Bp. of Worcester).

Of Durham.—R. W. B. Hornby, B.A. Univ. H. (*l. d.* Abp. of York.)

Of Lampeter.—D. Price, St. David's (*l. d.* Bp. of St. David's).

Of Dublin.—W. S. Sparling, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—S. F. Bignold, B.A. Ball.; J. F. Fagge, B.A. Univ.; C. D. Hamilton, B.A. St. Mary H.

Of Cambridge.—G. R. Bell, B.A. St. John's; A. F. Bellman, B.A. St. Peter's; S. L. Chase, B.A. Emm.; J. H. Clubbe, B.A. St. John's; J. Farr, B.A. St. John's; R. D. Fowell, B.A. Ch. Ch.; C. W. Francken, B.A. Cath. H.; E. Gillett, B.A. Emm.; J. B. Johnson, B.A. Corp. Chris.; R. W. Packer, B.A. Cath. H.; H. E. Rackham, B.A. Trin. H.; M. S. Suckling, B.A. Trin.; J. W. Westhorpe, B.A. Clare H.; G. F. Williamson, B.A. Trin.; J. H. Wise, B.A. St. Peter's; M. Mackereth, M.A. Cath. H. (*l. d.* Abp. of York.)

Of St. Bees.—S. Pearson, J. M. Randall.

PREFERMENTS.

The Rev. Edward Feild, M.A., Rector of English Bicknor, and late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, to be Bishop of Newfoundland.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Amphlett, M.	Mavesyn Ridware, P.C.	Lichfield	H. M. Chadwick, & J. N. Law, Esqs.	£438	531
Askew, J.	Ashchurch, P.C.	G. & B.	Rev. J. B. Skipper	270	743
Davies, D.	Llan-y-Blodwell, R.	St. Asaph	Bp. of St. Asaph	271	961
Evans, E. C.	Ford, P.C.	Hereford	R. Arkwright, Esq.	90	14
Goodwin, W.	St. Benedict, Norwich, P.C.	Norwich	Parishioners	95	1319
Formby, H.	Ruardean, P.C.	G. & B.	Precent. of Heref. Cath.	...	...
Hawkins, G. C.	Bampton, V. 3d Portion	Oxford	D. & C. of Exeter	395	...
Hayes, J.	Wybunbury, V.	Chester	Bp. of Lichfield	295	4674
Hobhouse, R.	St. Ives, R.	Exeter	V. of Ewny-Lelant	150	5666
Hodge, C. V.	Clarborough, V.	Lincoln		...	...
Hopwood, H.	Christ Church, Worthing	Chichester	Rec. of Broadwater	150	...
Jones, T.	St. Constantine's, P.C.	Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	450	2042
Iliff, Dr.	St. Philip, Liverpool, P.C.	Chester	J. Cragg, Esq.	...	...
Kinsey, W. M.	Rotherfield Grays, R.	Oxford	Trin. Coll., Oxford	714	...
M'Cormick, J.	Creaton, R.	Peterboro'		210	505
Mendham, J.	Clophill, R.	Ely	Earl de Grey	522	1066
Morgan, J.	Pyecombe, R.	Chichester	Lord Chancellor	315	564
Oakes, H. A. A.	Newton, R.	Ely	Marquis of Bristol	314	171
Paddon, H.	High Wycombe, V.	Lincoln	Marquis of Lansdowne.	140	6480
Palmer, J.	Doverdale, R.	Worcester	Mr. and Mrs. Curtler	202	54
Reed, J.	West Allen, P.C.	Durham		...	...
Sayer, E. L.	Pulloxhill	Ely	Earl de Grey	247	611
Simcox, T. G.	North Harborne, V.	Lichfield	Trustees	...	...
Williamson, R. D.D.	Sutton Coldfield, R.	Worcester	Rev. R. Bedford	...	4300
Wood, C. B. F.	Penmark, V.	Llandaff	D. & C. of Gloucester	224	486

APPOINTMENTS.

Cook, F. C. ..... Government Insp. of Schools.
Gore, W. ..... Chaplain at Harfleur.
Harding, H..... Preb. Stall in Lichfield Cath.
Huntley, R. W. {Rural Dean of the Deanery of Hawkesbury.
Jackson, T. ..... {Principal of the National Soc. Training School, Battersea.
Moseley, H..... Government Insp. of Schools.
Palmer, F. M.A. {Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Blount, J. B., Kennington.
Bray, J., of Heather, Leicestershire.
Davies, D. P., Master of the Grammar School, Carmarthen.
Davies, T., B.D., late Senior Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford.
De Lacy, T., Archdeacon of Meath.
Donne, J., D.D., Vicar of Llan-y-Blodwell, Oswestry.
Gardner, A. D., Vicar of Holywell, Flintshire.
Gilpin, J., at Sedbury Hall.
Goddard, E., P. C. of Lingwood, Norfolk.
Hall, J. C., B.C.L., Rector of Kirk Andreas and Archdeacon of Sodor and Man.
Hobart, H. C., M.A., Canon Residentiary of Hereford Cathedral.
Howard, C. B., M.A., Colonial Chaplain, and Surrogate to the Bishop of Australia.
Jack, T., Rector of Forncett.
Jones, J., Vicar of Mathew, Pembrokeshire.
Jope, J., Vicar of St. Cleer and Rec. of St. Ive.
Kingston, G., Rector of Sydersterne and North Barningham, Norfolk.
Leathes, E., Rector of Reedham, with Freethorpe, Norfolk.
Lupton, J., Rector of Ovingdean.
Middleton, H., Vicar of Barton Stacey, Hants.
Murray, H., at Gateshead.
Norman, H., M.A., P. C. of Moreton Say.
Onslow, G. W., at Ripley.
Ray, J., at Islington.
Saul, T., M.A., Incumbent of Witton, in Cleveland, Yorkshire.
St. Aubyn, J. M., Vicar of Crowan.
Smith, H., Prebendary of Southwell.
Stevenson, G., M.A., Rector of Redmarshall.
Stevenson, T., Rector of St. Peter's, Cheesehill.
Thompson, W. D., Vic. of Mitford, nr. Morpeth.
Travis, W. J., M.A., Rec. of Lydgate, Suffolk.
Ware, H., Rector of Ladock, Cornwall.
Wilkinson, M., Rector of Redgrave-with-Botesdale, and of Nowton, Suffolk.
Woodgate, S., Vicar of Pembury, Kent.
Woollen, W., LL.D., Vicar of Bridgewater cum Chilton and Rector of Kilton.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING, AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

THE MONTHLY MEETING of this Society was held at their chambers, in St. Martin's-place, the Lord Bishop of London in the chair. There were also present the Bishops of Bangor, Llandaff, Norwich, Hereford, and Lichfield; the Revs. the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Spry, Dr. Shepherd, J. Jennings, H. H. Norris, B. Harrison; Messrs. F. H. Dickinson, M.P., Edward Baddeley, William Davis, Newell Connop, J. S. Salt, William Cotton. The reports of the sub-committees having been read by the Rev. Mr. Bowdler, the secretary, the meeting proceeded to examine the cases referred to their consideration, and finally voted grants of money towards building additional churches or chapels at Mowbray, and Causeway-head, in the parish of Holmecultram, Cumberland; Barnard's-green, in the parish of Great Malvern, Worcestershire; Smallwood, in the parish of Astbury, Cheshire; Cookham-dean, in the parish of Cookham, Berks; St. Giles's-in-the-fields, London; and Longham, in the parish of Hampreston, Dorset; towards enlarging by rebuilding the church at Bawdeswell, Norfolk; and towards enlarging, or otherwise increasing the accommodation in the churches at Paulerspury, Northamptonshire; Berrow, Somerset; Upton-cum-Chalvey, Bucks; Emmanuel church, Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire; Monksilver, Somerset; St. Mary, Haverfordwest; and Kentish-town, parish of St. Pancras, London. The population of the parishes now assisted is 273,994 souls, and the accommodation provided for them in forty churches and chapels is 40,824 sittings, of which 9,334 are free; by the erection of seven additional churches, the rebuilding of one existing church, and the enlargement, &c. of seven others, it is intended to add 4,333 seats to this insufficient provision of church-room, in-

cluding free sittings for 4,195 persons. It is worthy of remark, that in the present places of worship there has been hitherto accommodation for only one-seventh of the population, while the free seats have been in the proportion of one sitting for thirty persons; the latter will now be increased to the rate of one in twenty. Certificates of the completion of new churches, and the enlargement, &c., of existing churches in several parishes, were examined and approved, and orders were issued to the treasurer to pay the amount of the grant awarded in each case; the population of these parishes is 46,595 persons, for whom church accommodation to the extent of 4,684 sittings only were provided previously to the execution of the works towards which the Society's grants were voted, and including only 1,374 free sittings; 2,537 seats are now added to that number, 2,157 of which are free. Since the last meeting forms of application for aid from this Society have been issued to eighteen applicants to enable them to submit their cases to the consideration of the board, and five of these applications are for assistance towards building additional churches in populous places. The treasurer reported, that a legacy of 300*l.*, free of duty, has been bequeathed to this Society by the late Mr. James Hurst, of Stamford-baron, Northamptonshire.

MISCELLANEOUS.

NEW PROTESTANT MANIFESTO.—[We have elsewhere (p. 302) called attention to the following melancholy document, and we have ventured, with all humility, to solicit the attention of our Bishops to it. If any of those who have signed, or may be disposed to sign it, should see these lines, we beg to remind such, that thus openly to avow the sentiments and doctrines contained in this manifesto, is in direct contravention to our formularies, and brings the offender not only under the liability of ecclesiastical and canonical censure, but within the penalties of the Acts of Uniformity, which are provided 1 Eliz. c. 2, against those who "preach or speak, or by *other open words declare*, anything in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer, or of any thing contained therein.—ED. C. R.]

DECLARATION OF MINISTERS AND MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND RESPECTING SEVERAL CONTROVERTED TRUTHS.—Having witnessed with grief the endeavours of some persons to unprotestantize our Church,—for which end they reject the doctrine of justification by faith alone—deny that ungodly persons, if baptized, need to be regenerated—pervert the meaning of the sacraments—change the ministry of the Gospel into a priesthood—assert that those ministers who have not received episcopal ordination are not true Ministers of Christ, and that their congregations form no part of the Church of Christ—make what they term the Catholic Church the authoritative interpreter of the Word of God, and thus seek to prevent each Christian from fulfilling his indispensable duty to weigh and judge for himself the meaning of its language,—We, the undersigned Ministers and Members of the Church of England, feel ourselves obliged, by our fidelity to the Lord Jesus Christ, by our regard to the Word of God, and by our wish to promote the welfare of our Church, publicly to profess our belief of the following truths, which we are resolved, in dependence on the grace of God, to maintain and to disseminate according to our ability; in which defence of the Gospel, always important, and now rendered more urgently necessary by the progress of "Anglo-Catholic" doctrines, we earnestly invite the co-operation of all who value evangelical truth:

I.—"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith." (*Art.* 6.) "It is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it expound one place of Scripture so as to be repugnant to another." (*Art.* 20.) But general Councils and particular Churches, being liable to errors in matters of faith, as well as in the ceremonies which they establish (*Arts.* 21 *and* 19), they may be found to profess what cannot be proved by the Word of God, and to ordain what is contrary to it. Every Christian is therefore bound to examine and to ascertain the meaning of the Word of God for himself, in the use of all the aids within his reach, and to receive no doctrine as the doctrine of Scripture unless

he sees it to be declared therein: otherwise he may receive error as truth upon a fallible authority, against the plain testimony of the Word of God.

II.—Believers are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for their own works and deservings (*Art.* 11). They are justified by the righteousness of Christ imputed to them, not by any inherent righteousness imparted to them by the Spirit; and they are, from first to last, justified by faith alone without works: but as "good works do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith" (*Art.* 12); the faith which justifies is a faith which "worketh by love."

III.—"As the tree is known by its fruits, so is also the Holy Ghost. The fruits of the Holy Ghost . . . . are these: love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance," &c. . . . . "The Holy Ghost doth always declare himself by his fruitful and gracious gifts." . . . . "Wheresoever ye find the spirit of arrogance and pride, the spirit of envy, hatred, contention, &c. . . . assure yourselves that there is the spirit of the Devil, and not of God" . . . "according to which rule, if any man live uprightly, of him it may be safely pronounced that he hath the Holy Ghost within him; if not, then it is a plain token that he doth usurp the name of the Holy Ghost in vain." (*Homily for Whitsunday.*) Ungodly persons have neither been born again of the Spirit nor justified, although they were baptized in infancy, but remain in an unpardoned state, exposed to the wrath of God; and unless they be born again of the Spirit, and obtain saving faith in Christ, they must perish.

IV.—"The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." (*Art.* 28.) "For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances . . . and the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one." (*Declaration appended to the Communion Service.*) "The curate shall instruct him, [*the sick man,*] that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and stedfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth." (*Rubric to the Communion for the Sick.*) There is no scriptural authority for affirming that our Lord is present with his people at the Lord's Supper in any other *manner* than that in which he is present with them whenever they meet together in his name (Mat. xviii. 20); and his body and blood are verily and indeed taken and received by them at that ordinance by faith, just as they are verily and indeed taken and received by them whenever they exercise faith in his atoning sacrifice, so that the imagination of any bodily presence or of any other presence effected by the consecration of the elements is unscriptural and erroneous.

V.—"Christ commended to his Church a Sacrament of his body and blood: they [*the Church of Rome*] have changed it into a sacrifice for the quick and dead." (*Hom. for Whitsunday.*) "Our loving Saviour hath ordained and established the remembrance of his great mercy expressed in his passion in the institution of his heavenly Supper." . . . . "We must then take heed lest of the memory it be made a sacrifice." (*Hom. of the Sacrament.*) The ministers of Christ are termed in Scripture, Presbyters, Bishops, Shepherds, Stewards, &c. but are never distinctly termed Priest (*ἱερεὺς*), and the notion of any sacrifice offered in the Lord's Supper by the Minister as a Priest, distinct from the sacrifice of praise and of devotedness offered by every true worshipper, is unscriptural and erroneous.

VI.—"The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." (*Art.* 19.) "Those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent [*into the ministry*] which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." (*Art.* 23.) There is no scriptural authority for asserting that those only are rightly ordained, or are to be esteemed true ministers of Christ, who have received episcopal ordination.

VII.—"The Bishops of Rome and their adherents are not the true Church

of Christ." "Where is now the Holy Ghost which they so stoutly do claim for themselves? . . . . If it be possible to be there where the true Church is not, then is it at Rome; otherwise it is but a vain brag." "All the popes and prelates of Rome for the most part . . . are worthily accounted among the number of false prophets and false Christs." (*Hom. for Whitsunday.*) False Christs and false prophets, cannot be esteemed true Ministers of Christ; the true Apostolical Succession is the succession of faithful Ministers in the Churches of Christ who have preached the doctrine of the Apostles and have ministered in their Spirit.

*George Abbot, B.A.
*Edward Henry Abney, B.A.
*John Acaster, M.A.
*John Adeney, M.A.
*Samuel Alford, M.A.
*Walter Alford, M.A.
*William Allan, M.A.
*George Allan, M.A.
*Hugh Allan, M.A.
*William Annesley, M.A.
*Edward B. Bagshawe, M.A.
*Augustus A. Bagshawe, B.A.
G. Baker, Lieut-Colonel.
*J. R. Barber, M.A.
*Stephen Barbut, M.A.
*Henry Barfoot, M.A.
*S. W. Barnett, M.A.
*John Bartlett, M.A.
*Josiah Bartlett, M.A.
*John Baylie, M.A.
Frederick Baynes.
*Henry Ham Beamish, M.A.
*Joseph Fawcett Beddy, M.A.
Samuel Bell.
*S. E. Bernard, M.A.
*David Barclay Bevan, M.A.
R. C. L. Bevan.
Richard Bevan.
J. R. Bevy.
*Edward Birch, B.A.
*Joseph Birch, M.A.
*T. W. Birch. M.A.
*John Birkett, M.A.
*William W. Blanford, M.A.
Thomas W. Blomefield, Bart.
Thomas Borrow.
Augustus Bosanquet.
*H. J. Bowden, M.A.
*Charles Bradley, M.A.
*Wm. S. H. Braham, M.A.
*R. L. Bridge, M.A.
John Bridges.
*John Bromilow, M.A.
*Alexander Browne, M.A.
*George Browne, M.A.
*Reginald Bryan, M.A.
*William Buckler, M.A.
*Edward Bull, M.A.
*Arthur Buller, M.A.
*Gilbert Beresford, M.A.
*James W. Burrough, M.A.
*William Bury, M.A.
*Sparkes Byers, B.A.
*Henry Caddell, M.A,
*Joshua Cautley, M.A.
*Charles R. Carroll, M.A.
*George Grey Cashman, B.A.
*John Casson, M.A.
*E. W. Caufield, M.A.
William Challice.
*John Charlesworth, M.A.
*William Chave, M.A.
*Andrew Cheap, LL.B.
Robert Hochley Chenies.
*John M. Cholmeley, M.A.
*W. Churchill, M.A.
Matthew Clark.
*Thomas Clarke, M.A.
R. Clayton, M.A.
Alexander Clements, M.A.
*J. B. Clifford, M.A.
*C. T. Fynes Clinton, M.A.
*John Francis Cobb, M.A.
*J. W. Cobb, M.A.
Benjamin Cooper.
Charles Cowan, M.D.
*William Cowlard, M.A.
*Edward Cox, M.A.
*George Crabbe, M.A.
*Henry Robert Crew, M.A.
*B. Lucas Cubitt, M.A.
*J. Cumberlege, M.A.
*S. F. Cumberlege, M.A.
*Francis Cunningham, M.A.
*Thomas Curme, M.A.
Christopher Cutts.
*James Edward Dalton, B.D.
*Thomas Davies, M.A.
*E. H. Dawson, M.A.
*Robert Denny, M.A.
*J. W. Devlin, B.A.
*William Dewe, B.A.
*Thomas F. Dibdin, D.D.
*James W. K. Disney, B.A.
*William Dodge, B.A.
James Dorman.
*T. R. Drake, B.A.
*Thos. O. Drawbridge, M.A.
*D. K. T. Drummond, M.A.
*W. M. Du Pre, M.A.
*Henry Du Puy, B.A.
*John East, M.A.
*John Edmonds, M.A.
Samuel Edwards.
*Samuel V. Edwards, B.A.
*Henry T. Estridge, M.A.
*Charles Evans, M.A.
*Daniel W. Evans, B.A.
*Frederick Evans, M.A.
*Patrick Fenn, M.A.
Joseph Fincher.
*Edward W. Foley, M.A.
Joseph French.
*Samuel Garratt, B.A.
*John Garwood, M.A.
*Henry Gibson, M.A.
*Thomas Glascott, B.A.
*Carr John Glyn, M.A.
George Golding.
*Edward Goodwin, M.A.
Samuel Goody.
Alexander Gordon.
Joseph Goss.
Thomas Graham.
Thomas Greenall.
*R. G. Greene, M.A.
*John Phillips Gurney, M.A.
*Peter Hall, M.A.
W. L. Hance.
E. Hance.
*Augustus Handley, M.A.
F. Vernon Harcourt.
*G. G. Harvey, B.A.
E. Hawker, Rear-Admiral of the Blue.
*John Herbert, M.A.
*Augustus Hewitt, M.A.
*William Henry Hill, M.A.
*Charles Hodgson, M.A.
*George Hodgson, M.A.
Edward Hollis.
*J. T. Holloway, D.D.
*James Hopkins, M.A.
*H. D. C. S. Horlock, D.D.
*George Hume, M.A.
*Henry Hutton, M.A.
*Josiah James, M.A.
*P. B. Jeckell, B.A.
*A. Jenour, M.A.
*David Jones, M.A.
*John Jones, M.A.
*J. J. Jones, M.A.
*J. Jordan, M.A.
*Edward Jowett, B.A.
*Thomas King, M.A.
Henry Kingscote.
Arthur F. Kinnaird.
John Labouchere.
*John Lakes, M.A.
*Richard T. Lancaster, M.A.
*Thomas J. Lingwood, M.A.
John Linton.
E. J. Longley.
*Henry Lowe, M.A.
*B. Lumley, M.A.
*H. Lumsden, M.A.
James Macfarlane.
*Henry W. M'Grath, M.A.
*W. Bell Mackenzie, M.A.
*R. A. M. Macklin, M.A.
*George Maclean, M.A.
*Hugh M'Neil, M.A.
*Samuel Maddock, M.A.
*C. D. Maitland, M.A.
*Henry Malpas, M.A.
*Orlando Manley, M.A.
*Joseph Mann, M.A.
*Richards Marks, M.A.
*W. Marsh, D.D.
Marcus Martin.
John Martin.
W. Lewis Mason.
William Maxwell.
C. Maxtone, Major, Madras retired List.
*Forster Maynard, M.A.
*David Mead, M.A.
*Joseph C. Mendham, M.A.
*Thomas Methuen, M.A.
*Capel Molyneux, B.A.
*William Money, M.A.
Wigram Money.
*Bernard Moore, M.A.
*Thomas Mortimer, B.D.
*Henry Moule, M.A.
*William Mudge, M.A.
*Edward Nicholson, M.A.
*Leland Noel, M.A.
*Baptist W. Noel, M.A.
Edward Scott Norton.
James Orde, Lieut.-General.
*Fielding Ould, M.A.
*Joseph Parker, M.A.
*A. D. Parkinson, B.A.
Wm. Edward Parry, Bart.
John Dean Paul.
*James Pears, B.C.L.
*James R. Pears, M.A.
*John Pearson, M.A.
Thomas Pearsons.

*John Peers, M.A.
*J. W. Peers, M.A.
*J. Pemberton, M.A.
*Edward Pemberton, M.A.
William Perfect.
*Richard C. Phelips, M.A.
*E. T. M. Phillipps, M.A.
*H. G. Phillips, M.A.
*Benjamin Philpot, M.A.
*Solomon Piggott, M.A.
William Pitman.
*S. B. Plummer, M.A.
John P. Plumptre, M.P.
*Chas. Thos. Plumptre, M.A.
*H. W. Plumptre, M.A.
*Edward Poole, M.A.
J. Poynder.
*H. E. Preston, M.A.
Mark Pringle.
*Chas. R. Pritchett, M.A.
*David Protheroe, M.A.
*William W. Pym, M.A.
*Richard Quarrell, M.A.
*Alexander Ramsay, M.A.
*J. Raw, M.A.
James S. Ray.
John S. Reynolds.
*Gregory Rhodes, B.C.L.
*H. K. Richardson, M.A.
*Gilbert W. Robinson, B.A.
*Wm. W. Robinson, M.A.
*Arthur Roberts, M.A.
*Henry Roberts, B.A.
Joseph Robinson.
*Charles Row, M.A.
*David Ruell, M.A.
*Edmund Russell, M.A.
*Timothy Sandys, M.A.
*William Seaton, M.A.
*Walter Shirley, M.A.
*Robert Shitler, M.A.
*Robert Simpson, M.A.
*Robert Smith, B.A.
*Hinton C. Smith, B.A.
*William Snell, M.A.
*F. W. Spilsbury, M.A.
*J. W. Steele, M.A.
Ernest A. Stephenson.
*George Steward, M.A.
*Francis Storr, M.A.
*Hugh Stowell, M.A.
*Edmund Stuart, M.A.
*James H. Stuart, M.A.
*Henry Sweeting, M.A.
*Charles Tayler, M.A.
*Stephen Thackwell, M.A.
*Algernon S. Thelwall, M.A.
*Evan Thomas, M.A.
*Spencer Thornton, M.A.
*J. Truman, M.A.
*D. Tucker, M.A.
*Thomas Tyndale, M.A.
*Francis Upjohn, M.A.
*Owen Emeric Vidal, B.A.
E. M. Wade, M.A.
*Henry Walter, M.A.
John C. Walter.
*James Ware, M.A.
*G. T. Warner, M.A.
*John W. Watts, M.A.
*Daniel Watkins, M.A.
*J. G. Weddell, M.A.
James Welsh, Major-General, Madras Engineers.
*John West, M.A.
John Wheddon, M.A.
*David Wheeler, M.A.
*Rd. Whittingham, M.A.
*S. H. Widdrington, M.A.
*G. Wightman, D.D.
*Alfred Wilkinson, M.A.
*J. R. Wilkinson, M.A.
*Jocelyn Willey, M.A.
*H. J. Williams, LL.B.
*John Williams, M.A.
J. D. Williams.
*John Francis Witty, M.A.
*Carus W. Wilson, M.A.
*John Wilson, M.A.
*William Wright, M.A.
William Holt Yates, M.D.
*Chas. Isaac Yorke, M.A.

Extracts from "Anglo-Catholic Writers."

"It cannot be too often repeated, that if Protestantism be Christianity, Catholicism is Anti-Christianism, and of course *vice versâ*. There never was, and there never will be, charity in softening down real distinctions; open hostilities are ever a shorter road to eventual peace than hollow and suspicious alliances."—*British Critic, July*, 1843, p. 64.

Protestantism and Romanism.—"It ought not to be for nothing. no nor for anything short of some very vital truth . . . . that persons of name and influence should venture on the part of ecclesiastical agitators . . . an object thus momentous we believe to be the unprotestantising of the National Church."—*British Critic, July*, 1841, p. 44.

"As we go on, we must recede more and more from the principles, if any such there be, of the English Reformation."—*Ib.* p. 45.

"I utterly reject and anathematize the principle of Protestantism as a heresy, with all its forms, sects, or denominations."—*Rev. W. Palmer, Letter to Mr. Golightly*, p. 9.

"Protestantism in its essence, and in all its bearings is characteristically the religion of corrupt human nature."—*British Critic, July*, 1841, p. 27.

"The Protestant tone of doctrine and thought is essentially anti-christian."—*Ib.* p. 29.

"Antichrist, we know, is prophetically described as the Man of Sin, who opposeth and exalteth *himself* above . . . God. This, to be plain, is just our own notion, as we have never shrunk from avowing, of Protestantism."—*British Critic, July*, 1843, p. 65.

"We trust, of course, that active and visible union with the see of Rome is not of the essence of a Church; at the same time, we are deeply conscious that in lacking it, far from asserting a right, we forego a great privilege. Rome has imperishable claims upon our gratitude, and, were it so ordered, upon our deference. . . . For her sins, and for our own, we are estranged from her in presence, not in heart; may we never be provoked to forget her, or cease to love her!"—*British Critic, July*, 1841, p. 3.

On the Scriptures.—"The true creed is the catholic interpretation of Scripture, or scripturally proved tradition . . . . Scripture and tradition taken together, are the joint rule of faith."—*Tract* 78, p. 2.

"As to the nondescript system of religion now in fashion, that nothing is to be believed but what is clearly in Scripture . . . suffice that it has all the external extravagance of latitudinarianism, without its internal consistency . . . Both, however, are mere theories in theology, and ought to be discarded by serious men."—*Tract* 85, p. 25.

"The structure of Scripture is such . . . that either we must hold that the Gospel doctrine or message is not contained in Scripture, or, as the alternative, we must hold that it is but indirectly and covertly recorded there, under the surface."—*Ib.* p. 27.

"So then, we do not make Scripture the rule of our faith, but that other things in their kind are rules also; in

such sort that it is not safe, without respect had to them, to judge things by the Scripture alone."– *Field, in Tract* 90, p. 11.

"In the sense in which it is commonly understood, at this day, Scripture, it is plain, is not on Anglican principles, the rule of faith."—*Ib.* p. 11.

"The writers of the Tracts for the Times took the true ground of an appeal to the voice of the Church in all ages. It was not to supersede the use of the Scriptures; it was not even to establish tradition as the rule of faith separate from the written Word . . . . that they had recourse to antiquity, but it was to settle the sense of the Scriptures."—*Plain Words*, 2d edition, p. 17.

Justification by Faith.—"When faith is called the sole instrument, this means the sole internal instrument, not the sole instrument of any kind. There is nothing inconsistent, then, in faith being the sole instrument of justification, and yet baptism also the sole instrument; nor does the sole instrumentality of faith interfere with the doctrine of works being a mean also . . . An assent to the doctrine that faith alone justifies, does not at all preclude the doctrine of works justifying also."—*Tract* 90, p. 12.

"Works done with Divine aid, and in faith before justification, do dispose men to receive the grace of justification."—*Ib.* p. 16.

"The Bishop, then, would say, that justified Christians are accounted righteous, in consideration of a righteousness not their own; Mr. Newman, that they are accounted righteous inasmuch as they have been made so through Christ's righteousness inwrought into them."—*British Critic, July*, 1843, p. 74.

"Evangelicals . . . cleave to the soul-destroying heresy of Luther on the subject of justification."—*Ib.* p. 33.

"The very first aggression of those who labour to revive some degree at least of vital Christianity . . . must be upon that strange congeries of notions and practices of which the Lutheran doctrine of justification is the origin and representative. Whether any heresy has ever infested the Church so hateful and unchristian as this doctrine, it is perhaps not necessary to determine: none certainly has ever prevailed so subtle and extensively poisonous."—*British Critic, Oct.* 1842, p. 390.

The Sacraments.—"This may even be set down as the essence of sectarian doctrine . . . to consider faith and not the sacraments as the instrument of justification."—*Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 6. *Preface.*

"The sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of Divine grace."—*Tracts*, vol. i. p. 4. *Preface.*

"This, then, is the characteristic mark of these two [*Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper*], separating them from all other whatever; and this is nothing but saying, in other words, that they are the only justifying rites or instruments of communicating the atonement."—*Tract* 46, p. 46.

"The two 'Sacraments of the Gospel,' are those which directly communicate Christ to the soul."—*British Critic, July*, 1843, p. 51.

Baptism.—"The doctrine of regeneration in Baptism, the very spirit and essence of the whole teaching of the Church."—*Plain Words*, p. 21.

"However frankly we may admit, and however gladly we may contemplate, that wonder of Divine Grace, whereby the man who has long wandered from his baptismal standing, is brought back to it; we must never permit ourselves to view such cases as according to the general rule. In their way, they are anomalies, wonderfully illustrative, indeed, of the long-suffering of God, but not the unthwarted growth of his own plan of salvation, which, in the first instance, contemplates Baptism as the beginning, and then the Christian character steadily growing out of that beginning." — *Christian Remembrancer, May*, 1843, p. 670.

"Baptism * * * confers on a child all things, and the true way of addressing such a child is not to speak to him of any new birth yet to be waited for; but to tell him to go forth against evil, fresh from the water, and strong in the blessings of his baptism."—*Ib. June*, 1843, p. 816.

"Surely the Church has not encouraged the modern habit of dating conversion, of taking cognizance of any marked revolutionary epoch in a man's life, besides his baptism.

"*Justification*, in Anglican theology, is ruled to be the first step in the Christian life. In the 13th Article, 'Works done before justification' are explained to be equivalent to 'works done before the Grace of Christ and Inspiration of His Spirit,' which, at the latest, takes place at Baptism."—*Ib. October*, 1841, p. 273.

The Lord's Supper.—"As material bodies approach by moving from place to place, so the approach and presence of a spiritual body may be in some other way . . . the body and blood of Christ

may be really literally present in the holy Eucharist, yet, not having become present by local passage, may still literally and really be at God's right hand . . . The true determination of all such questions may be this, that Christ's body and blood are locally at God's right hand, yet really present here—present here, but not here in place."—*Tract* 90, p. 56.

"This is what the Catholic Church seems to hold concerning our Lord's presence in the Sacrament, that He then personally and bodily is present with us in the way an object is which we call present."—*Ib.* p. 56.

"Receiving Him [Christ] into this very body, they who are his, receive life."—*Dr. Pusey's Sermon*, p. 9.

"His flesh and blood in the Sacrament shall give life . . . because they are the very flesh and blood which were given and shed for the life of the world, and are given to those for whom they had been given."—*Ib.* p. 20.

"If Balaam's ass instructed Balaam, what is there fairly to startle us in the Church's doctrine, that the water of baptism cleanses from sin; that eating the consecrated bread is eating his body; or that oil may be blessed for spiritual purposes?"—*Tract* 85, p. 90.

The Priesthood.—"The holy feast on our Saviour's sacrifice . . . was intended by him to be constantly conveyed through the hands of commissioned persons. Except, therefore, we can show such a warrant, we cannot be sure that our hands convey the sacrifice; we cannot be sure that souls worthily prepared, receiving the bread which we break, and the cup of blessing which we bless, are partakers of the body and blood of Christ."—*Tract* 4, p. 2.

"The sacerdotal office in the Church is the foundation of all the rest . . . if the Church have a sacerdotal office, she must necessarily have functionaries by whom to administer it . . . The priest is to be considered by his flock as standing to them in so many respects in the place of God . . . the type and representative to them of the invisible . . . Their primary office is to be the Church's functionaries, in dispensing to the people her varied blessings . . . and above all, in offering up that holy service whereby the fruits of our Lord's atonement are daily impetrated and diffused . . . . throughout the Church . . . The priesthood may be called the organs of the Spirit."—*British Critic, July*, 1843, pp. 50, 53, 54, 58.

"A person not commissioned from the Bishop may use the words of Baptism, and sprinkle or bathe with the water on earth, but there is no promise from Christ that such a man shall admit souls to the kingdom of heaven. A person not commissioned . . . may pretend to give the Lord's Supper, but . . . there is no warrant from Christ to lead communicants to suppose that . . . they will be partakers in the Saviour's heavenly body and blood."—*Tract* 35, p. 3.

Apostolical Succession.—"I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—our apostolical descent . . . The Lord Jesus Christ gave his Spirit to his Apostles: they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them, and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants . . . We must necessarily consider none to be really ordained who have not *thus* been ordained."—*Tract* 1, pp. 2, 3.

"Why should we talk so much of an Establishment, and so little of an apostolical succession? Why should we not seriously endeavour to impress our people with the plain truth, that by separating themselves from our communion, they separate themselves . . . from the only Church in this realm which has a right to be quite sure that she has the Lord's body to give to his people?"—*Tract* 4, p. 5.

"Do you then unchurch all the Presbyterians, all the Christians who have no Bishops?" . . . "We are not to shrink from our deliberate views of truth and duty because difficulties may be raised about the case of such persons, any more than we should fear to maintain the paramount necessity of Christian belief because similar difficulties may be raised about virtuous Heathens, Jews, or Mahometans."—*Ib.* p. 6.

"It is not merely because Episcopacy is a better or more Scriptural form than Presbyterianism . . . that Episcopalians are right and Presbyterians are wrong; but because the Presbyterian ministers have assumed a power which was never entrusted to them. They have presumed to exercise the powers of ordination, and to perpetuate a succession of ministers, without having received a commission to do so."—*Tract* 7, p 2.

"It is *beautifully expressed* in the Acts of the Synod of Bethlehem, which the Eastern Church transmitted to the nonjuring Bishops:—'Therefore we de-

clare that this hath ever been the doctrine of the Eastern Church;—that the Episcopal dignity is so necessary in the Church, that without a Bishop there cannot exist any Church nor any Christian man;—*no, not so much as in name.*'"—*British Critic, April*, 1842, p. 498.

"A person who denies the Apostolical Succession of the ministry, because it is not clearly taught in Scripture, ought, I conceive, if consistent, to deny the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, which is nowhere literally stated in Scripture."—*Tract* 85, p. 4.

THE NEW DIVINITY STATUTE AT OXFORD.

[It has long been rumoured that the statute to be proposed to the Oxford convocation for the prevention of a recurrence of the recent disputes on proceeding to a degree in the theological faculty would require to be most narrowly watched. And such, indeed, turns out to be the case. The whole constitution of the University, as to the degrees in divinity and civil law, is to be changed; *and for the worse.* The two chief points of the proposed Divinity Statute, as we learn from the usual cloud of pamphlets, questions and leaves of argument, which precede one of the great Oxford contests, are,

1. That a private examination by the Regius Professor of Divinity, under an appeal to the Vice-Chancellor, is to take the place of an open one in the University schools.

2. That this change amounts to the imposition of a *new theological test*, regulated by the sole discretion and orthodoxy of the two above-named irresponsible functionaries; one of whom is Dr. Hampden, who is under the formal censure of the University, for inculcating Socinianizing doctrine; and the other *may be*, a layman!

We do not hesitate to say, although the subject has come before us at the very moment of going to press, that though the proprietors of this statute will revive the *odium theologicum* in its bitterest form, the Hampden case sinks into complete insignificance before it; and every member of convocation who has at heart the orthodoxy and independence of our great Theological School and Faculty must sift this statute most closely. We subjoin three of the more important papers which have already issued from Oxford. The initials sufficiently declare the respected author of the second.]—Ed. C.R.

Oxford, Feb. 21, 1844.—The attention of Members of Convocation is respectfully requested to the following points in the proposed new Divinity Statute:

P. 4. Statutum est, quod is, qui ad Gradum Baccalaurei in S. Theologiâ promoveri cupit .... duas dissertationes a se conscriptas de quæstionibus quibuslibet Theologicis prius a S. Theologiæ Professore Regio approbandis, coram eo publice intra Scholarum præcinctus recitabit, eique, finitâ lectione, *dissertationis utriusque exemplar in manus tradet.*

P. 5. Statutum est, quod in singulis facultatibus *si quid dubii forte occurrat in exercitiis præstandis de quo oriatur contentio,* ... AD VICE-CANCELLARIUM DEFERETUR CUJUS IN HAC RE SENTENTIA RATA ET DEFINITIVA HABEBITUR.

1. It appears from the first extract, that the Regius Professor has a right to demand copies of the Candidate's Dissertations, after the public reading in the Schools, for his own private perusal; by which perusal he will be enabled to examine more closely whether they contain any doctrine which he may consider erroneous.

2. It appears from the second, that the Regius Professor is only responsible for the exercise of these powers of scrutiny to the Vice-Chancellor for the time being; and that whenever, upon his view of the doctrinal character of the Dissertation, he refuses to present the Candidate for his Degree, the matter is referred immediately to the Vice-Chancellor, whose decision on the case is absolute and final.

3. It is evident, that the proposed Statute does not contemplate any other way of proceeding to a Divinity Degree in such a case, but by the process which it lays down: its object being to lay down the process by which the Divinity Degree is to be obtained.

4. It is inferred from all these points together, that, according to the proposed Statute, if the Regius Professor, upon doctrinal objections which he raises after the examination of the Dissertation, refuses to present the Candidate for his Degree, and the Vice-Chancellor supports him in that refusal, it is thus in the power of two functionaries of the University, by agreeing together, to stop a Member of the University from proceeding to his Divinity Degree.

5. It is suggested, that this arrangement is contrary to the whole spirit of the

Academical Constitution, which makes Congregation and the whole body of the University the judge of the fitness of the Candidate for his Degree: and that, though the Vice-Chancellor, in common with the two Proctors, has a power of veto *in* Congregation; this new power, which prevents the question from coming into Congregation at all, is quite a different thing from that veto.

A few words to the resident members of convocation, on the subject of the statute shortly to be proposed.—It is always somewhat invidious for a junior member of the University to raise his voice upon a grave question of legislation. Age, knowledge, and experience are quoted against him, and in many cases he can have little to say in answer, without going through an inquiry more laborious than his regular avocations permit. Still there are certain broad principles which can be discerned without minute information, and which may reasonably be a guide to the opinions and to the votes of all members of our legislative body, and it may be allowable to one of that number, even on a brief consideration, to suggest some points to the notice of others.

In the first place, then, it may be remarked, that the statute now to be proposed is still more inconsistent with that which was passed relating to the Regius Professor of Divinity in 1836 and confirmed in 1842, than was the late statute for Divinity Lectures. In this the Regius Professor is put forward *alone*, and invested with an authority entirely new. I say *entirely new*, because although one part of it has been claimed of late, and the proceedings at law against that claim have been withdrawn, still this withdrawal has been probably rather owing to the difficulty of remedy, than to the slightest appearance of legality in the claim. There are but two answers that can be made to this objection. One, that the authority conferred is altogether insignificant; the other, that it is either right, or expedient, or both, to remove the censure of 1836.

Secondly, it is worth while considering what is the nature of the power to be conferred on the Regius Professor, and whether it is a power that ought ever to be entrusted to an individual, especially to one appointed for life by the Crown. Now I will not impute to the heads of the University the absolute madness of proposing to constitute any individual so appointed a judge of orthodoxy. They cannot have thought of such a thing as thus laying the Faculty of Theology prostrate at the feet of the secular power. The very Statute for the trial of heterodoxy in Sermons, points out the gravity of the danger, by providing a Court of several members. It must, therefore, be imagined that the power is so indefinite in its results, that it will not, in fact, constitute either a lawful right of judicature, or an opportunity of usurpation.

Now it is perfectly true that the Regius Professor has his legitimate and limited power as a Member of Congregation, and that he can there withhold a Degree for a time, and then lay his objection before the House, and put it to the vote. This, of course, he may do on the ground of heterodoxy, appearing in any exercise performed in his presence, and no one would wish to prevent his having or using such a power.* But recent experience has shown, that it is possible for a Professor to make an indirect use of authority, such as it is here proposed to place in his hands, and that in such a manner as to constitute him not a judge, but an arbitrary and irresponsible authority in the Theological Faculty.† It would be well, if the Members of Convocation could be informed, before they vote upon this question, what degree of security the Vice-Chancellor's power in *doubtful* cases will give—whether, for instance, the Vice-Chancellor, even if willing, will be able to take cognizance of the Professor's *reasons* for refusing a Thesis; and again, whether he will have any summary means of compelling him to do his duty, if he should simply decline performing it; or again, of causing that duty to be performed by another.‡ Unless these points

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* It is worth while to remark here, that the theses for certain Theological Disputations used to be approved by *Congregation*. See Tit. VIII. § 1. And this would still probably be the best security against offensive theses.

† It is not meant to state that there is no remedy, for the writer firmly believes that there is one in the power of the higher Officers of the University. It is enough that such abuse is allowed to be in fact without remedy.

‡ At best, the Vice-Chancellor would be entrusted by this Statute with a power which may be thought somewhat unconstitutional.

are settled, it will be but a leap in the dark to sanction the proposed measure.

Again, with regard to the proposed form of exercise for the Doctor's Degree, it must be observed, that it alters the constitution of the University by placing the Bachelors of Divinity so far on the same footing as those on whom that Degree has not been conferred. This is a grave alteration, though implied but by a slight form.*

As to the delivery of the Exercises to the Professor, it is chiefly important as tending to give an opportunity for future usurpation. *What is it for*, unless he is to be a judge of orthodoxy?

And here the difference of the two cases of Law and Theology, which are tacked together, comes out clearly. In Law, the question is of knowledge or ignorance, and so it may be in Theology, but it may be also between true knowledge, and knowledge falsely so called. It is an evil to destroy the hope of recovering Lectures instead of mere Examination Exercises in Law, and the same evil appears in the case of Divinity; but the cases are distinct, and ought not to be treated as the same. In short, the proposed plan seems to be seriously deficient in the important article of *facing the question*, and likely to do nothing better than serve indifferently the wants of the present generation. The next is likely either to suffer from it, or to undo it. C. M.

Oriel, Ash-Wednesday, 1844.

Questions on the Proposed New Statute.—1. Whether the Statute does not enable the Queen's Professor of Divinity to force each Candidate to adopt the Professor's own questions, by refusing his approbation to those of the Candidate.

2. Whether in the case of the Professor's refusing to approve of the Candidate's questions, the Vice-Chancellor may *then* be appealed to.

3. Whether the Professor can be compelled to approve.

4. Whether the proceedings before the Vice-Chancellor are to be in the Court of the University, or in private:—if in private, are they to be conducted according to the Statutes?

5. Whether an appeal will lie from the sentence of the Vice-Chancellor to the superior Courts of the University.

6. Whether, if the Vice-Chancellor's decision be without appeal from, the authority of congregation in granting degrees be not irrecoverably lost.

7. Whether Sect. viii. by giving this power to the Vice-Chancellor, do not partially repeal the Statute that provides him the advice of six doctors in the case of erroneous doctrine.

8. Whether in the case of a dispute about doctrine between the Queen's Professor and the Candidate, the Vice-Chancellor, being a Layman, or not a Graduate in Theology, can decide it.

9. Whether in the case of a dispute between the Professor of Civil Law and the Candidate, on a legal question, the Vice-Chancellor, being a Graduate in Theology or Arts, and not learned in the Law, can decide it.

Finally, Whether it be fair by means of this Statute to make the *voluntary* provisions of the Statute, *de Disciplina Theologica*, *compulsory* on all Candidates for Degrees in Theology, who have been matriculated since Michaelmas, 1838.

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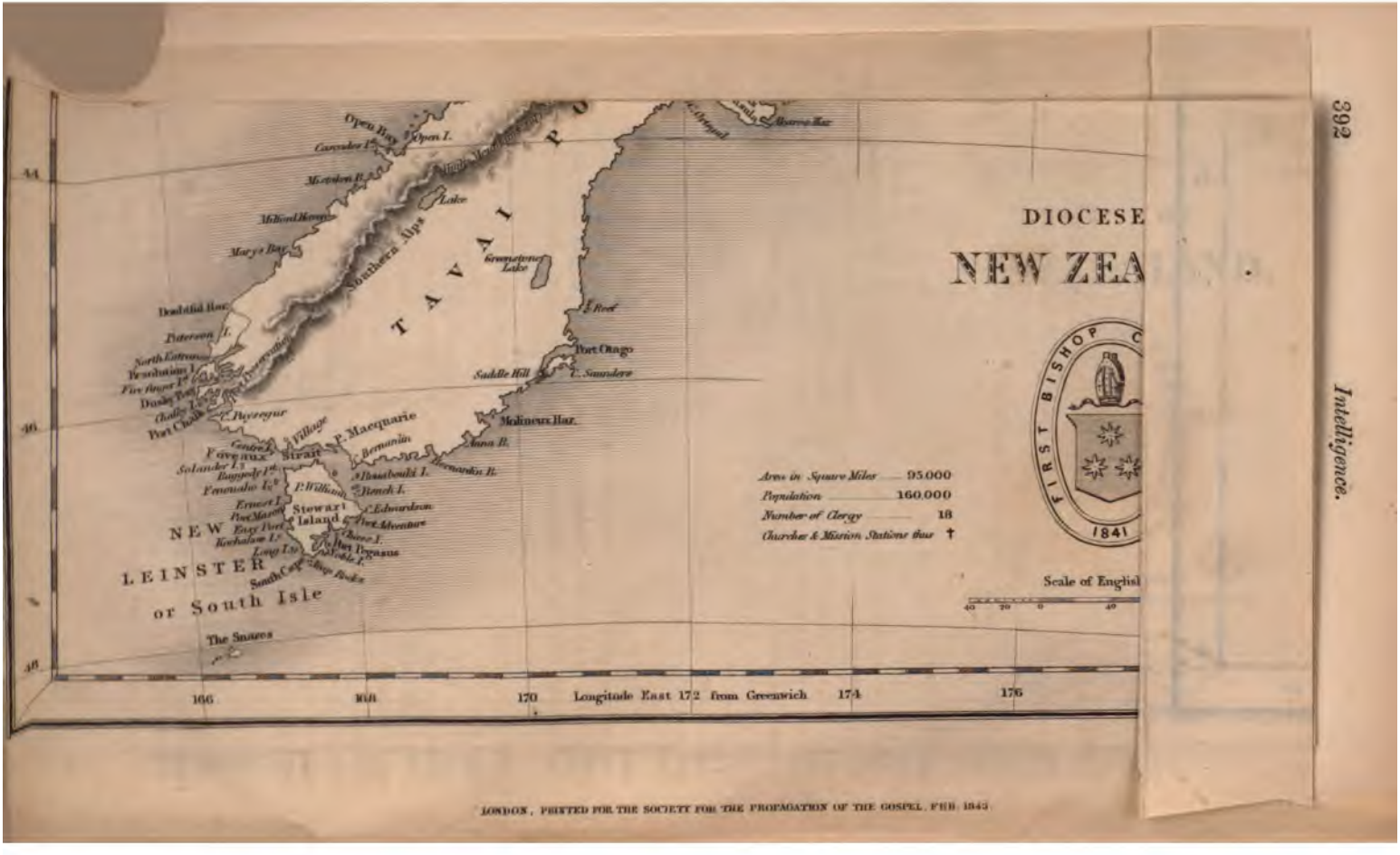
* As the Statute at present stands, Bachelors of Divinity are to read Lectures from Holy Scripture before younger men, choosing the portion for themselves; by the proposed Statute they are to read an Exercise before the Regius Professor, of which he is to approve the subject beforehand, and which is to be delivered to him, when read.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We thank our correspondent who, with seeming knowledge of the subject, corrects our statement with respect to the *possibility*, in many cases, of celebrating the Daily Service in Scotland: still, as in Edinburgh, the fact remains undeniably the same; it is quite as easy to carry out the Prayer Book there as in London; *and it is not done.*

A correspondent, who is acquainted with Irvingism, informs us, that our statement contained in the foot-note, p. 177, of our last number, was not strictly correct. The formula of this body seems, according to themselves, to run, that in addition to believing in a second Pentecost, they hold concerning the whole Catholic Church, including themselves as a part of it, all that Catholics hold irrespective of them.

A press of matter has compelled us to displace from our Miscellaneous department the third collection of Authorities on Conventual Institutions, and a Letter on the Tendency of Mr. Maurice's Works.—Both are in type.



LONDON, PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, FEB. 1843.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1844.

Travels in New Zealand, with Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of that Country. By ERNEST DIEFFENBACH, M.D., *late Naturalist to the New Zealand Company.* London: J. Murray. 1843.

Letters from Settlers and Labouring Emigrants in the New-Zealand Company's Settlements of Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth, from February, 1842, *to January,* 1843. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1843.

Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with other Information concerning his Diocese. London: Rivingtons. 1843.

Colonization of New Zealand. Translated from the German of Professor CHARLES RITTER, *of Berlin.* London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1843.

Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial Maritime Journal for December, 1843.

CONSIDERING that the five books which we have placed at the head of this our second article on colonial emigration are about one tithe of the works, from twenty-shilling octavos to shilling or six-penny pamphlets already published concerning New Zealand, we hardly require the excuse of late events for thus performing the promise we gave in our article on the resources of Australia. The late unfortunate occurrences at Nelson have tended to increase the interest gradually rising among us regarding our last of colonies, and every letter from that island has been the fruitful source of comment in our daily and periodical literature, and anxious conversation among those who are already connected with New Zealand through their relatives or friends, or are thinking of seeking their subsistence on the soil of that fertile colony. With every prospect, therefore, of

commanding more attention for our lucubrations than would otherwise, perhaps, have fallen to their lot, we proceed to draw out with some minuteness the biography of New Zealand—the life, fortunes, resources, and future prospects of the youngest of our colonial settlements.

Modern colonists act on two principles in the selection of their adopted country: one party make up their minds to contend with a climate uncongenial to their habits and constitution, for the sake of the commercial products to be raised under its influence when directed by their energies or their capital, becoming by degrees the masters of a numerous native race, unable to contend with them, and raising rather factories than colonies. The other class seek out a country as nearly like their own as nature offers, and where the physical and intellectual energies of themselves and their descendants may be matured, and where, from resources within the colony itself, there is a fair, if not a certain, prospect of a steady progress to ultimate prosperity, and of, at the same time, relieving their own wants, and benefiting, by increased demand, the mother-country. Such a country is New Zealand. The climate is not only analogous to that of England, but as mild as that of her southern counties, and yet healthy and invigorating. Here is no epidemic to wither health and strength; no drought to devastate the flocks and herds, and desiccate the pastures. The greater part of the country possesses a soil suitable to the production of grain, fruit, and vegetables, so necessary for European colonists; whilst its forests present materials for the ship-builder, and its freestone and marble are ready to the mason's hand. It wants not in coal to call into life the power of steam, or in harbours or inlets to facilitate intercourse and trade. Those who resort to our Australian colonies with the expectation of making fortunes easily and rapidly, had better not seek New Zealand. They will not there find the endless pasture-grounds of New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land, or sufficient available native labour to produce, in the shortest possible time, articles of export. Such colonists as these, who regard the new land merely as a temporary resting-place, will not progress in that island; but to all those who come to a colony as to a second home, content to form one item in an independent and affluent middle class, such as the old English yeoman was, and in some places still is; who are content to labour long and well, so that their labour do but meet with its reward at last; who come to a colony to seek and to find there, not instant wealth, but eventual independence, after years of successful labour, to them New Zealand presents more advantages than any other colony; *it is peculiarly the yeoman's colony.*

The name of New Zealand has been given to a group of islands, consisting of two large and several smaller ones, lying in a line, situated in the southern hemisphere, and the antipodes of our own island in longitude, the meridian of Falmouth passing through the

strait that divides the two great islands of New Zealand. It is not so in its latitude, as the most southern point of the New Zealand group is three degrees farther from the ant-arctic than the Lizard is from the arctic pole, whilst the most northern promontory of the great northern isle corresponds within thirty miles with the most southern cape of the island of Candia. To the most northern of the group, or, as it is now called, North Island or New Ulster, the natives have given the dreadful looking name of Eaheinomauwe; whilst to the great middle island, or New Munster of the colonists, the equally euphonious name of Tavai-Poenammoo has been attached by the aborigines. Stewart's Island, which is immediately to the south of the middle isle, and is of very trifling dimensions, is now called New Leinster, or the South Isle, Foveaux' Strait dividing it from Munster, as Cook's Strait separates that isle from the great northern one.

Our claim to the sovereignty of New Zealand, as against any other European nation, dates from the visit of the navigator, Cook, who spent nearly six months on its coasts, surveyed them with considerable care and accuracy, and proclaimed the rule of George III. over the islands in the years 1769 and 1770. Previous to that time, however, the islands had been seen, though not landed upon, or surveyed, by the Dutchman, Tasman, who entered Cook's Straits from the west, came into contact with the natives as soon as he anchored, and, after a severe loss, sailed away along the west coast of the northern island, fully persuaded, as every one was until Cook's survey, that he was coasting a portion of the Australian continent. Tasman's visit was nearly a century earlier (1642) than that of Cook; and it is supposed, and with some slight show of reason, that, in the previous century to his visit, the Spaniards had sighted, though not visited, the New Zealand group. Three years after Cook's visit, the French navigator, Marrion, visited these islands, and fell in a quarrel between his men and the natives; and, in 1791, Vancouver came thither, and from that time may be dated a constant intercourse between New South Wales and the New Zealand isles. By degrees the whaling ships began to resort to the Bay of Islands, in the north-eastern corner of the northern island, for fresh provisions, commencing a most baneful connexion with the natives of the district, and by degrees forming a settlement of the most abandoned characters—the runaways from New South Wales—who lived in unfettered licence, and exercised a complete tyranny over the aborigines, until the former was partially repressed by the missionaries under Mr. Marsden, and the latter in a manner regulated by the appointment of magistrates for the district, by the Governor of New South Wales, in the year 1814.

The missionaries, backed by the powerful resources of the Church Missionary Society, and the influence exercised with the government by its leading members, very soon became the *de facto* governors of the island, and resisted every attempt at colonization

by our own or any other nation. Not content with all but absolute sway over the northern island, where their own settlements were situated, the missionaries seem to have collected together a few chiefs in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, and persuaded them to declare themselves lords of the Great Middle Island, on which they had never so much as landed, and with the natives of which they had never as yet come in contact. In return for the suggested claim, the missionaries received liberal grants of land, not only in the one, but both islands, so situated as to extend their own sway of the island, and effectually hinder any future colonization, except greatly to the profit of the recipients of the present enormous grants. The north shore of the Tamaki, to the extent of ninety square miles, is claimed by one of the missionaries as a native grant, and already eleven gifted individuals have put in their claims to nearly an hundred thousand acres of the most available land in the islands. In these claims the Church missionaries were fairly matched by their rivals of the Wesleyan connexion.

As far back as the end of the last century the whale-fishery of New Holland was successfully prosecuted off the shores of New Zealand, and, from the great success of the fishery, and the cheap supply of provisions, the Bay of Islands has for years been the favourite resort of those engaged in that trade. About the same time, too, the New Zealand flax began to be looked upon as a useful article, and vessels came to the islands to take in cargoes of that plant, from the western shores of the North Island, whence the principal supply was obtainable; and the rise of the flax-trade called into existence small settlements on the western shores, as that of whaling had on the eastern. Seal-fishing was, during the first twenty years of this century, successfully prosecuted on both coasts, and afterwards removed to Cook's Straits, as the supply began to decrease, thus giving rise to settlements on the southern shore of the North Island, where the whale was recklessly destroyed on its breeding-grounds.

Between the white colonists and the missionaries there was little congeniality of opinion, save in condemning and despising the fallacy of the native government, of which the lay secretary of the Church Missionary Society was the chief protector and guardian. Obedience to the missionaries the new settlers would not pay, whilst the native chiefs could not command either party; and the consul who was sent by the English government in 1833, was by no means able to manage the very queer people placed under his protection. In 1830 La Place, the distinguished French navigator, came to the Bay of Islands, and met with little civility from the missionaries. This conduct on their part was due doubtless as much to their unthinking hatred of every Romanist, as to their fears lest the French should assume that sovereignty over the islands which the English government still refused to exercise. It is sad to think that any ministers of Christianity should have so acted as to warrant La Place in publicly declaring, in his official report, that "the

English missionaries at the Bay of Islands exhibit neither the charity, which all the ministers of religion profess, nor the generosity for which their countrymen are remarkable towards strangers. My offers and my solicitations to obtain from them some refreshment for our sick were alike in vain; and I am convinced myself that, suspecting me of political purposes, they endeavoured to disturb the harmony that existed between me and the natives, by insinuating to them that I meant to take possession of the bay, and revenge the massacre of Marrion." Two years after La Place's visit, the declaration of Baron de Thierry, that he was about to assume the sovereignty of New Zealand, and establish an independent kingdom in that and the Marquesa's Islands, excited considerable anxiety among the European settlers, and a united petition was presented in the following year to William the Fourth, stating the incapacity of the native rulers, and soliciting the English crown to assume the sovereignty over the islands. So lawless was the state of society at that time, that the missionaries themselves united in soliciting such a government as would secure peace and tranquillity, even at the expense of their own power. Not so, however, the home societies; the project suited neither Mr. Dandeson Coates nor his Wesleyan coadjutors. The one was determined to resist any interposition of British sovereignty, the others "steadily to maintain those principles by which they had been actuated in resisting the proposed scheme for the colonization of New Zealand." Three years after this petition, which was, thanks to manœuvring, ineffectual, the New Zealand Society arose, and commenced the first systematic colonization of the northern island, choosing Cook's Straits as the place of their operations, whither they sent their first ship load of emigrants in 1839. Things now got too bad to last long without a good government, and in 1840, Captain Hobson was sent out as the first governor of New Zealand, under the late assumed sovereignty of the isles; and, after some bungling and delay, the government colony and seat of authority was fixed on the south shore of the Waitemata bay, at the bottom of the great inlet of Houraki in the northern island. Since then, many a good and sharp squabble has there been between the favourers of the government colony and the patrons of the New Zealand Company's lands, as to which are best suited for colonists.* With these disputes we have little to do; let the pamphleteers on both sides fight it out: all we propose doing is giving the best description we can of the several settlements on the island, and letting those who read decide. Since then, a new governor, Captain Fitzroy, has gone out, and seems to find favour with all parties. Dr. Selwyn has become the first bishop, and with what effect our copious extracts from his most interesting letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel will best declare.

* While these pages are passing through the press, we learn from an advertisement in the daily papers, that the contest between the Colonial Office and the New Zealand Company has come to a crisis; one apparently disastrous to the latter institution. It is on the eve of total disruption.

The bishop arrived in his diocese in May, 1842, and before the close of that year had completed his first visitation of every important settlement in the islands. Wherever there is a bank he has established a church fund for the erection of schools and clergymen's houses, to which he devotes surplice and other fees, and the proceeds of the offertory. In his letter, written at sea, immediately after the conclusion of his first visitation, he says,—

"From the nature of the country of New Zealand, the population is likely to be divided into a number of villages; a distribution likely to be favourable to morality, but adding to the difficulty of providing the people with adequate pastoral superintendence. At the same time, I find in all the settlements a very considerable willingness on the part of the inhabitants to bear their part in the maintenance of ministers, and hope, therefore, to be enabled, by the assistance of the Society, to go on from year to year endowing the church in perpetuity in the new settlements as fast as they arise. Of course, at first, the glebe lands will yield little or nothing; and I shall be obliged to divide the sum which the Society may be enabled to allow me for annual salaries of clergymen among the ministers, who may be expected to increase in number, and, therefore, must gradually become less and less dependent upon the allowance of the Society. This diminution of their dividend of the Society's grant, may be met by the increase of the Local Church Fund, arising from the rental of lands, and the contributions of the congregations."—P. 7.

The northern island has already been apportioned into four archdeaconries, and a small college for candidates for orders established at the Waimate, conducted by the bishop himself and his chaplains. Another archdeaconry is designed for the district of Nelson and the northern part of the middle island. In compliance with the urgent request of the governor and people of Auckland, a school is about to be formed there in connexion with the collegiate institution already spoken of. Every town clergyman is required by the bishop to learn the native language, and to regard the aborigines as his flock quite as much as the European settlers; "and," adds Bp. Selwyn, "I find it will be necessary also to establish the converse rule, that every missionary to the natives shall also be ready to minister to the English settlers; for in this country English and natives will live side by side, unless some rupture (which God avert!) should take place between them." None can peruse Dr. Dieffenbach's journeys, not merely round the coast and the partially-civilized districts, but over every portion of the northern isle, and not feel assured that in every rupture the fault will be mainly on the side of the colonists. That traveller met not only with peace and an absence of annoyance, but each chief seemed to vie with the other in showing their kindness towards him and his small party. Every fresh account will show that the late fatal rupture at Nelson was due to the indiscretion of our own people.

The following extracts from the Bishop's letters must prove interesting to every one who cares aught for our new colony:—

"In every part of the country I find great occasion for thankfulness and hope. Of course little has been done as yet; but the comfort is, that very few *hindrances have grown* up to prevent the establishment of a sound and efficient

Church system. May God give us grace to use with earnestness and understanding the peculiar advantages which are placed within our reach. We have not to combat with a host of full-grown difficulties, such as usually stand in the way of the ministers of religion when they come late in the day into ground already pre-occupied. Thank God we are foremost in the field, and may prevent, I trust, much opposition, which otherwise would have been most injurious to the interests of religion hereafter.

"My friend Mr. Chief Justice Martin and myself, feel that in the line of our new duties, a door of great and effectual usefulness is open to us. We have been appointed joint Trustees, with the chief Protector of the Aborigines as our colleague, of the lands and funds reserved for the benefit of the native race; a trust of immense importance, both as regards the magnitude of the property, and still more the high moral and spiritual interests which it involves. The native Reserves amount in land to between thirty and forty thousand acres; and the money fund, to fifteen per cent. upon the produce of all land sales effected by the government. The moral and spiritual considerations involve the earnest endeavour to advance seventy or eighty thousand of the most intelligent people in the world in the knowledge of true religion, and in the scale of social existence.

"I speak of the natives first, because they are the great bulk of the population; and, I think, the hinge upon which the prosperity of the colony will turn. But add to the Native Trust the necessity of providing every one of the English settlements with every one of its Ecclesiastical Institutions; for there is not so much as a Church of England School in any one of them; that the whole system has to be framed by the gradual addition of that 'which every joint supplieth;' that upon the soundness of the principles upon which this system is framed, depends, under God, much of the future character of the people of the country; and I confess I should tremble at my own insufficiency if the work did not display so manifestly the finger of God in all its parts, that I can look upon myself only as one portion of the clay, over which he has power, and which he is moulding evidently according to his will.

"But I have not yet concluded the sources of comfort which may be drawn from the effectual working of God's grace in this country; the care of the Church Mission by itself is an employment to which I should have been thankful to be allowed to devote my whole life. Taken as a whole, the missionary body more than equals my expectations. The great majority, too, of the Catechists whom I have seen, are men who, with few advantages of education, have been both faithful and successful in their exertions. As for the people, I love them from my heart, and my desire to serve them grows day by day; there is something so cheering in the frank and cordial openness of their countenance and manner, and in the blameless and devout tenor of their lives."—Pp. 9, 10.

The natives, when they parted with many of their lands to former and present settlers, never intended to dispose of them in the way in which they were purchased by the settlers. The complete ownership of the land the native never intended to part with; he merely proposed selling the right to use it, when not required by the tribe, and believed that he reserved to himself the fee of his ancestral land, and gave no power to the white man to remove him from the lands against his will. It is impossible here to enter into the very complex subject of the old purchases of lands from the natives, and the late contracts between the Company and the chiefs. One thing may be noticed, at once curious, and adding considerably to the present difficulties in adjusting equitably the various grants and claims of land, for the strict letter of the contract would be paramount injustice to the native. Many a tribe may inhabit and cultivate a district,

to all appearances the sole possessors, and that for many generations, and yet have no right in the land. This results sometimes from the permission of the superior tribe by whom the present possessors have been conquered, and comparatively left to cultivate at least a portion of their own territory, though the right in the soil has passed by conquest to the victorious tribe. Sometimes, when a tribe, hard pressed by enemies, has migrated, all but a small remnant, the few left behind retire to remote parts of their old territory, and without the knowledge of the superior tribe to which they properly have passed, and which has long since meted out every portion of the land among their own warriors, if they do but choose to take possession of it. Thus the real and apparent right to land is often in very different and very distant nations; and many a tribe has outwitted the colonists in disposing of lands vested in other tribes, and not in that which has so long inhabited and cultivated the soil.

Auckland, the seat of the government of the colony, and chief residence of the Bishop, lies about midway on the western shore of the northern island, or, as it is now called, New Ulster, at the bottom of the last of a succession of deep and wide bays, formed by the estuary of the Thames, and approachable from both the east and west coasts of the island. The temperature of Auckland is all that can be desired by an emigrant. During the summer months, —that is, from their October to March—the mean temperature is about sixty-seven degrees, whilst during the winter it seldom falls to freezing-point, and averages little less than fifty-two degrees of Fahrenheit. Comparing this settlement with that which corresponds with it in our northern hemisphere, namely, Montpellier, we find that though to both has been assigned a mean temperature of nearly sixty degrees, the difference between the mean temperature of summer and that of winter is, in Montpellier, as much as sixty-eight degrees; whilst in its antipodes, Auckland, it hardly reaches twenty degrees. By the equalizing influence of the insular position of New Zealand, and the proximity of Auckland to the coast, we are assured by Dr. Dieffenbach, that while the hottest month at Auckland corresponds with that at Vienna, the coldest is but little below that of the coldest in the capital of Portugal.

Passing northward from the embouchure of the Thames, we gradually lose the high lands peculiar to that district as we approach the large island of Waiheke, that lies off the entrance to the Bay of Waitemata, on the southern shore of which the government settlement is located. The harbour of Waitemata is the most important of that range of bays, which form the Gulf of Hauraki, separating as they nearly do the northern island into two parts, from the harbour of Port Coromandel on the eastern, to that of Manukao on the western side of New Ulster.

"In passing from the outlet of the Thames towards Waitemate," says Dr. Dieffenbach, "the aspect of the shores is highly picturesque. A luxuriant vegetation covers them to the water's edge, or alternates with the clearings made by the natives. As we approached Auckland, several regular volcanic

cones rose over the table-land, which stretches across the island to the harbour of Manukao. We passed a number of islands, of which that of Waikele is overtopped with stately Kauri-pines; from every crevice of the rocks on these islands, even where washed by the salt water, the glossy green of various shrubs meets our eyes. The islands in the Gulf of Hauraki, luxuriantly wooded as they are, and divided from each other by deep straits, afford a succession of ever-changing scenery, and give the region a variety which is unrivalled by any other harbour in New Zealand, in most of which steep and uniform surrounding hills shut in the view, and confine it to a narrow space.

"The navigable entrance into the harbour is only three-quarters of a mile wide, as it is narrowed by a reef, the outermost point of which is marked by a beacon, and is distant three-quarters of a mile from a curious bastion-shaped rock of sandstone, which may be regarded as the southern head. Within the heads the channel widens to an average breadth of one mile; it has its greatest depth on the northern shore, and is shallow on the southern, on which the town of Auckland has been laid out, about two miles and a half from the southern head. The depth of the harbour is from six to nine fathoms in mid-channel; and three to three and a half at the sides. The inlet continues about ten miles to the westward, sending an arm to the northward, towards the river Kaipara, and another towards the southward, towards the harbour of Manukao. The northern arm has a deep but very narrow channel near the northern shore; but shoals and rocks obstruct the passage leading towards Manukao, except for large boats, which can go up for several miles in the river-like inlet, and between its upper part and the harbour of Manukao, there is a portage of one mile and a half."—Vol. i. pp. 276—8.

There is not much wood in the immediate neighbourhood of Auckland, so fatal was the general conflagration by which nearly all the woods round the bay were destroyed, save a small strip of Kauri and other trees on the northern shore, the store-house of fire-wood and timber for the new settlement. Close to the town the land is first-rate, and likewise towards the harbour of the west coast, and also to the eastward,—"it is fit for all kinds of horticultural and agricultural purposes." The demand for fire-wood, and the necessity of clearing the land, will soon remove the most attractive garment that nature has given to the sandstone cliffs of Waitemata; and as one by one the pohutukana trees fall before the emigrant's axe, the purple Christmas-flower garment of the bay becomes rent, and torn piece-meal. As in most places in New Zealand, Auckland is well supplied with water, both by the small water-runs in the valleys, and the springs that afford a ready supply on digging a few feet below the surface. Here, too, is solid material for building, hard scoriæ, at the base of the neighbouring volcanic cones, easily worked, and sandstone that hardens on exposure to the air. But a mile to the eastward lies the small bay of Oraki, so formed by nature as to present a natural dock, capable of application to every purpose connected with shipping, at a small expense. Again there is another passage to the western harbour of Manukao by the inlet of Taranaki, of six feet water at the entrance at low water, which deepens greatly withinside the bar, and vessels of two hundred tons can sail up some distance towards the head of the inlet, where a portage of a quarter of a mile divides it from the port of Manukao. The excellence of the land on both sides of the Tamaki has ere this attracted visiters;

and the north shore, besides other lands extending some ninety square miles, is claimed by a catechist of the Church Missionary Society, doubtless obtained for a very valuable consideration.

There is but one thing that will prevent Auckland from rising rapidly, that is the curse of new settlements,—land speculation. No place in New Zealand has such a combination of advantages. The agriculturist has land, good available land, close to the town; the merchant has everything he can require in the way of water-carriage, and situation for commercial purposes. If the emigrants will but cultivate their home resources, and apply themselves diligently to the coast trade which every day brings to them, and every day will continue to increase upon them, if they will but attend to it, no place in the northern island can be better situated for the site of the capital of the colony. The Bay of Waitemata is the natural harbour of the fertile districts of the valley of the Thames and the Piako; from thence, both northward and southward, communication is easy. When Dr. Dieffenbach was there, even then, with such insufficient communication as they had, an inland communication could be effected with the Bay of Islands in less than five days; whilst "with the western coast," says the same writer, "and with the interior, over Manukao and the river Waikato, nothing interrupts the water-communication but two small portages; and even with Cook's Straits, relations can be easily established, either by the river Thames, or the Waikato and Waipa, and the river Wanganui. In short, it appears to me that there can be no question but that the place has been very judiciously chosen for the site of a town, as commanding a great extent of available land in its neighbourhood, great facility of communication with the coast and the interior of the northern island, and as being a central point for the most powerful native tribes, the Nga-pui to the northward, the Waikato to the southward, and the Nga-te-hauwa to the eastward, separating them in a military point of view, but uniting them for the purposes of cultivation and commerce." Such is the verdict of one in a high degree capable of judging accurately, and not likely to let his judgment be biassed in favour of the locality, from the fact of Auckland not being a settlement of the Company whose surveyor he was. Here the bishop first landed, and the following interesting extract from his first letter gives us his month's experience of that portion of his new diocese:

Auckland, July 29, 1842.

"My Dear Sir,—You will have already heard, from other quarters, of my arrival in New Zealand; but I have hitherto delayed writing any official letters, that I might have time to verify my first impressions by more extended observation. I have now been two months in New Zealand, and from the first day of my landing until now, have seen, day after day, more and more reason to be thankful, on the part of the Church, for the establishment of the Bishopric of this colony, and for myself, that I am allowed to share in so great and hopeful a work. I find myself placed in a position such as was never granted *to any* English Bishop before, with a power to mould the institutions of the

Church from the beginning, according to true principles; and I earnestly desire the prayers of the Church at home, that I may be enabled clearly to discern that truth, and consistently to follow it.

"I landed first at Auckland on Monday, May 30, from the brig Bristolian, in which I had proceeded from Sydney, in consequence of an accident to the Tomatin at Sydney, which caused a delay of several weeks before the ship could be repaired. Auckland now contains a population of 1,900 persons, of which more than 1,100 are registered as members of the Church of England. The Rev. J. F. Churton, late chaplain at Wellington, has officiated here during the last year and a half. A brick church, in the early English style, which will contain about six hundred persons, is in progress; but from the great cost of materials and labour, the funds are at present inadequate for its completion. It is well placed on a commanding eminence in the centre of the town, and will form a striking object from the harbour. At present Divine Service is performed, by permission of the governor, in the court-house; where a very respectable congregation is assembled every Sunday. Mr. Churton also performs Divine Service at the barracks, and at the prison. He receives 200*l.* per annum from the government, to which I have added 100*l.* per annum from the annual grant voted me by the Society for stipends of clergymen. He has built a house for himself on an allotment which he purchased for that purpose.

"The governor, on my application, has vested in me as trustee two pieces of ground of eight acres each, 'for the burial of the dead, according to the usage of the Church of England,' allotting, at the same time, two similar plots to be divided among the other denominations of Christians. Our burial-grounds are about half a mile from the centre of the town, on the sides of two of the ridges which slope down gradually to the harbour, and conveniently situated at corresponding distances from the two churches. The first ground was consecrated on Sunday last, on which occasion I was assisted by the Rev. J. F. Churton, Rev. R. Cole (whom I propose to place at Wellington,) and Rev. R. Maunsell (one of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society). Divine Service was performed in the church-tent presented to me by Mr. Cotton, which is completely fitted with communion-table and desks, and will contain three hundred persons. This will be of great use to me at Nelson and Wellington, where there are at present no places appropriated to public worship. In the event of the population of Auckland rapidly increasing, this burial-ground will form a beautiful site for another church. In the meantime, I intend to avail myself of the natural beauties of the spot, to give it such a character as will accord with the reverential feelings with which it will be visited by the friends and relatives of the dead who are there interred.

"The church now in progress is called the church of St. Paul; on the central one of the three ridges on which the town will stand. I have obtained another excellent site on the western ridge, on which I intend, as soon as possible, to build a wooden chapel, and to lay the foundation of a church on a grand scale, to be proceeded with gradually as funds can be obtained. On the third, *i. e.* the eastern ridge, nearest to the mouth of the harbour, and on a high ground commanding a view of the whole frith of the Thames, I have given directions for the purchase of twenty or thirty acres of land for a site for the cathedral, and for a cathedral close. By this arrangement I may hope to secure a future provision for every possible increase of population, as sites will be prepared for three churches in the main parts of the town; and when the houses extend half a mile into the country, the two burial-grounds will meet the wants of the people, by additions to the chapels which I intend to build upon them for the funeral services.

"I have obtained permission to select and purchase sites for parsonage-houses, contiguous to the churches and burial-grounds, which I shall endeavour to let upon building-leases, reserving one central piece of ground sufficient for the residence of all the clergy of the town, who may find it more desirable for

some years to come to live upon a collegiate plan, than to incur the expense of so many separate establishments.

"Any money that I may be able to spare from Auckland itself, will be required for the establishment of the Church in some of the suburban settlements, where villages are beginning to be formed. From one of these, Windsor, distant four miles from Auckland, I have already received an address expressive of the desire of the inhabitants for a church and clergyman, and their willingness to contribute."—Pp. 3—5.

Truly such a letter is encouraging, and makes us dream that we have fallen on better times. Compare this account of the progress of religious superintendence and comfort in this colony, to that sad tale we were obliged to set forth of the early foundation of Australia. True it is, and equally sad as well as true, that the failing of resources, temporary only we trust, may for a time mar the noble plans of the bishop, and for a time prevent the Gospel and the Services of the Church being made known to those who have left our land for the far colony, and the dark sons of the soil, on whose lands we are trespassing. Truly this is a sad thing to contemplate. But was it not far worse with Australia? It is bad enough to want the means to do good,—it is far worse to want the wish. Fear not, my Lord, the Church will not dare to leave her daughter a cripple and maimed in the far-off island, for the want of a little of this world's wealth. However governments may hold back, however officials may look cold, God will support and defend His own; He will speak through His Church, and act through His Church, and there shall be those who will give their wealth, and those who will devote their persons to the good and glorious work so well begun by the Church's true son.

Among the many smaller settlements that have risen and are daily rising on the coasts of the northern island, northward of its division by the bays of Hauraki, the most flourishing is that of Waimate, about sixteen miles to the north of Auckland on the western shore, and in the direct passage from the Bay of Islands to Hokianga harbour. The neighbourhood is far from being suited to agricultural purposes, abounding as it does in thermal, and other medicinal springs, and exhibiting in every direction extinct craters, and other marks of its volcanic nature. Waimate has a very European appearance, was early chosen as a station for one of the Church Missionary Society's clergymen, and is now, for the present, the favourite residence of the bishop, who gives the following description of this, the Bath and Cheltenham of New Zealand:

"Next door to our house, which is the college, is the collegiate-school, which has not yet been opened, but will probably be set on foot after Easter. The premises have hitherto been used as the missionary school, and are very complete for the purpose. The cathedral library is established at Kerikeri, ten miles from this place, in a fine stone building, partly used as a store. I have just completed the arrangements of the library, so that the goodly presents of my numerous friends are all accessible; and a beautiful sight they are. It is enough to cheer the heart to see such a body of sound divinity collected in this most distant of the dioceses of the Church of England. Add to this the private

feeling of knowing that every one of the books is the gift of some friend, whose heart and whose prayers are with us.

"One of the chief advantages of the Waimate is, that we have a spacious church close to the house. It is built entirely of wood, painted white, and gives a very English look to the village. In the interior we have a stone font, an altar cloth and cushions, a pulpit—and beautiful large books, all the gifts of different friends in England.

"Here I held my first confirmation, at which three hundred and twenty-five natives were confirmed. A more orderly, and I hope impressive, ceremony could not have been conducted in any church in England; the natives coming up in parties to the communion table, and audibly repeating the answer—E wakaoetia ana e ahau, 'I do (confess).' It was a most striking sight to see a church filled with native Christians, ready, at my first invitation, to obey the ordinances of their religion. On the following Sunday three hundred native communicants assembled at the Lord's table, though the rain was unceasing. Some of them came two days' journey for this purpose. My Windsor communion plate was used for the second time on this occasion. The natives were much pleased when they were told that it was a present from my congregation in England, and seemed to enter fully into the spirit of the gift."—Pp. 12, 13.

Many persons conclude, without consideration, that because some volcanic regions are peculiarly fertile, all must be so. They should consider that it all depends on the nature of the eruptions from the neighbouring craters. Forty or perhaps a less number of years, will render ejected mud or ashes ripe for vegetation, and fit for planting, as in the regions of Etna and Vesuvius: far different is the case when lava and scoriæ are thrown out on the land, as in New Zealand. This has been the error in the selection of Waimate, as far as agriculture is concerned, however useful the settlement may become as a medicinal refuge, on account of the springs in its immediate vicinity. Dr. Dieffenbach, who visited them in December 1840, gives the following account of these springs:—

"A few miles to the southward of Waimate, are some curious thermal springs. In order to visit which, we leave Waimate and ascend a hill, from which three volcanic cones present themselves to our view, in an extensive depression of the table-land below. The plain is spread over with fragments, often more than fifteen feet in diameter, of a slate-coloured basaltic rock, the spaces between which are covered with fern and flax; while, here and there, are patches planted with Indian corn and potatoes. After passing a small native settlement, and crossing a ravine, we ascend a ridge of hills, very barren and steep, with a white clay on the surface, and evidently covered in former times with the kauri-pine. We now come to a lake, about one mile in circumference; on its shores are black and half-burnt stems of kauri, and the soil in the neighbourhood is covered with efflorations of pure sulphur. At a little distance is another lake, called Ko-huta-kino, smaller than the former; and near this are the mineral springs. There are several of them, all close to the lake. The first which I examined was strongly aluminous, and of a temperature of 62° Fahrenheit. A few feet from it was a tepid spring, of a milk-white colour and an alkaline taste; its temperature was 124°. A third was acidulous, with a temperature of 154°. In another, over which rose sulphuretted hydrogen gas, the thermometer stood at 133°, while the temperature of the surrounding air was 80°. A small creek discharged itself into the lake, through a narrow valley, the gaseous emanations of sulphuric acid have much altered the argillaceous rock, parts of which have become white and red, while in other portions it has changed into a species of clay, covered with sublimations of pure alum, sulphur, and different sulphates. There are several

other springs in the neighbourhood, which mix their waters with the creek, and impart to it an increased temperature."—Vol. i. pp. 245-6.

From the natives whom the doctor found living in temporary habitations round the springs, and the diseases with which they were afflicted, he was enabled to learn the traditional effects of the waters, in cutaneous and scrofulous affections. The uniform brown tint of the verdure in the vicinity, whilst it repels the healthful emigrant from wasting his labour or his money on the volcanic soil, assures him of an immediate and valuable remedy when attacked by many of the illnesses common in the islands.

No little controversy has been expended in discussing the relative merits of the Bay of Islands on the east, and Auckland on the west, shore, as situations for the capital of New Zealand. The number of vessels that for years resorted to the former, was always the standing argument of the Baymen; but, now that the increased arrivals of Europeans have gradually, but surely, raised the price of provisions at the Bay of Islands, the reason of their former resort becomes clear; and, as the latter locality is unable to offer the available land in its vicinity that Auckland possesses, or a bay out of its hundreds large enough to build a town in, except on the side of a steep hill, the contest seems ended in the victory of the Aucklanders.

Southward from Auckland, and almost in the centre of the northern island, is the great lake of Taupo, the lofty volcano of Tongariroo, and the boiling cascade of Rotu-Mahana—the three great curiosities of the island. The lake of Taupo will hereafter be of the utmost consequence, as the connecting link of water-communication between the settlements in Cook's Straits and those in the Bay of Hauraki. A glance at any tolerable map of the island shows the river Waikato that runs into the Thames, and thence into the Bay of Hauraki, springing from the northern side of the lake, whilst from the foot of Tongariroo, on the opposite shore, the Wanganui flows to Cook's Straits, and is navigated by the natives nearly from its source to its embouchure. Nor will the lake-storms, so much feared, and with reason, by the native in his light canoe, be any great hindrance to the more powerful and better-prepared boat of the European. Nothing can be expected in the way of agricultural settlements in this district, as it teems with boiling springs, and their concomitants, basaltic rocks and scoriæ. The lake itself is about thirty-six miles long, by five-and-twenty broad, and forms the centre of the volcanic region, where, even now, volcanic action is going on, and which in days past had its principal point of activity in the crater of Tongariroo, the base of which is twelve miles from the shore of the lake. Without enumerating or attempting to describe all the warm ponds and springs of this remarkable region, we may extract the following striking description from Dr. Dieffenbach's work:—

"The most interesting hot-springs and fumeroles are in the delta which the Waikato has formed in entering the lake on its left shore, and on the sides of the hills which bound the delta to the south-west. The scenery on the western

shore of the lake is magnificent, vigorous trees overhanging the black nachitic or basaltic escarpments of the shore. Here and there are native houses and cleared places on the precipitous hills. Where this shore joins the delta of the Waikato, there is a narrow belt of flat land, on which stands the village of Te-rapa. Behind it the hills rise to about a hundred feet above the lake. In ascending, the ground is found to be of a high temperature; the surface is often bare, or is scantily covered with mosses and lichens; it is formed of a red or white clay, of a soft and alkaline nature, which the natives use instead of soap, and sometimes eat. Gaseous effluvia seem to have converted the rock of the hill, which is basalt, and sometimes amygdaloid, into this clay. When we approach the top of this amphitheatre of hills, the scene which presents itself is very striking. Vapours issue from hundreds of crevices, and in most of these places there are shallow springs, the bottom of which is a soft mud, into which a stick can be easily driven ten feet. The temperature of the water is from 200° to 212° Fahrenheit. In some springs it has an argillaceous, in others a sulphurous, taste. A subterranean noise is continually heard, resembling the working of a steam-engine, or the blast of an iron-foundry. By placing some fern over a crevice, and their food (potatoes, kumeras, or pork) upon it, the natives have a ready and convenient oven."—Pp. 339, 340.

Strange, indeed, are Nature's works in this warm-water region. Sometimes on the very edge of the lake are warm ponds of a tepid heat, natural warm baths, and used as such by the natives; in another place a hot spring is side-by-side with a very strong cold saline one; here a hot—boiling-hot—pond of water discharges itself into a cold river, whilst in other places the lake itself steams from the heat of the waters discharged into it. The ground all round sounds hollow and treacherous to the footstep. Sometimes the hot stream is quiet, in other places the clear transparent water is all ebullition, throwing itself up to the height of five or six feet from its bubbling bed, at intervals of but a few seconds. The whole area seems a thin warm crust, over caverns of boiling water, little more than a foot in thickness, with a hard thin white surface, then friable earth, to which succeeds earth impregnated with sulphate of iron or sulphur, and chalcedony, sometimes formed, sometimes in the process of formation. Below this crust is the hot black mud already mentioned, and "it often happens," says Dr. Dieffenbach, "that this crust breaks in, and dreadful scaldings frequently occur. Near one of the springs, beautiful saucer-shaped aggregations of silex shoot up, not unlike fungi on a moist surface."

The learned doctor was unfortunate in arriving at Tongariroo, when the great chief of the neighbourhood, previous to his departure on some expedition, had tabooed the mountain, and thus rendered it unapproachable by any human foot. The unauthorised ascent of a traveller of the name of Bedwill, whose account the doctor inserts in his book, was the cause of the taboo on the back-bone of the Tapuna, or great ancestor, as the natives designate this, their holy mountain. Tongariroo, though apparently the centre of the volcanic action of the island, has done little more, for as long as the native traditions extend, than cast up a few thin showers of ashes, and pour forth a warm stream of commingled mud and water from the bottom of its ashy crater; little snow is found on the mountain-peak, due, perhaps,

to the heat of the latent volcano, if the last traveller who ascended the "holy backbone" was not deceived in the height of the snow-covered mountains that surround Tongariroo. Here, too, in all probability, is the central cause of the slight earthquakes that are felt as far as Port Nicholson towards the south, and the valley of the Thames to the north-west; and even at Cloudy Bay, in the middle island. The old mythological traditions seem to point to this fact. The myth of the quarrel between Tongariroo and his two wives, now the mountains of Paihanga and Hauhungatahi, once placed by his side, but now removed far from their mountain lord, as well as the story of the former union of Mount Egmont and the Holy Mountain, may, with good reason, be considered as pointing to some great convulsion of nature, in which a great mountain-ridge, from Cape Egmont to Tongariroo, was rent asunder, and portions of it, perhaps, engulphed, as the traditional fate of the native village on the site of the Maupere Lake. The bed of the deep and rapid Waikato, with its cliffs of pumice-stone, is another evidence of the violent action due at some early period to the volcanoes of this district.

Passing by Doctor Dieffenbach's interesting description of the continuous collection of boiling pools and smoking fissures, as well on the plain as on the swell of the base of Maunga-Tauhara, to the banks of the Waikato, let us give, with some abridgment, his account of the boiling lake and cascade of Rotu-Mahana, at which the Doctor's party, after losing their way, at last arrived, under the guidance of two natives, whom they fell in with, near a travelling potatoe-ground, as they are called, some little distance from the banks of the Waikato.

"On the first of June we passed a hill at a short distance to the northward of our route. It was of considerable elevation, and had its original composition almost entirely converted into red and white clay by the hot gases which issued from its whole surface. Towards evening we reached the hills which surround on all sides the Rotu-Mahana, or warm lake. When we arrived on the crest of these hills, the view which opened was one of the grandest I had ever beheld. Let the reader imagine a lake of a deep blue colour, surrounded by verdant hills; in the lake several islets, some showing the bare rock, others covered with shrubs, while on all of them steam issued from a hundred openings between the green foliage, without impairing its freshness: on the opposite side a flight of broad steps of the colour of white marble, with a rosy tint, and a cascade of boiling water falling over them into the lake. A part of the lake was separated from the rest by a ledge of rocks, forming a lagoon in a state of ebullition, which discharged its waters into the Rotu-Mahana. We descended to the lake, but a heavy rain came on, and night surprised us. Next morning some natives came in a canoe to fetch us over to their settlement. We were first conveyed to the cascade which we had seen the evening before, and which is called Wakatara; the steps proved to be the silicious deposits of the waters of the hot pond above them. We ascended the steps, which are about fifty in number, from one to two feet broad; many of them, however, being subdivisions resulting from the gradual deposition of the silex. The water which falls over them was moderately tepid. The steps are firm, like porcelain, and have a tinge of carmine. The concretions assume interesting forms of mammillary stalagmites of the colour of milk-white chalcedony; and, here and there, where the rounded steps overhung the former deposits, stalactites of various

sizes were depending. The boiling pond on the top, which was clear and blue, could not be approached, as the concretions at its margin were very thin and fragile. The pond was about ten yards round, and perhaps one hundred feet above the level of the Rotu-Mahana. The water which is discharged into the lake from this pond, and from other places, warms its waters to 55° Fahrenheit above the temperature of the air; that is to say, to 95°. There are also springs in the lake itself, as in many places bubbles are seen rising up. On the banks of the lake itself are a great many openings from which steam rises. We afterwards landed on a small rock in the lake, composed of a felspathic lava; the natives had some houses on it, and cooked our food over a steaming crevice, while I bathed in the warm lake. The Rotu-Mahana is not more than a mile in circumference."—Vol. i. pp. 381—383.

Having thus passed from the settlements on the east and west coasts of the northern end of the northern island, through the centre of the country to the volcanic region, we will descend the south-western side of Tongariroo, and gradually escaping from the brown-looking vegetation of this region, at last approach, from the land-side, the latest of the settlements of the New Zealand Company, which they have established on the west coast, at the bottom of a small bay formed by the promontory of Cape Egmont. The settlement still bears, among many persons, the Indian name of Taranaki, and musters already nearly a thousand emigrants; it is at present the most northern of the Company's settlements.

The settlement of Taranaki may be said to comprehend the shore-country from Cape Egmont; the land is elevated, consisting mostly of marl, and a stiff blue clay, or a yellow sandstone, covered with a thick layer of loam. Above these cliffs the country is undulating, and overgrown with ferns, interspersed with considerable groves of trees. The soil seems abundantly fertile, and the vegetation extends to the sea-shore. Further inland low hills begin to rise, with gentle declivities and rounded summits, in many parts, to all appearance, overgrown with trees. The fertility and suitableness of this settlement for agricultural operations, seem to be admitted on all hands; and though harbour there is none for vessels of any great burden, yet the heavy moorings laid down by the Company have rendered the roadsted of Taranaki safe in all weathers, and relieved the settler from the fear of not being able to export the surplus production he has every reason to expect in this settlement. The following is the account of the settlement by a labouring emigrant but a very short time after its foundation; there is an honest originality about the letter:—

"*To* Mr. Samuel Crocker, *Revelstoke, from his Daughter-in-law.*

"New Plymouth, Feb. 10th, 1842.

"Dear Father,—We have sent these letters home by Captain Liardet, the Governor of New Plymouth. Captain Liardet and mate, and one of the Cawsand men, were clearing out one of the great guns, and the gun went off, and the sand and powder flew up in their faces and eyes. Captain Liardet has lost one eye, and is very likely to lose the other; he is going home to England; every one is sorry for him, he is such a good man. I should be very glad to hear that Captain Kingcombe had taken his place to come here to New

Zealand. The governor will give you the true account of the place. As to saying that there is no harbour here for ships to lie in a storm, they can make a very fine harbour, but they must send home to England first about it. There is a fine harbour down to the Waitera, fourteen miles from here. They have grown fine wheat and barley here; the finest that you ever saw, very fine; and new potatoes and turnips on Christmas-day for dinner. Dear father, when we get together Jane is sure to say, "now John, if poor father was but here, and Samuel, how happy we should be;" and John's answer is, "I wish he was, my dear, he would be quite happy here, to see our gardens and land, and to walk over them." Henry and Charles go to school. Henry is just learning to write; the schoolmaster is just newly set up; it is sixpence a week for Charles, and ninepence a week for Henry; he has been at writing some weeks. Dear father, please to bring me and Jane out a barrel of pilchards each; please to buy a gardening hook too. There are plenty of mackerel here, but no nets to catch them, and there are pilchards; please to bring one good pilchard net. I must beg of you once more to bring dear Samuel with you. I have sent him a letter; when I wrote yours I did not think I should have time to write him one, as there was a ship in sight, but it was not coming here. It is a great thoroughfare here for ships, they are often in sight. Dear father, on Christmas-day six of us went up to the Moturoa Chapel, to hear Mr. Creed, and the chapel was quite full of poor missionaries. When we came home we had cold fig pudding, and cold leg of pork, dressed the day before; ten of us sat down to dinner. In the afternoon we went to see the land, and in the evening we went to chapel. The sand has been tried, and it is more than half iron; and in the interior, about a mile from ours, there is stone with lead in it all over the place. I wish it had been in ours to have had a mine. It is a valuable country."

From the letter of Mr. Carrington to his brother, Major Carrington, we learn that coal has been found on the banks of the Mokau, and limestone and coal in abundance about five-and-twenty miles off, on the north-east coast. Iron ore has been picked up on the beach, and veins of it found in the vicinity of the town; add to this a bank of whiting, and three seams of coal, within five miles of the settlement, discovered by Mr. Perry, the Company's surveyor.* A Devonshire yeoman of the name of Bayly, a true specimen of the class especially suited for New Zealand colonization, gives the most useful description of the settlement we have met with; with a little money, much industry, and a competent share of knowledge, he shows what the advantages of the colony are to men of his class. He clearly sees who those are that grumble—the land speculators and the idlers—whilst all the real working-land purchasers are content. Whilst at Port Nicholson, on the way to his new home, this emigrant fell in with a Wesleyan missionary, who told him that the district of Taranaki was the garden of New Zealand. The missionary knew it from mere inspection; six months' experience quite bore out his eulogistic account.

"And now I have seen it, and upwards of six months' experience, and found it, by the mouth of another Wesleyan missionary—his name is Creed—all to be true. *Here are thousands and tens of thousands of acres as level as can be found in England; I would say, when the land is cleared, all that I have seen, that the plough shall go over nineteen acres out of twenty. The soil is very deep*

* Letter of John Perry, Esq. pp. 139, 140.—Letters from Emigrants.

in high land as well as low. I believe for climate and soil not better to be found in the known world. I know a man that has tilled the third crop of potatoes in the same piece of ground, and I am expecting a crop within twelve months. In front of my house there are many acres of potatoes, Indian corn, pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, peas, beans, cabbages, greens, turnips, radishes, and many things else; and you may till this in five hundred acres together, as well as here, and answer well. There is fern, bush, and timber land to clear; fern and bush extend about two miles back from the sea shore; then the timber. This fern and bush, supposed anciently to be timber-land, destroyed by the natives and tilled. This fern and bush-land, first you must cut it all down and dry it well, then set fire to it, and it will burn the very surface of the earth; you may pull up a great part of the moats with a trifle of mattock labour. Bush and fern land will pay the first crop for clearing, and a good crop will pay double; for the first crop must be potatoes; for many years past they averaged in Sydney 6*l.* a ton, and they are eight or ten this present, and have been more. Tons have been brought by vesssels and sold at 1½*d.* per lb. in this place. Natives have plenty, and they know how to sell as well as we know how to buy. I have now in the ear, in my house, wheat, barley, and oats, as fine a sample as ever I wish to see, grown in this place; but the second crop is much finer than the first; and our Rev. Mr. Creed says, since his experience, the more tilled the better the crop.

"Thomas and I have cleared one town section each, and tilled to many sorts; beans, peas, cabbage, greens, pumpkins, melons, radishes, turnips, do well; French beans and carrots do not answer.

"I have built two houses with wood on my town section, sixteen feet by sixteen and a half, with a wood floor under, and a sley on the back, seven feet by sixteen and a half, with a cob chimney; the wood is of one tree, it is of red pine."*

According to another emigrant,† the town of New Plymouth (we wish they had retained the old name of Taranaki) is situated between two small rivers, which he compares with two that flowed near his native place of Shaftesbury, abounding with trout and eels, "with water as good as ever tasted;" whilst another pair of emigrants laud the luxuriance of the crops, and the abundance of fish and pigeons in the vicinity of the settlement.‡ "No tract of land," writes a third emigrant, of a higher class, "has yet been discovered equal to it. Streams innumerable intersect it in every direction, which renders it admirably calculated for the labours of the agriculturist. The soil on the coast is light, and in many parts sandy, with an orange marl subsoil. Inland, a couple of miles or so, the soil becomes heavier, a mixture of loam and clay, better suited for wheat than the other. The former grows fine potatoes, cabbages, enormous carrots, turnips, and other vegetables." §

Much has been said of the badness of the roadstead at Taranaki, and, in consequence of the loss of the Regina, soon after the opening of the settlement, and the accident to another vessel, the Oriental, the port of New Plymouth has been widely condemned. In the worst of winds, according to Captain Liardet of the navy, the road-

* Letters from Emigrants, pp. 145, 146.
† Stephen Gillingham to his Father, p. 153.
‡ Simon and Jane Andrews, labouring emigrants, to their parents, p. 153.
§ Letter from H. R. A——, Esq., to Mr. T. C——, in Cornwall, p. 157.

stead is now perfectly safe, from the heavy moorings laid down by the Company; and if the weather-table, given by the Brothers Halse, from the middle of February, 1842, to the tenth of May, be a sure guide, little need be feared as to dangerous gales. In three autumnal months, about fifty days are registered as calm, about half-a-dozen have the word "breeze" written opposite, and about as many are "showery;" the remainder of the days being fairly divided between strong north and south-westerly winds.* Roads are being provided, both south-eastwards to Port Nicholson, and northwards to the rich agricultural district of the Waitera river. One thing seems much required—Emigrants—not a few and far between, but a steady and continuous supply; some ready to expend a little capital in bringing to the surface the metallic treasures of the district; some prepared to earn good wages, though not the wages at present given, in consequence of the great scarcity of labour; but far more those who will purchase a small sub-urban or rural property, and with their own hands, and the aid of their own families or imported labourers, farm their own section, and become the producers of the settlement. *Working farmers, with a few hundreds, are the emigrants for New Plymouth.* The visit of the Bishop to this young settlement seems to have been most timely and beneficial. Previous to his coming, the Wesleyans were the sole religious teachers of the people, and many a member of the Church had already aided them in building their chapel, and attended their worship, in default of that which the Church did not afford him in his new home. "The recent visit of the Bishop," says Mr. Wicksteed,† "has put Churchmen on the alert. In a few months, they subscribed 80*l.* a-year for the support of a clergyman, and no doubt the sum will be raised to a 100*l.* The Bishop, out of the fund at his disposal, adds 150*l.*, besides 100*l.* as a sort of outfit for the first year, so that a decent provision is made for a clergyman, expected to arrive in the course of two or three months." It was October when Bp. Selwyn left Wellington to walk across to this young settlement, accompanied by some native carriers. A slight accident detained him on the road, but at last he reached Taranaki, where he would have stayed some time, had not the Chief-Justice arrived in the Government brig, with whom he proceeded for the Straits. Short as was his stay, many of the settlers' letters prove how beneficial it was; and no few of the thousand settlers at Taranaki look forward to the coming of the promised clergyman and the rapid rising of a church in the new colony.‡

The following description of the scenery and situation of the New Plymouth district will form a good conclusion to our attempted account of the settlement:—

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* Letter from William and Henry Halse to their father, J. Halse, Esq. Letters from Emigrants, pp. 170—172.

† Letter from T. T. Wicksteed, Esq to the Editor of the Colonial Gazette. Letters from Emigrants, pp. 198.

‡ Bishop's Letters, pp. 11, 12. Letters from Emigrants, p. 208.

From the Note-book of a Tourist.—"For the first time in New Zealand we could see from our deck a wide green plain, edged by a line of glistening surf, and towered over, not by many ranges of mountains, but by one solitary mass, standing clear and alone—Mount Egmont. By-and-bye, the huge bare Sugar-loaves stood clearly out, patches of green, scattered houses, and then the town or village of Taranaki. The township lies very prettily, being gathered into three small groups, villages, or, if you please, village-lets, each upon its stream. The streams are all beautiful brooks, galloping or gliding over stony beds to the sea. The whole of the scattered population is estimated at 900. Mount Egmont was cloudless for the first time for many days, and glorious beyond all conceptions of mine. I had never fully realised the majesty of one kingly, unapproachable giant peak, lifting itself alone toward heaven. The land (town, sub-urban, rural,) extends, with scarcely broken continuity, over a slightly undulating surface, extending twelve miles or more to the northward, and from four to five miles broad. It is, indeed, a land worthy of all we have heard of New Zealand; a land of deep rich mould—of luxuriant wood—of full streams, the sight of which gladdens you, as you see them leaping on from the great mountain to the sea. And then there are cottages after cottages, with tasty gardens (the native trees and tree-ferns left here and there to throw their shadows across the thatch), and neat gates and compact fences; and you meet with all the little civilities and kindly greetings of the west-country peasantry. There was one spot I could scarcely leave, commanding a view which I never expect to see equalled. We looked from a cliff over a huge hollow, filled with the richest wood of every shade of colour—a blue stream rushing and winding through the midst, and beyond, the clear dazzling cone whence it was flowing. Then came up, ever and anon, the piping, gushing, and trilling of birds, just as we heard them in the woods near the Porirua road. * * * *"—*Auckland Chronicle.*

Dr. Dieffenbach accompanied the agent of the New Zealand company when he sailed to Cook's Straits, and effected the purchase of the country where the towns of Wellington and Port Nicholson are situated. "Nearly three years," says the Doctor, "have passed since our first visit; and a spot scarcely known before that time, and rarely, if ever, visited by Europeans, has become the seat of a large settlement, with nearly 5000 inhabitants. Where a few hundred natives then lived in rude villages, fearful of their neighbours, but desirous of intercourse with Europeans, and just beginning to be initiated into the forms of Christian worship by a native missionary, there is now a town, with warehouses, wharfs, club-houses, horticultural and scientific societies, race-courses—in short, *all* the mechanism of a civilized and commercial community." "*Where*," says the Bishop, "*everything will have to be done. There appears to be neither school nor chapel connected with the Church, nor provision for either.*" That the New Zealand Company have made a mistake in placing their chief settlement in this spot, will hardly be doubted when the position of the port is considered. Take the description by their own surveyor, Dr. Dieffenbach.

"Port Nicholson is situated in a foreland, which, in its longest extent, has a north-east to a south-west direction, and which is formed to the south-east by the deep inundation of Wairarapa or Palliser Bay, and to the north-west by the height of the coast in which Mana, or Table Island, is situated. This is the narrowest point of Cook's Straits; the distance to the nearest land in the middle island being only thirty miles. The winds prevailing on this part of

Cook's Straits the greater part of the year, are from the south and south-east, and often increase to heavy gales, augmenting the rush of water through the Straits, and making considerable inroads on the coast. Port Nicholson was doubtless thus formed, and the general aspect of the foreland in which the harbour is situated bears decided proof of the wear and tear of the coasts. The best harbour for ships is opposite the embouchure of the river Hutt, and is formed by the curved peninsula of the western headland. Here they obtain good holding ground, with great facility for discharging their cargoes, and are protected from the prevailing winds, which are north-west for two hundred days in the year, and south and south-east during the remainder. That the harbour is good and convenient, is proved by the fact, that more than two hundred vessels have entered and cleared it in safety, although the entrance, without the assistance of charts, is somewhat difficult, and no care has been taken to erect a light-house. The boundary hills, both to the east and west of Port Nicholson, rise abruptly from the water's edge: but in that peninsular part where the town of Wellington has been founded, there is a strip of flat land at their base, about one third of a mile broad, consisting of a soil composed of sand, shells, shingle, and vegetable earth, and extending to the western headland of the harbour, where the hills are low and undulating. At the town of Wellington there is consequently a long line of water frontage, with deep water at a few yards from the shore. The neck of land between the island of Mana and Port Nicholson consists of hills, with deep ravines, intersected by water-courses, where the natives have some plantations. Of similar configuration is the neck of land separating the Port from Palliser Bay. At high water the passage from Wellington to the head of the Bay was impassable; but since I left Port Nicholson a road has been made, connecting the valley of the Hutt immediately with the town."—Vol. i. pp. 70—72.

Now it is very evident, from this account, that Wellington has been placed on a narrow spot of flat land, far from extensive enough to accommodate the buildings requisite for a large town. A location one-third of a mile broad and two miles long will hardly contain a great mercantile town; and when the absence of flat land compels the inhabitants to resort to the hills that rise so abruptly on all sides, and are so steep that only spots here and there can be selected for building on, it exposes them to all the inconvenience of placing different parts of the town as much as four miles apart from one another. The harbour is safe, very safe, when you get into it, which, considering the heavy gales so prevalent in Cook's Straits, is a matter of congratulation to many a ship-master. But must you not have something more than deep water, good holding-ground, and hardly enough land whereon to erect habitations, to constitute even a purely commercial city? Are you to be dependent on importation for your supplies, or forced to draw them from districts far removed and separated from the town by the abruptly-rising mountains that close in the settlement on every side? Doubtless there is land, much and good, in the valley of the Huttor Eritonga, or in that of the Manawatu—land that will amply repay the farmer his outlay of money and labour, if he can but afford to expend them. This is very well for persons of fair capital, but it is very disheartening, not to say ruinous, to the small farmer who has land allotted to him in the valleys of Eritonga, Manawatu, Wauganui, or Wypras, and that he must be at no slight expense in transporting himself

and his luggage to his own land; and that if he requires labourers, he must bribe them to undertake the journey into the bush. The consequence of this is, men totally unsuited to the occupation are driven by the fear of expense into trade, the real merchants are injured, and the rise of the colony is hindered. In time, all this will right itself; but it will be only by time, and by an outlay of great extent in opening up communications with the valleys in the interior, that the town of Wellington will be really prosperous. Till then, the colony will not support itself; and though the whaling-trade of the Straits will keep up a certain demand and supply, it is useless to deny, that to that alone the town can trust; and other trade it will not have to any extent so long as it is shut out from the interior. Every new road into the bush will add ten producing working farmers to the colony, and every increase of produce will create that trade on which, more than any other settlement in the island, Wellington must, in the main, depend. At present, this is not the settlement for the yeoman-farmer. The presence of a good harbour here will be as prejudicial, by creating a temporary trade, to the inward progress of the colony, as the absence of it at Taranaki will force the settlers there to trust to the riches of their country, and turn to profit the treasures the land there affords to the labour of man.

The lands in the various valleys near Wellington are subject to floods of considerable violence and extent from the rivers that run through them, and yet the grain crops seem rather to be benefited than injured by the waters. In the valley of the Hutt, Mr. Molesworth raised, on land flooded four several times, crops of grain of ninety bushels to the acre, and eighteen tons of potatoes from the same amount and quality of land. If we may judge from but a few examples, a flood in New Zealand seems to produce the same effects as a frost in our climate in the destruction of the grub, whilst, at the same time, it fertilizes the fields, and is not followed by the destructive frosts which usually succeed such visitations in England. The following is an emigrant's account of the valley of the Wanganui, about one hundred miles from Wellington, a valley better suited to the small farmer, as presenting a ready water-communication with Port Nicholson and New Plymouth; midway between which places it is situated. The letter, also, shows the disadvantages of Port Nicholson in an incidental, but remarkable, manner.

"The river itself constitutes part of the great highway between Port Nicholson, the seat of government, and the Bay of Islands, in the north. It is also opposite the Nelson settlement in Blind Bay, at about thirty miles distance, and from its position relatively to India, Sydney, and the Australian colonies, the passage through Cook's Straits is avoided in voyaging between it and those places. Within fifty miles of the entrance of the river, are the Islands of Kapita and Mana, and it is the centre of the most prolific whaling-grounds.

"The Wanganui is a bar river, and in Wylde's Map, twelve feet at high water is erroneously marked on the bar, whereas, from actual sounding, I find that *there is sixteen feet.* When the *Clydeside* went in she drew ten feet; it

was then rather more than half tide, and twelve feet was sounded in the channel. From the size of the river, it is visited by foreign vessels, and is thus enabled to carry on an independent trade; whilst its facilities for the business of a ship-wright are so great, that it has already become celebrated as the place of building most of the vessels used in the coasting-trade of New Zealand. To give you some idea of the capabilities of this splendid river harbour, I may mention, that off my township of Knowsley, which is situate about seven miles from the mouth of the river, on its north bank, I have capital anchorage in five fathom water; indeed the Hutt, compared to it, is as a puddle to a mill-stream.

"We are not here subject to the tremendous gales, which I mentioned to you in my former letters as being particularly disadvantageous to Port Nicholson, as well from their violence as their duration (lasting two or three days), and rendering the cultivation of fruits, &c., precarious, except in its *well-sheltered valleys;* and having a comparatively level track of land, our communication with the adjoining country is perfectly easy, which is not the case at Wellington, owing to the height of the hills, which separate the beach from the bush. We have already become the principal, as we are the *nearest*, district, for the supply of fruits, corn, and general produce, to Port Nicholson. *The farms here rival those of the best cultivated soils of England: and such is the propitious nature of both soil and climate, that sheep and cattle fatten by grazing on the wild pasturage, as well as those fed by the hand of man at home.* Although New Zealand, generally, is a remarkably healthy climate, yet Wanganui and Taranaki are decidedly superior to the other settlements in healthfulness; and if invalids ever come to New Zealand from India, they must and will locate themselves in one or other of these two. The summer is very hot, but not as in England—sultry, there being a constant cool air floating about you everywhere; whilst that period which we call our winter is *with us* totally devoid (as I have before written) of violent gales of wind.

"Wanganui has got into notice in New Zealand, merely by the force of its natural capabilities; and, now that people are looking out for themselves, we have scarcely a week pass without adding to the list of our inhabitants, the more particularly since the *Clydeside* brought so many of that useful class of settlers, who combine the possession of some capital with much energy, and, amongst the rest, several Scotch agricultural families, who, together with the others in that ship, had been living some time in Port Nicholson, and having explored Wanganui and other places, gave the preference to this.

"The expense of living is here, indeed, almost too insignificant to mention. We get plenty, not only of the necessaries, but many of what are esteemed, in England, the luxuries of life. A cow, with a calf by her side, we get for 10*l.*; a good useful horse for 35*l.* (this price is coming down). We have an abundance of pigs, and our river abounds with white-bait, eels, baracouta, karwi, plaice, soles, oysters, &c. &c., and though last, not least, the harbouka, the finest fish ever tasted. At the heads of our river you can see fish, weighing one cwt. each, in such quantities, that it is impossible to count them. We have hanging in our smoking-room hams, German sausages, bacon, saveloys, fish, &c. In our salting-tubs pork, &c.; and we get pigeons, ducks, snipes, &c. &c. for the shooting; to these we add, from our own stock, poultry and eggs. I think you will not find fault with our "carte" of vegetables and fruits, when I tell you that in my own garden, I have growing, amongst other things, peaches, apricots, plums, melons, strawberries, *west ham*, cabbage, peas, beans, brocoli, carrots, cauliflowers, turnips, sweet herbs, &c. &c.; in short, I can truly say, '*Here one can live in ease, without care or trouble, in one of the most genial and healthy climates in the world, and where it only requires the hand of man to make a Paradise.*'"

The demand for labour in Wellington is at present considerable; , being chiefly on public works, and not in agricultural operations,

there is less probability of the demand continuing than in such places as Auckland, New Plymouth, or Nelson, where commerce can not only be combined with, but effectually supported and protected by agricultural operations, almost within sight of the place of consumption and exportation. But let us now pass on to the third settlement of the New Zealand Company—the town and port of Nelson, the scene of the late unfortunate *rencontre.*

The settlement of Nelson is at present the only European colony on the great middle island, situated at the bottom of a deep gulph on the south shore, and within a few miles of the south-western headland of Cook's Straits, to which Cook gave the name of Blind Bay, when he endeavoured to find a passage through it to the other coast. In this settlement the Company seems to have sacrificed the position of the town to the position of the harbour: the temptation of a harbour, large, safe, and with a good depth of water, has led them to locate the town of Nelson at some distance from its rural lands. Sandspit makes a natural breakwater, and the formidable Arrow rock guards the entrance of the harbour. The town of Nelson lies in a flat plain, about a mile from the port, and connected with it, by a fair road over a high hill, and another by the beach; for here the rise of the hills is abrupt from the shore, though the town has plenty of room for growing, by being located at a distance from its harbour. "There is some very good land here," says Mr. Cullen,* "but it is very hilly, and the hills are so steep, that a person standing on the side of them would be afraid to look to the top, lest he should break his neck at the bottom. For our marsh land we must go a long way from Nelson." The valley of the Waimea is the chief agricultural district of this settlement, and, even allowing a fair discount on the following description, seems to promise well; one thing alone is not mentioned—it is easy of approach from Nelson and the harbour.†

"The whole valley of the Waimea may be equally valuable and interesting; but as my acquaintance with it is but limited, I must confine my description to that portion lying between the bottom of Blind Bay and a river which runs into the Waimea, about six miles south. The range of hills on the east, and the Waimea on the west, form the other boundaries of the district. The whole of this extent is level, unless a series of low hills which jut out from the foot of the grand range about a mile or two into the plain be included within it. The part next the sea is chiefly occupied by an immense bed of flax, which runs about a mile and a half in the direction of the length of the valley. The grass is very fine, and, together with sow-thistle which springs up amongst it, forms quite a thick carpet. Here is probably abundant pasturage for cattle. Next commences a thick bush, which extends to the river both on the south and west. The bush is accompanied by flax, fern, &c.; and the whole may readily be cleared off by fire. A large space, especially adjoining the hills, is covered with fern, some of which is of enormous growth.

"The soil, judging from the general abundance and freshness of vegetation, is very good. Its depth (from three or four trials) may be stated at about one

* Letter of Mr. W. O. Cullen to Mr. Turner.—Letters from Emigrants, p. 76.

† M. Barnicoat to Editor of Nelson Examiner.—Letters from Emigrants, p. 69.

foot on the hills, and in the plain itself about two. One or more of the different varieties of grass is almost everywhere to be met with. Sow-thistle is extremely abundant; the greater part of the plain is free from marsh, and bears no marks of being ever flooded. The large flax bed mentioned above is marshy: the rest is generally dry.

"The district is well watered. Besides the large rivers, which form two of its boundaries, several small streamlets issue from the lofty range of hills on the eastern side, and intersect the plain. Water may also, probably, be anywhere found, with but little trouble, by sinking a well, the digging of which occupied one man about two hours, and which has for three weeks past afforded a plentiful supply.

"This fertile plain presents no obstructions to being brought into immediate cultivation, with the exception of the marsh, which would require previous draining; unless, indeed, its natural produce (flax) should prove valuable. This marsh, which is only partially wet at present, adjoins the sea—is in one compact mass, and otherwise presents facilities for being drained. It might in a great measure be freed from water, by merely affording channels to one or two small streamlets, which, having no present outlet, expand themselves into the marsh in question. But the wet ground is very inconsiderable in extent, compared to the more available ground producing fern and grass. The former is at present apparently ready for the plough, particularly where it has been burnt; and the latter, even if left unimproved, must be valuable for pasturage.

"The scarcity of timber may be considered one of the drawbacks to the value of this district. Little or none of any size grows within its limits. However, an inexhaustible supply may be obtained on the other side of the Waimea. The small valleys, also, on the eastern side, are wooded, and fine timber may be procured from them.

"Its facilities for communication are remarkable. The sea skirts its northern end. The river Waimea is navigable at least along a considerable portion of its western side; and the river at the south end, where I have seen it, is sufficiently wide and deep; but I cannot say how far it may be available for purposes of transport. Besides these means of water-communication, a good road may be obtained by following up to its head the principal valley in which Nelson is situated. *A moderate slope separates this from another valley, which opens into a plain adjoining that of the Waimea.* When once on the plain itself, the formation of roads is comparatively easy, and good materials are almost everywhere at hand.

"The little branch valleys abound with pigeons, parrots, pheasants, and many other birds. The rivers are frequented in great numbers by ducks and other water-fowl."

Considering how lately the settlement has been founded, it is not to be wondered that the wages in this "great pic-nic party," as a settler not unaptly describes it, should be ruinously high, and that labourers are idle and dissolute. Such must always be the fate of every new settlement, for a time. But it is an evil that every fresh arrival tends to abate, and every new emigrant helps to lessen. The prospect of immense remuneration for little work has this bad effect on a new colony; it brings to it a class of persons who are far better away, and lays the foundation of a restless, and discontented population. It cannot be too often repeated, that such emigrants as are generally produced by such a demand as this will be the ruin of New Zealand. For a time they will work little and make much, but this cannot last long. They look forward to a rising commerce. They must remember they have yet to raise the productions on

which to exist, and that some time and much hard labour must precede the exportation of surplus production. There is hardly any view more mistaken than that of sacrificing an agricultural to a commercial situation. To found a new settlement as a commercial one, is putting the cart before the horse, and beginning at the wrong end. This mistake has been fallen into to some extent by the New Zealand Company; good harbours have been sore temptations to them, and have led them to places where, doubtless, eventually commerce will rise, but not until, by a very great outlay, an easy communication is opened between the towns and their agricultural districts. Such emigrants as look to handicrafts, such as are in request in towns, will find a demand for their labour at Ports Nicholson and Nelson, and Auckland. Those who would work the ground to their own support, and with the hope of supplying their town consumers, or even exporting, will naturally seek such districts as those at Auckland, lying immediately round and close to the town and port, or the fruitful valley of the Wanganui and its navigable river, and the rich flats of Taranaki and its improved and improvable roadstead. The progress of all the settlements in New Zealand, and especially of those which look to a distant rural district for their support, will be slow; nor is this to be regretted, so far as it will affect the native population. A sudden incursion of many thousands of Europeans would have either driven back the native, as in America and Australia, or reduced him once more to his former barbarism. A slow, but gradual, influx of colonists will neither excite his fears, nor deprive him of his paternal fields, and both he and the colonists will more speedily recognise the advantage to both of mingling together and endeavouring to lay the foundation of a mixed population.

The native of New Zealand is a far more interesting character than his Australian brother, and far more adapted to civilization, and inclined to render himself useful. He is both ready to learn and by no means deficient in the powers of emulation and acquisition of knowledge, and, long before the white man came, had no contemptible knowledge, after his own fashion. Few races have stopped at such a low point in their own civilization who have evinced so ardent a desire to learn the white man's ways. The foundation of new colonies seems to stimulate their industry; and directly a settlement is formed, the natives in the vicinity increase their maize and potatoe-grounds, and eagerly profit by the new market. Two races, or, at least, castes of natives, are found on the island; one having a light, clear, brown complexion, the other much darker. In the former race the men are of good form and stature, straight features, and long black hair, generally lank or at the most slightly curled; the eyes dark, the teeth white, the limbs well proportioned. In the other race the head appears compressed, the figure short and ill proportioned, the hair woolly, the features full and large. The fact mentioned by Dieffenbach that he never yet found one of this latter race, though free, in any but a low grade among the tribes,

would almost warrant the theory of this being the aboriginal race, and assigning to the lighter race, with which they are now so closely intermingled, the character of an invading, conquering tribe.

"It is well known," says Dieffenbach, "that native girls before they are married can dispense their favours as they like—a permission which, as long as they lived in their primitive state, was, perhaps, not abused, as the *liaison* was binding, for the time being, even with Europeans. Afterwards girls became an article of trade with the chiefs in the shipping places, who regarded selling their women as the easiest method of getting commodities. But it must be admitted that parents, relations, and the females themselves are very anxious to unite in legal matrimonial ties with the whites, and that licentiousness is not an inherent part of their character. If these ties are in any way fixed, they are maintained on the part of the female with affection and faithfulness. Infanticide is there uncommon. I have known as many as six children of such mixed marriages; these results prove them one of the finest half-castes that exists, and, I would add, an improvement on the race, at least in its physical particulars, as far as can be judged from children. They retain, however, many of their mothers' peculiarities, especially in the colour and quality of their hair and eyes. They are generally attached to her race, and, of course, better acquainted with her language than with English."

From this mixed race, already numbering four hundred souls, we may look for considerable influence over both the native and the white races. Time and money cannot be better expended than in the education of these half-castes, as the connecting link between the native and the colonist, if not as the stock of a powerful race. The missionaries were unwise in viewing with contempt these marriages. They should rather have done their utmost to encourage them, and not have looked upon the natives as an inferior race of beings. The native chief to whose daughter an European is united, regards his son-in-law with the utmost respect, and permits him, or rather encourages him, to exercise a great influence over himself and his tribe. The ultimate blending of the races in New Zealand is to be looked forward to as one source of the strength and prosperity of the colony. When speaking of the domestic habits of the natives and of the able manner in which, without instruction, they can work from European drawings, proving no bad architects even of churches, Dr. Dieffenbach says:—

"The New Zealander has a fixed habitation, although he does not always reside in the same place. In his plantations, which are often at great distances from each other, or from the principal village, he possesses a house, which he inhabits when he goes there in the planting season. Part of his time he spends on visits to distant relations, or to European settlements on the coast, either for the purpose of trading or to see what the Pakea (stranger) is doing. I have scarcely ever been at a settlement where I did not meet visitors from distant parts of the country. These occasional visits are probably as useful to the natives, and tend as much to their real improvement, as a constant residence with white people would do. They have an insatiable curiosity to know and see everything that is going on, and an equal eagerness to communicate it to others. In this manner news and information of every description make their
- through the island, carried from tribe to tribe by oral communication.
r are excellent observers; they soon discover the weak points of body or
l in others; and, although they regard us as vastly superior to themselves,

they soon become sensible to the evils our colonization carries with it. The points they find the most difficult in understanding are the different grades into which our society is divided, and the poverty and misery under which some of our classes labour, while others seem to lead a life of abundance and idleness."—Vol. ii. pp. 71, 72.

Twelve tribes, or great divisions of the natives, seem to include the little more than a hundred thousand savages still remaining in the New Zealand islands. The most powerful tribe, that of the Nga-te-kahuhunu, which inhabits the east coast and Hawriri, in Hawkes's Bay, contains in its eighteen subdivisions about five to six-and-thirty thousand persons. That of the Waikato, inhabiting the banks of that river, and the land from Manukao harbour to Makau, numbers twenty-four thousand. The next most numerous is the Nga-pui, of the Bay of Islands, the two divisions of the Nga-te-awa, on Cook's Straits and the east coast; and the Nga-te-wakana, of the interior of the northern island, each having some ten to thirteen thousand persons in their tribe. Three more tribes of the northern isle vary from three to five thousand, and two fall as low as six or eight hundred. On the middle isle only two tribes are enumerated, and stated to contain but twelve hundred persons between them both.

The earliest traditions of the New Zealanders attribute the creation of their present abode to the successful line-fishing of a demi-god, called Mani-Mua, the eldest of a family of four brothers, whose names respectively mean that the eldest had pre-existence; the second, is within; the third, "who is without;" and the youngest, "that he came from heaven." Their parents are not known, nor is it known whither they came from, or on what they stood when the eldest, having baited his hook with the voluntarily-offered ear of his youngest brother, fished-up New Zealand from the depths of the sea. Mani and his brethren seem to have made no use of their new discovery, as tradition reports that, until the arrival of the present inhabitants in three canoes from the eastward, the islands were without people. The first of the canoes bore the ancestors of the three tribes that settled on the eastern coast of the islands, whilst in the two others were the founders of Waikato and Nga-te-awa tribes. They came from the eastward, from an island called the Hawaiki. The similarity between the native name of the Sandwich Islands and that of this fabled isle whence the canoes came, added to the great similarity of dialect between New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands, leads Dr. Dieffenbach, with some reason, to look to the latter group as, at the least, the latest source whence the present natives of New Zealand came: whilst old and vague traditions, and the presence in far distant islands of the same birds, utterly incapacitated from flying from one place to the other, seems to favour the by no means new theory of the great mass of the islands in those seas having once formed an extended continent, and been broken up into numberless islands by some great volcanic revolution. A certain

similarity of religious traditions, among which the origin of the islands by the fish-hook of the god is one, and also of domestic manners among the entire group of Polynesian Islands, seems to point to some far-off common origin to the inhabitants of these islands, whilst their traditions of long voyages, which they would now be unable to accomplish, or demi-gods, skilled in architecture, agriculture, and many an art now but partially known among them, seem to point to a higher state of civilization in the great parent nation from which they have all sprung, of which we see now only the remains. Like the traditional ancestors of the Mexican and his cognate tribes, they seem to have owned a purer worship than their descendants have retained, and to have attained to the dignity of demi-gods from the superiority of their civilization as compared to that of their present representatives.

No form of government can be more simple than that of a New Zealand tribe. Each tribe has its hereditary chief, the ariki; its freemen, rangatira; its tohunga, or priest; and its tanareka-reka, or slaves. The dignity of the ariki is hereditary, and may be held by a great warrior, a priest, or even a woman; if the representative of the chieftain's family, whether child or adult, he is equally reverenced by his people, and a sort of sacredness is attached to his person in war even by his enemies. The tribute and honours paid to him are voluntary, and his power is confined to the council, varying according to his abilities and reputation. The freemen rank from their power and prowess in war, and the actions and reputation of their ancestors. To each of them, equally with their ariki, the land of the tribe is meted out, and every rangatira has full powers over his own portion. The slaves are the result of successful war, the workers in the field, and the exclusive property of their master. The freemen live independently of each other; and each may assemble round him a tribe of his own, and build his own fortified village. The priest may come from the highest or lowest class; but the prayers, the witchcraft, and the dreams of an ariki are deemed more effective and true than those of a tohunga of inferior birth.

"There exists," says Dieffenbach, "a very distinct notion of the rights of landed property among the natives, and every inch of land in New Zealand has its proprietor. Sometimes land is given to a strange tribe, either as pay, or from other considerations; but the proprietor reserves certain rights, some of which are what we term manorial. It was formerly very common that the fat of the native rats killed on such lands should be given to the principal proprietor; and in many cases a title to land seems to have been derived from the fact of having killed rats on it. Thus a chief will often say, 'this or that piece of land is mine; I have killed rats upon it.' But generally the titles to land are derived from inheritance or conquest. The latter constitutes an acknowledged right; if, however, conquered land is again taken possession of by the original tribe, the right of the stronger prevails. In settling the complicated land question, as regards European buyers, many difficult cases of this kind will doubtless be brought forward, where the original tribe had returned, trusting for its security to the Europeans, and to the advance made in civilization, or to the weakened state of its enemies. The right certainly is on the side of the conqueror, although another tribe is in possession."—Vol. ii. pp. 114, 115.

We have been so long accustomed to read of the idolatry of the New Zealanders, and to see the pictures of the grotesque idols to whom we have believed that their worship was paid, that we can hardly credit the dicta of Dr. Dieffenbach on the religion of the natives. The idols, it seems, are the statues of their ancestors, or household ornaments and heir-looms they have derived from them. Definable system of religion they have not; and such mortals as Mani, the fisher, and E-pani, the introducer of the sweet potatoes, are regarded as the benefactors of their race; and having undergone some apotheosis, are endowed with supernatural powers. Their belief in spiritual agencies approaches nearest to religion. Atua and Wairua represent, the one the divinity under many forms, the other the spirits of the deceased, whom they regard as capable of assisting or injuring mortals. Many as are the forms which Atua can assume, in none of them is he worshipped, but every prayer is addressed to the spirit itself, unknown and unseen. Everything strange and new becomes an emanation of the divinity, and the compass and barometer are to them as much Atuas as the old recognised avaters of the cloud, the sun's ray, or the lizard. The Wairua can communicate with this world, but under no visible form; hardly, perhaps, that of the sun's ray or the passing shadow. In the low whistling of the wind, as it comes up from the ocean, or passes lightly over the tree tops, the tohunga hears the voice of the Wairua, to him speaking plain things, of which he is the interpreter to the people. Thus, with few ceremonies and no carefully-composed system of idolatry to contend with, the Christian missionaries found the natives ready listeners to the mysteries of the gospel. The priests had no great interest in resisting the teaching of the whites, and were far from intolerant of the new doctrine. The belief of the people was so vaguely monotheistic, and unsupported by the worship of visible representatives of the deity, that it presented few points of difficulty to the Christian teacher. Neither were the missionaries unaided by that innate curiosity that pervades the New Zealand character, that admiration for the white man's knowledge, that love of emulation of his actions, and that anxious desire to know and see what he is doing, though his motives may, to their limited capacities, be inscrutable. The tohungas rapidly gave up their own belief; and, being the depositories of the little learning of the nation, soon became the most powerful and energetic teachers of their brethren in the mysteries of the new faith.

So much space has already been devoted to our article, that we may not delay over the many interesting subjects commented upon by Dr. Dieffenbach, or draw further from his descriptions of the productions of the island and the life of its aboriginal inhabitants. Dieffenbach is one of the few travellers who does not indulge in the indiscriminate condemnation of savages, so common to missionaries and voyagers. His tone of mind, added to the intimate acquaintance he had with almost every tribe on the northern island,

and the care with which his opinion is evidently formed, after no hasty visit, renders his character of the natives doubly valuable. We can only regret that space forbids our extracting it at length.

"In their character the predominant feature is self-estimation; and to this source we may trace that heterogeneous mixture of pride, vanity, covetousness of new and strange things, that mildness and ferocity, fickleness, and good and kind disposition, which they exhibit. They are affectionate husbands and parents; and although the younger and more vigorous chiefs supersede the aged in their authority over the tribe, the latter are respected and their counsel listened to. The tribes more removed from European intercourse are hospitable; and this virtue was once common to all. In the interior a stranger, whether European or native, is always received with welcome; food and shelter are soon prepared for him. With their friends and relations they divide every thing they possess. A desire of instructing themselves, and a spirit of curiosity, pervade young and old. They are very attentive to tuition, learn quickly, and have a good memory. In attention to the objects which surround, in quickness of perception, they are superior in general to the white man. The spirit of curiosity leads them often to trust themselves to small coasting vessels, or they go with whalers to see more distant parts of the world. They adapt themselves readily to European navigation and boating, and at this moment a native of New Zealand is master of a whale-ship, and in Cook's Straits many boats are manned by them alone. On their first intercourse with Europeans, the natives always manifest a degree of politeness which would do honour to a more civilized people. They dislike to converse standing; and if we do so, they think we are not paying the necessary attention to themselves or to the subject. But their temper often changes very quickly; and a fickleness of character appears; a change from good to bad humour, often without any imaginable cause, which, especially when travelling, is very disagreeable. But if this irritability of temper is met with firmness, they suppress it; and, indeed, it is often put on to see how the European will bear it. *If they are treated with honesty, and with that respect which is due to them as men, I have always found them to reciprocate such treatment; and I have travelled amongst them with as much pleasure and security as I have in European countries.*"—Vol. ii. pp. 107—109.

That in their wars the natives are cruel and savage, and in their revenge treacherous and selfish, is not to be denied; but in peace they are far different, and their self-esteem may easily be turned to a means of their civilization. At present they have far from profited by their acquaintance with the white man. The missionary, earnest, enthusiastic, but generally weak and ignorant, or the mammon-loving speculator, or outcast from other settlements, have, until very lately, been the sole specimens of Europeans with whom they have been intermingled. The missionary has too often destroyed old social habits and qualities by his indiscriminating condemnation of savage life, whilst the other Europeans have been to the natives schoolmasters of covetousness, suspicion, and importunateness. We may look for better things now that both the Church and the State have competent leaders—men who will carefully consider the habits and character of the native before they attempt to legislate between him and the colonist: who will bear in mind the native's idea of the tract when he sold the land to the colonist, and remember the flicting interests of tribes, the independence of the freemen, as

well as the recognised power of the chief. The savage is generally willing to admit the claim of any person who comes and buys the land and settles on it himself; but he cannot understand how one man can buy for another thousands of miles from him; and why, because he has sold to John Smith the right of tilling a certain portion of the land, he is to give it up to Andrew Fisk, because the said Andrew has paid so much to the said John, and both have signed a parchment in an unknown language. We are very fond of boasting of our superior civilization, and laying it down as an incontrovertible axiom that the savage cannot be incorporated with the white man, and that gradual driving back, and eventually extermination, is the lot of the aborigines on whose land we may intrude. Of a surety the fate of the savage in days past is a proof of the powers of civilization over savage life, the superiority of the musket and the "spirit-flask" over the club and the water of the savage; whilst the deficiency of our civilization, our moral government, is thus demonstrated as incapable of amalgamating savage simplicity and virtue with European civilization, but driven to root up the wheat with the tares.

The late letters from the Bishop show the interest taken by the natives in the progress of religion. When he administered the eucharist at Nelson for the first time, the attendance of the natives was most encouraging, and after the service, one of them came to the Bishop and said, that having seen the English give money, he also wished to give something; upon which he produced eighteen-pence as his contribution to the church shortly to be erected at the settlement. On the 7th of May, last year, the Bishop opened, previous to consecration, the new church of St. Paul, at Auckland, then in an unfinished state. Two native and two English services were performed on that day. "The services," says the Bishop, "began with a native congregation at nine, some of whom having only heard of the opening on Saturday evening, paddled a distance of twelve miles by sea, during the night, in order to be present. The greater number were in full European clothing, and took part in the Church service in a manner which contrasts most strikingly with that of the silent and unkneeling congregations of the English settlers." We have already spoken of the manner in which the Bishop was received by the settlers at New Plymouth—a settlement, says the Bishop, in his last letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, "that pleased me much by its honest agricultural character, and the absence of any attempt to appear what it is not and cannot be." We do not fear but that the Devonshire emigrants will maintain the high character awarded them by their Bishop, and make the most of those privileges they so much desired, and he so readily extended to them. The following extract from the same letter, shows that the Bishop agrees with us in regarding New Zealand as the yeoman's colony:—

"The plan of the Society, in furnishing me with the means of educating young men for the ministry, has given me the greatest comfort and hope during

the many losses which we have sustained. If it can be carried on, I trust in God that we shall never want a supply of men to fill the numerous village stations into which the population of this country will soon be divided. The great towns, which a temporary expenditure of capital forced into existence, cannot, I think, be expected to increase; but I look forward to the cantonment of a healthy, and I trust a godly population, in every beautiful little valley, and by the side of every running stream, of which there are hundreds in every part of the islands. To supply these country curacies, for they will be nothing more, we must have men bred on the spot—men of simple piety, and simple habits—accustomed to live at small expense, and acquainted with all the little difficulties—for privations there are none—of a colonial life in New Zealand."

Let us now conclude with thanks to those friends who have given us so much assistance in this work, to those publishers who have freely lent their latest books, and to the Society, by whose kindness we are enabled to prefix to our article a map of the Diocese of New Zealand, at once explaining and enhancing the value of our lucubrations. And whilst we express our pleasure at the increased contributions which the late appeal of the heads of our Church has brought to the funds of the Propagation Society, let us warn Churchmen that they must not stop as yet; that all over our colonies the Church is daily crying out to this Society for help, and that the faith of the Society is not only pledged to those missionaries who have gone forth to distant lands in dependence on its promises, to those colonists who receive from it the boon of Church ministrations, but is pledged to go forward with the spread of our colonial empire, and to follow at the heel of the back-woodsman.

The New Examination for Divinity Degrees. Some Hints as to the Character of the Statute now proposed to Convocation. Oxford: Baxter. London: Rivingtons; Burns. 8vo.

After many turnings and shiftings, and fluctuations of counsel, the new Divinity Statute has at length been fairly re-issued and launched forth by the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford. We have now the *ultimatum* of that Board. They do not, from this time, recede one step; and, in the shape in which the Statute now stands, it will be brought into convocation on the 2d of May next.

This re-issued Statute is, in all but one or two points, exactly the same with the first-issued one. The only alteration to speak of is, the omission of the clause respecting the delivery into the Professor's hands, of the copies of the exercises. This has been given up, as the marked retention of all the rest of the atute shows, not out of any good-will to convocation, or any ention of really modifying the purport of the Statute; but m the sheer necessity of conceding something or other to the ıd and general opposition which was made. A mistake had

been made in sending out the Statute in the form they did; and they must cover that mistake as well as they can. The Regius Professor is accordingly clipped of the power of demanding copies of the exercises. This may be annoying to Dr. Hampden personally, inasmuch as he actually made the claim in the case of Mr. Macmullen, and is therefore clearly put in the wrong, as far as that act is concerned, by this Statute. The denial of this claim is a decided reflection upon him for having made it. But the *animus* of the Statute itself is not altered in consequence. The Regius Professor is now told that he must manage without the *litera scripta*, and make the sharper use of his ears instead. The latter is not so convenient an organ for the purpose: still, if he does hear anything stated in the course of the dissertation which he chooses to consider erroneous, and reports it to the Vice-Chancellor, the re-issued Statute retains the whole of the rest of the machinery for squashing the Candidate's degree, in as full force as the first-issued one did. "Si quid dubii occurrat," says the re-issued Statute, "*de formâ aut modo* exercitiorum præstandorum;" instead of—as it stood in the first one—"in exercitiis præstandis." This is all the difference it makes; and the difference really amounts to nothing at all. The one phrase is just as ambiguous and comprehensive as the other. If the "*aut*" here is copulative, and the "*modo*" is to be understood as additional to the "*formâ*," anything may be brought under the head of the *mode* "exercitiorum præstandorum," doctrinal points, as well as others; *i. e.* anything may be so brought by a Vice-Chancellor, who chooses so to interpret the phrase; which is the main thing practically to consider. If such points do occur, if the Professor hears anything he dislikes, he has only to say that he is not satisfied with the *mode* "*exercitiorum præstandorum*," and immediately—for here even verbal difference ends—"*dubium illud statim ad Vice-Cancellarium deferetur cujus in hâc re sententia rata et definitiva habebitur.*" In such case still, as a pamphlet asserted of the first Statute, "the Candidate can only appeal from one individual functionary of the University to another; from the Regius Professor to the Vice-Chancellor. In all such cases of dispute, between the Candidate and the Professor,—for the clause "*si quid dubii forte occurrat de—modo exercitiorum præstandorum*" [we put it in the altered form] may be taken to include such cases—the Candidate is referred to the Vice-Chancellor. There is nothing said about the Vice-Chancellor's court; he is referred to the individual Vice-Chancellor, and the latter's sentence is to be complete, decisive, and final; *rata et definitiva*. Take the case, then, of a difference between the Regius Professor and the Candidate on a doctrinal statement in the latter's dissertation, which he conscientiously

adheres to. It is referred to the Vice-Chancellor. If the Vice-Chancellor agrees with the Regius Professor, upon the theological decision of these two, without farther appeal, the candidate is precluded from taking his degree.

The fact of this objection having been made so expressly as it was to this part of the statute, makes the vagueness and the ambiguity of the alteration here the more suspicious. It was said expressly and distinctly—your phrase "in exercitiis præstandis" is a most formidably inclusive one. We do not object to the appeal being to the Vice-Chancellor in the mere matter of *subjects* for exercises; to his interfering between the Regius Professor and the Candidate, simply to see that the former takes and approves of fair unobjectionable subjects when they are proposed to him. But this phrase "in exercitiis præstandis" means a great deal more than this. Alter this: show that you do not mean anything doctrinal to come in here. Prevent that doctrinal ground from coming in. Preclude the Regius Professor and the Vice-Chancellor from doctrinal decisions. This objection was distinctly made in this way, and now the Hebdomadal Board, fully understanding what alteration was wanted, can yet only alter their "exercitiis præstandis" to the "de *modo* exercitiorum præstandorum." Things certainly may be said where they are wished to be said. There are words in the Latin language which could easily have expressed, and accurately enough, the alteration desired. Nothing could have been easier than to have said, in so many words, that doctrine was *not* to be decided on by the Vice-Chancellor. This is not said, and the marked way in which the alteration which is made evades the whole design of an alteration, and alters nothing but the words, only stamps its obnoxious meaning upon that part of the Statute more significantly and forcibly.

Thus, though with some mortification to Dr. Hampden personally, the power of the Vice-Chancellor and the Regius Professor, acting together, to stop a divinity degree, is ultimately retained in this re-issued Statute. Also, the whole of that most vast and formidable machinery involved in the compulsory examination before the Professorial Board, is retained without even a verbal alteration. In short, to speak summarily, the re-issued Statute is the same as the first one.

So much for this part of the Statute. To proceed now to the latter-mentioned, and far by the most important, part—the subject of the examination before the Professorial Board.

This whole new Statute, we must observe, professed to be introduced into convocation for a particular definite purpose. was not brought on *apropos* to nothing at all. It did not call lf a general Statute for the alteration of all theological ngements in the University, or profess to put forward any nd general principle of reform in this department. Cir-

cumstances imperatively called for some statute or other, to settle the respective claims of the Professor of divinity and the Candidate of divinity, with respect to the latter's exercises in the schools. An instance had occurred, which had riveted the attention of the University upon this particular point. The Regius Professor had made a claim upon a Candidate for a divinity degree, which was resisted: the consequence of which was, that the Regius Professor would not present him. The University Court was appealed to, and not a step was gained towards deciding the dispute; though it was perfectly clear that the Candidate had the unrepealed Statutes of the University on his side all along. Here then was a particular definite point, that of the B. D. exercises in the divinity schools, which was to be settled. There could not be a clearer and more definite object for any Statute that was ever made in the world. A particular matter in dispute called for it; and it had that particular matter to settle, and nothing else. It professed to be, and everybody expected it to be, a simple Statute to arrange the management of the B.D. exercises in the divinity schools.

The Statute, when it came out, certainly did settle this point, among others: that is not to be denied. It settled it pretty summarily, in the way in which we have mentioned. But what did persons find, when they looked into it, but, tacked to this subject of the Exercises in the Schools, a huge, immense alteration in the whole theological department in the University, which had nothing at all to do with these Exercises, and was not, in the slightest degree, called for by any connexion with the recent dispute? Members of Convocation found that, besides the subject in hand, they had another and a totally different subject, suddenly thrown upon their consideration, for which they were wholly unprepared. The Hebdomadal Board had abstained from giving a hint about this the most important half of the Statute. It came before the University, stuck and pasted on to the natural and expected part of the Statute, about the B.D. exercises, just in the way in which any one subject may be fastened on to any other, if persons so choose. Each was fully entitled to a separate consideration; and why the Board should have put them together, and made Siamese twins of them, it is difficult to conceive any valid, straightforward reason.

This other part of the Statute institutes a regular new examination, and a new degree in theology, previous to that of B.D. It makes it absolutely necessary for a person to pass through this examination, and to take this degree, before he advances to that of B.D. This new degree is called that of "Candidate in Theology." Both the examination and the title it confers are borrowed from the Professorial Statute of 1842. But mark the difference. There they were *voluntary*; now

they are made *compulsory*. This examination was allowed, two years ago, to pass through Convocation, on the understanding that it was, and was to be, a purely voluntary one. No active opposition at all was made to it at the time, purely on this account. It passed in the quiet way it did, simply in consequence of its being left voluntary. The Hebdomadal Board must know very well that, had they made it a compulsory one then, it would have excited the strongest opposition. However, under this form it passed; and now, the very first occasion that brings the Board across the Divinity department is made use of to convert the voluntary examination into a compulsory one. This point, however, is sufficiently explained, in the following paper:—

"THE NEW DEGREE OF CANDIDATE IN THEOLOGY.

"'..... *Titulo CANDIDATORUM IN SACRA THEOLOGIA insigniti.....*'
Professorial Statute of 1842.

"'Statutum est, quod is, qui ad Gradum Baccalaurei in S. Theologia promoveri cupit, priusquam pro gratia sua supplicet, *in Schedulam Candidatorum* ab Examinatoribus in Sacra Theologia redigetur.'—*Proposed New Statute.*

"In addition to that part of the New Divinity Statute which is immediately concerned with the process of taking the Divinity Degree, and with the Recitation in the Schools, a prior and more fundamental part should be considered. This is the institution of the new Degree of Candidate in Theology, which is imposed henceforth on all who look forward to taking their B.D., and which new degree is to be obtained by a regular formal examination enforced for that purpose.

"We may call it the New *Degree* of Candidate in Theology, because, although it is not called a degree in the Statute, and although it has no fresh gown appropriated to it, it contains all the essentials of a degree. The distinguishing mark of a degree in such a case is the necessity of taking it. If, for example, the Degree of B.A. was not called a degree, and retained the commoner's gown, still the academical necessity under which the undergraduate lay with respect to taking it, would constitute it a degree.

"The particular selection of the term 'Candidate' as the name of this degree, so far indeed from expressing this fact, seems to imply the reverse. For a person is ordinarily called a candidate, not when he has got any privilege or honour, but when he is trying for it; and the term dates prior, and not posterior, to success. In this case, however, the order is reversed, and the person, after he has undergone his examination, and had his name put on the schedule as having passed, is called for the first time a 'Candidate.' It is only necessary here to remember, that, whatever be the primary signification of the word 'Candidate,' it signifies here one who has passed the examination in hand, and so is the name truly and essentially of a new degree. And whereas a Master of Arts now proceeds straight to his B.D. without any intermediate step, he would, according to this Statute, have to pass, or have passed through, the Degree of Candidate in Theology, in addition.

"This new obligatory arrangement was the more unlooked for, because in the Professorial Statute of 1842, this examination was expressly made a voluntary one:—'*quicunque se examinandos sistere velint*'—a person could either it or not, as he pleased. It was not brought into the *system;* it was inced as a mere side offer to any who chose from time to time to take tage of it, as a stimulus or help to their own private reading. It stood a

simple *παρεργὸν* on the part of such as submitted themselves to it, and was in this respect no more than any private examination that a person might ask his own friends to give him.

"It is plain that the whole nature of such an examination, and its whole bearing upon our University system, is changed the instant it is thus made compulsory. The difference between its being voluntary and compulsory makes not only *a* difference, but all the difference. For though it may be said that when such an examination has been instituted, its institution in the first instance at all, even in its voluntary shape, was the change, and that the difference between making it voluntary and compulsory is only one of degree—such an argument is absurd. A voluntary examination is one thing; a compulsory examination is another thing. The former, from the very fact of its being voluntary, is no regular part of our system; the latter becomes a regular formal part of the University system. The distinction which a voluntary examination confers is a mere honour; the distinction which a compulsory one confers is a *degree*. Not two persons out of a hundred might attend the voluntary examination: every one of those hundred will have to attend the compulsory one.

"Suppose any examination whatever instituted, that undergraduates might attend if they pleased merely for the advantage of trying their own powers. It is obvious such an examination might go on without committing the University system. But make this compulsory before the regular Examination for B.A., and we make, in fact, another degree antecedent to that of B.A. The undergraduate who passed, we might call a 'CANDIDATE IN ARTS,' or we might give him no name at all. It would not signify; the degree so conferred would be to all intents and purposes an Academical Degree.

"It is plain, then, by making the examination before the Theological Board compulsory instead of voluntary, that we introduce an entirely new degree into the University. Now consider some of the practical effects of such a change.

"A person who wants to take his B.D. is compelled by this Statute to reside a whole year in the University, after his B.A., attending the Divinity Lectures. This is not mentioned in the new Statute, and might escape observation. The new Statute, however, makes the insertion of the name in the Theological Schedule necessary *for the B.D.*: the Professorial Statute of 1842 makes the year's residence and attendance on the Lectures necessary* for the *insertion in the Schedule*. Put these two together.

"Now this compulsory year's residence, in addition to the present academical period, may not be inconvenient to some persons; but to others, who will have quite the same right to take their B.D., it may be, and to a certainty will be, extremely inconvenient. The mere expenditure of so much time is a great demand to make. A person down in the country may be partially supporting himself and reading theology at the same time; here he will be reading theology simply; he cannot depend on getting pupils unless he happens to have taken a high class. So one year (for three Terms sufficiently cut up a year) is fairly taken out of his resources. Add to this, the great expenses of an academical residence, and the unwillingness on the part of parents, after they have been going on three years or more, answering all pecuniary calls, to continue the domestic drain for another year.

"The result will probably be, that only those to whom this residence may happen to be quite convenient, will ever reside the year, and that others will be obliged not to think of taking their B.D. at all. And this seems to be unfair. The University ought to make a distinction here. It is one thing to offer those future B.D.s, who are able to reside, certain benefits in the way of Divinity Lectures and an examination; and another thing to disqualify those for the B.D. who are not able to reside, or avail themselves of such advantages. It is possible to benefit one party, without injuring another; to

* Nullus Scholaris se Examinandum sistet nisi—sex ad minimum lectionum Theologicarum seriebus attentum se auditorem præstiterit.—Cauto semper ne quis plures quam duas series in quovis termino pro formâ audiat.

bestow a distinction, without inflicting a penalty; to make the Professorial Lectures so much clear gain to those who attend them, and attach no academical forfeiture to those who do not. The Professorial Statute very properly made or implied this distinction, the new Statute undoes it again.

"This is one practical effect, then, of making an arrangement compulsory which *was* voluntary. The voluntary one could of course inconvenience nobody; persons would make use of it according as it suited their situations, and not otherwise. It adapts itself to their circumstances. When made compulsory, on the other hand, persons must square their circumstances to *it;* and inconvenience and awkwardness begin to be felt.

"Another practical effect of this change has reference to the Theological test, which such an examination cannot fail to apply to those who undergo it. A regular Paper Examination before a formal Board of Theological Examiners, in which doctrine of all kinds comes in, can hardly fail to test the doctrinal opinions of those who undergo it, and so far must operate as a doctrinal test. It is not easy to conceive how it can do otherwise.

"Now the difference between a compulsory and voluntary examination, is on this head a most exceedingly important difference. A doctrinal test may be of most forcible and searching application to those who come under it, but it is of none at all to those who do not. And so, where it is left optional to come under it or not, it is obviously not chargeable with any exclusive or narrowing tendencies. A voluntary doctrinal test is, indeed, a most mild and unobjectionable one. But make it compulsory, and we immediately make a totally different thing of it. A test is no test which people may submit to or not as they please: it is its compulsoriness which constitutes it a test.

"This, then, is what the New Statute does. The Professorial Statute of 1842 certainly instituted a new theological examination; but left it perfectly 'voluntary,' and outside of the regular academical system. This, if it was not intended to be carried further, was a moderate and judicious plan. It gave advantages to some, and caused inconveniences to nobody. The New Statute now proposed, however, far outruns that of 1842, and goes even directly counter to the spirit of the latter, if that spirit is to be judged of from its letter and surface. There cannot be a greater change than to alter an examination from being a purely voluntary, into a compulsory one. The principle of compulsion, when introduced, becomes immediately the prominent and all-important principle in the matter. And though, in the present case, the examination itself, and the Examining Board, may be only continued from the Statute of 1842, the fact of its being compulsory makes it a wholly different affair. The simple change of making it compulsory converts it into a very great practical inconvenience, and into a searching doctrinal test, whereas, in its voluntary state, it could have been neither the one nor the other."

But this new examination, and this new degree, only betray their real meaning and character when seen in connexion with the Board which controls them. The Board at whose absolute disposal this new degree is placed, and before whom this examination is passed, are chosen from the Divinity Professors, with the exception of one, who is appointed by the Vice-Chancellor. All these Divinity Professors, except the Lady Margaret's, are appointed by Government. Thus the first theological degree—the necessary stepping-stone to the other two, the key which opens the whole department of Divinity to the University-student—is it in the hands of a small body of Government nominees; d ministerial influence occupies the very entrance into the ost sacred precincts of the University. A letter, signed S.,

which appeared some time back in *The Times*, most ably exposes this part of the statute:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

"SIR,—I am aware that I ask a favour in begging insertion at this busy time of the year for a letter on so dull a subject as the proposed Oxford statute. I am induced to do so because, warmly concurring in the tenor of a late able article of yours upon that subject, I cannot but think it omitted a very material feature in the question.

"In 1842 a University statute was passed, creating two new Theological Professors, and constituting them, with the two who already existed and the Regius Professor of Hebrew, a board for lecturing and examining theological students. One other professor, to be nominated under Dr. Ireland's will by the heads of houses, was subsequently added with similar powers.

"'Scholars' in theology, subsequently to their Bachelor of Arts degree, were to attend six courses of lectures, to be delivered by one or other of these gentlemen, and a year's residence at the University; and at the end of the year they were to pass an examination which was to entitle them to the style of 'candidates in sacred theology.'

"Two of the examiners were to be appointed by the professors out of their own number—one by the Vice-Chancellor from the graduates in theology.

"The effect of this was to constitute a fresh kind of theological degree, given, not by the University, or by any person or persons directly or indirectly appointed by the University, but virtually by the six professors, four of whom are to be nominated by the Crown, and five, if I am not very much indeed mistaken, are to be canons of Christ Church.

"Some long-sighted persons felt an objection to this statute at the time, but it was not pressed. It was probably thought that this Crown degree in theology, conferable by the canons of Christ Church, being perfectly voluntary, the old University degrees of B.D. and D.D. being still open, and the hands of the bishops unfettered, the title of 'candidate' would derive its value from the character and proceedings of the board who conferred it—would find its own level—would rise or fall in the estimation of the bishops and clergy in proportion to the orthodoxy and learning for which it was found to be a guarantee, and so that it would be factious to press an objection against the creation of an honourable title, which no one need trouble himself to acquire unless he chose, and which would confer no credit unless it deserved to do so.

"The very title of '*candidates*' should perhaps have warned the University that the heads of houses intended more than met the eye. It had not, however, that effect; and its meaning is now first disclosed by a very little clause in the new statute. It is here proposed, that every one before he aspires to the academical degree of B.D. '*in schedulam candidatorum* ab examinatoribus in sacrâ theologiâ *redigetur*.' This Crown or Christ Church title of honour, and a year's attendance upon the theological lectures of the professors, are made a *sine quâ non* of the regular university degree. The power of conferring degrees in theology, and by implication of fixing authoritatively and *compulsorily* the religious creed of the University, is virtually vested in these canons of Christ Church.

"I can scarcely doubt that this is but a *specimen* of the purposes to which this convenient machinery is to be turned. But, taking it merely upon its own merits, can the members of the University submit to it?

"In the first place, it excludes for ever from the degree of Bachelor or Doctor in Divinity (at least in the regular course) all who, from poverty or any other cause, have been unable, as young men, to afford an additional year's residence in the University. Men cannot, in maturer life, break off their fixed occupations to spend this period at Oxford, and pass an examination like boys before the board of professors. It must be done immediately on taking their degree or never; and a young man whose family is needy, or whose time is valuable, cannot then afford it.

"Again, though I should be very sorry to revive college jealousies, now happily dormant, and am quite aware that a large proportion (perhaps, as now, the majority) of future professors will not have been originally Christ Church-men, yet I do think that this power, given to the foundation of a single college over a matter which is wholly of academical jurisdiction, is most mischievous and unjust. The Christ-Church canons, in the nature of things, will probably form more or less of a clique, from whatever college they may have been originally selected; and to the mercies of a clique university degrees should never be committed.

"These are two important objections, but they are far inferior in weight (at least to my own apprehension) to this more broad and real one—that the statute furnishes a machinery for destroying the independence of the University in its most precious point.

"Whatever may be thought of the disputations before the Regius Professor, it is obvious that the proposed examination will be *a test of religious opinion as well as proficiency.* It *ought* to be so—it must be so—and of course it will be so. And what are the hands into which it is proposed to commit for ever the power of excluding what they choose to call erroneous opinions from theological degrees?

"The majority of the examiners (two to one) are appointed by the professors; the majority of the professors (also two to one) are appointed by the Prime Minister; the Prime Minister is forced on the Crown by the majority of the House of Commons, and the House of Commons is elected by the constituency as created by the Reform Bill. The connexion between the extremities of this chain is not very immediate, but it is not the less certain. The one will surely and eventually, though not suddenly, colour the other. I will not quite say, in Sir Robert Peel's famous words, that the theological faculty of Oxford will have 'to fight the battle of orthodoxy in the registration courts,' though even this would be no very inexcusable hyperbole. But I will say that the proposed statute, joined with that of 1842, bears every appearance of a deliberate, if not clandestine, design to invest the Prime Minister of England with the greatest practicable power over the religious faith of the University.

"The attempt, if successful, might be—though I do not at all think it would be—harmless for the present. But the great question regards the future. And if the gentlemen who propose it will but carry their memories back to the time, not twelve years past, when the spirit which they now call heresy had not yet roused the Church into that energy by which they and the whole Conservative party are now profiting, but the spirit and heart of which they are suicidally attempting to eradicate—if they will but remember the days when parsons were pelted, and the Premier told bishops to set their houses in order, and will reflect that what has been may be—nay, may very easily indeed, become the permanent state of England (especially if they trouble themselves to silence all counteracting influences), they will surely feel that it is not the wisest thing in the world for the University to tie itself down in the same boat as the House of Commons, and to condemn its theological faculty to a progress in liberalism proportionate, however remotely, to that made by the 10*l.* householders.

"Surely the University which rose as one man to resist Parliamentary interference, when proposed by a Whig Cabinet, will not allow its life and power to be stolen away from it by the legislation of the Hebdomadal Board, and the powers inherent in the whole body of Convocation to be practically transferred to a single foundation (it is no offence to add) of Ministerial nominees.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant, S."

We certainly cannot conceive anything more unfortunate happening to an English University, than that it should slide, in this way, into the grasp of the Government of the day. We ve enough of this centralizing tendency on all sides and in all epartments now; do not let it be carried on into our Uni-

versity system; let the theological atmosphere of our universities be at any rate free from it. If this last stronghold of old, genuine religious thought and feeling gives way, we see not what is to check the nation in its latitudinarian progress. Hitherto, amid the general looseness of opinion that has spread, and the break-up of old systems, and the wide waste and the sea, the nation has instinctively felt the moorings that have been left her. She has heard within her a warning voice, and a note which did not follow the leading of the age. The Universities have been her inland theological forts, where the good elements in her religious character have taken refuge, and concentrated their strength, and been enabled to hold out against the general disaffection around them. Talk to any Liberal of the day of our national state of feeling now, and what its tendencies are, and what prevents the march of mind from advancing at that rate at which it has done in some continental countries, and he will point to the Universities. They are the check, and the clog, in the wheel of Liberalism. They pertinaciously decline uniting with the general movement of the mass. They are talked at, and attempted to be talked down; the parliamentary sneer is levelled at them; and the politician looks envious, and commissions are threatened. In the meantime, Oxford stands indubitably a Mordecai in the gate: she does not bow to the Liberal as he passes. She stands stiff, bolt upright; to Whig and Conservative she is the same, when Whig or Conservative interfere with her. Sir Robert Peel made his choice fifteen years ago, and took upon the Emancipation question the Liberal line. Oxford had no objection to Sir Robert Peel,—she liked him; but, when he took this line she discarded him.

This is what our Universities differ in so much from the German Universities,—and most advantageously. The German Universities are under the immediate eye of the administration; they receive their professors from thence, and are kept under the same kind of *surveillance* to which the civil departments are subject. This intimate connexion with the Central Government connects them with the ruling genius and party in the nation for the time being. They become the receptacles of prevalent theories, and take their colour and tone from the state of the national mind, whatever that may be, and follow all its sinuosities and caprices and transitions. They represent the nation, rather than teach it. The English Universities, with not half of the spirit of deep inquiry and research that distinguishes the foreign Universities, take a much higher position than the latter do. They teach with the voice of authority, and tell men what is true, and what is not. While the German bodies are losing themselves in the depth and perplexity of their own speculations, the English ones lay down the law. The German

Universities are perpetually creating truth; the English are content with receiving it, as it has been handed down to them. They are in possession of a system which goes back to times of far sterner mould and fixed principle than the present: and they remain in the nation as the obdurate and still-living exemplars of the solid rock and foundation. They do so, because they stand by themselves,—because they are disconnected with the political system, and the State centre. Dependence upon Government forthwith brings on a dependence upon the general movements in society, and upon the caprices and changes of the national mind. Government is the centre and head-quarters of the national mind. The connexion with the centre involves the connexion with the whole system which comes to a head there. The Universities, when taken into the hands of Government, are sucked into the general mass; they are carried straight down the huge central absorbing throat, and immediately mingle with the popular mind, and are lost in the vague and indefinite national progress. Liberalism could gain no greater triumph than the admission of Government control into the Universities.

Look only at the bare surface and aspect which the interior of one of our Universities presents. How quietly, yet deeply anomalous, and antiquated, do the old collegiate institutions, with their respective foundations—presidents and wardens, fellows and scholars, chaplains and clerks, show! Every College retaining the identical old Statute Book and Constitution that the founder gave it; every College electing its own head and fellows, managing its own manors and lands, and possessing within itself a monarchy and little state of its own. A picturesque scene most undoubtedly, most soothing and rural indeed! We should like to know how long it would continue if the power of the central government ever fairly got a-head in the University. Alas! the sheltered spot attracts now too many a scowl to doubt what would very soon become of it, if the common-place political world was allowed an ingress. Sad will be that day, if it ever comes, for our picturesque monumental scene. What cutting and squaring! What a level will be made of the collegiate mounds and slopes! How will the different fraternities very soon find themselves transferred from the irregular poetical group in which they now stand, into regimental or warehouse order! How will the old system loosen at one fell stroke of the centralizer's pen, and the old fabrics find themselves re-arranged in depôt-fashion, with central apartments of the "resident governor," and office of superintending committee of education! We may be exaggerating. Certainly, however, some very great change of the ravelling kind will follow, and some more modern basis will be ven to the Universities as soon as ever parliament comes in.

And it is the first step to bringing in parliament, to bring in the government. What keeps parliament out is the old atmosphere of these places, and the peculiar respect which is felt in the country at large for them on that account. When government control comes in, this *prestige* goes. The Universities lose their old character, and fall a natural prey to political systematizers, and a tempting food for commissions. When the Universities become government departments, parliament will deal with them as such.

It is at any rate the part of prudence to oppose the first inroad of such a power, and stop up all avenues to such a change. And the inroad conceded in this statute to the Political power, is by no means so slight even in its present working. It is not a change merely prospectively and in tendencies: it is a great and very decided change now. The thin end of the wedge is far from imperceptible: whether or not the thick end is to come after, the thin end is thick enough in all conscience. It is a good big slice, for a first one, which is cut out of our University system, and handed over to the State. The State, as represented by its nominees, commands the entrance into the whole department of theology in the University.

We must say that, looking upon this movement of the Hebdomadal Board in all its bearings, it is one of the most serious and vital blows which has ever been aimed at the character and constitution of the University. And it comes most suitably and in character from that board from which the proposition for the admission of Dissenters, and so many other attempts in that line, have proceeded. This movement has all the appearance of proceeding from a full and strong determination to relax the old theological tone of the University by some means or other. Here is a whole political machinery, a whole government court of theology introduced, and introduced with all that look of plan and design which gradual and cautious introduction shows. In the progress of this statute we have, plainly, intentional veil and concealment at first, and a withdrawal of the veil afterwards, when the University is thought to have got so far accustomed to an idea in its elementary shape, as to bear it in the developed! The Examination was obviously introduced first in its voluntary shape, in order that it might escape suspicion, and pass. Two years afterwards, when the University is supposed to have forgotten that circumstance, and only to know in a vague way the fact that there is such a thing as a theological examination of some sort for those who go to be examined; then the proposal is made to make it a compulsory examination instead of a voluntary one: as if, forsooth, this were no alteration at all, and as if there were no difference to speak of between a thing being voluntary and compulsory.

We say here is design shown: one statute is made on purpose that another prospective statute, of the approach of which not a word is said, may be fitted on to it afterwards. This, now before us, is the statute which fits on to and gives the completion intended all along to the Professorial Statute of 1842. Schemes and plans are formidable things, and should be met. People should be, at any rate, aware that such schemes are in progress. We may leave the practical inference to be drawn by those members of Convocation who retain their interest in and love for their University, and are now able to assist her.

Most earnestly do we hope that the result of the Convocation, on the 2d of May, may show the world, that Oxford is not yet disposed to part with her old constitution and liberties. All who wish to see Oxford continue to be the Oxford she has been in times past,—all who wish there should continue, amid the general looseness, some spot or other of solid earth, on which a Churchman may stand,—should wish this statute to be thrown out. All who wish the Church of England *prestige* of two centuries, which as yet separates Oxford from the floating views of the day, to remain, should exert themselves against this undermining statute. Let Convocation maintain their academical *natale solum*. We have not too much of such soil in our nation; we cannot afford to give up what we have of it; we cannot afford to let Oxford slip under a government or parliamentary control. Members of the University are bound by their simple *esprit de corps*, if for no other reason, to guard against such an act of surrender. No call of late years exceeds in importance, if it equals, the call made by Oxford at the present crisis.

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1. *The Book of Common Prayer, with Plain-tune. Part Second, containing the Psalter, Burial Service, and Appendix.* London: Burns. 1844.
2. *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland, &c. By the Rev.* John Jebb, A.M. *&c.* London: Parker. 1843.
3. *The Order of Daily Service, &c., as arranged by* Thomas Tallis. *Edited by* John Bishop. London: R. Cox and Co. 1843.
4. *Laudes Diurnæ. The Psalter, &c ; with the Gregorian Tones.* London: Toovey. 1843.

A friend of ours, when on a visit, not long since, to an ancient chiepiscopal city of the north, was highly entertained by the ounts he received of the discordant state of feeling among

the dignitaries of the cathedral respecting a certain ceremonial observance. Not, indeed, that the subject in dispute was matter of ridicule, but the manner of the disputants, and the fact that, in the very strong-hold of laxity—the place in which, beyond all others, the ordinances of the Church are lightly esteemed, and her rubrical directions disobeyed—they should have fixed upon a point about which, to say the least, a certain degree of doubt is admitted to exist. It seemed as if, in punishment of their laxity in other respects, they had been suffered to bring themselves into contempt by their contentions about the "tithe of mint," while the very contentions served to open people's eyes to the "weightier matters of the law," which they neglected.

The case was this:—it appears that part of the church furniture consists of a pair of large altar candlesticks, with *tin candles, painted white.* These it had been customary to place on the altar on Communion-days; and, till very recently, nobody dreamt of objecting to the custom. The salvers and patens, chalices and flagons, and the candlesticks, were, on great festivals, displayed, and were esteemed to be highly ornamental. One paten, chalice, and flagon, to be sure, were for use, but the rest were ornamental; and why not? Large salvers and candlesticks are handsome things; private gentlemen are wont to exhibit their stores of plate on festal occasions, why should not capitular bodies do the same? There seemed to be no reason why they should not. But, alas! for the candlesticks and tin candles! Some high-Churchman hinted that their right to be placed upon the altar arose, not from their ornamental qualifications, but from their mystical significancy of the "true light of the world." Here was a coil; the hitherto innocent candlesticks, and still more guiltless tin candles, became criminals and apostates: they ceased to be Protestant candlesticks! Hitherto, they were dumb images, that said nothing—meant nothing; "story they had none to tell;" but now the breath of life was breathed into them, and they vented flat popery. The tin candles now burnt with an invisible blue flame of popery. This was not to be borne: the candlesticks must be removed at all hazards; but here the strife began. Some of the dignitaries pulled one way, some another; some contended for the customary display of candlesticks as a custom; some contended for the custom as significant; some objected to the custom altogether, whether it were old or new—significant or non-significant. "It is a foolish old relic of popery, which ought to be swept away," cries one; "it is scarcely harmless, if you deprive it of its original meaning—positively pernicious, if you attempt to revive the meaning." "Nay," replies another, "the custom is not popish, but Anglican, and the meaning is Catholic, and ought never to have been forgotten. I vote for real candles, instead of the

sham ones." "What my friend says about Catholic meaning, and all that, is quite true," rejoins a third, the *safe man* of the party—"quite true that we have forgotten many things that ought to have been remembered; but we must not alarm people. I think, therefore, the candlesticks ought just to remain where they are, and as they are. In truth, if I were to sanction their removal, I should offend my friend here, with whom I quite agree as to Catholic practice, and so forth; but as the candles, being made of tin, are not very directly significant, we ought to be satisfied that nothing popish is meant. However, I see no objection to each of you following out, so far as may be, his own wishes." The result was, that the appearance of the candlesticks on the altar came to be contingent on residence and non-residence. Sometimes they are supposed to be innocent ornaments, having no meaning whatever; sometimes they signify as much as tin and white paint will allow them; and sometimes they remain secreted in the Sacristy. The absolute objectors gain their point by having liberty to lock them up at such times as it falls to their lot to officiate. The advocates of the custom, as a custom, have it in their power to say, "My good people, don't imagine that there is here the least suspicion of popery; for though these look like popish candles, a nearer inspection will convince you that they are thoroughly Protestant; they are only sham ones." And the high-Churchman, satisfied that, whether real or sham, they are intended to appear real, contents himself, as he best may, with an apparent adherence to Catholic usage, accompanied, though it be, with a protest against popery, in the shape of tin and white paint.

It may be thought that too many words have been wasted on such a subject; but is not this a story in little—an epitome—a caricature of the actual conflict of parties now proceeding on all matters that relate to the service and ordinances of the Church? The parallel, we fear, is so exact, that it is difficult to avoid recognizing in the termination of this petty dispute, a too sure prognostic of the *practical* settlement of questions of far greater moment. In truth, wherever we turn, whatever be the matter controverted, the same threefold division of party manifests itself; the same conflict takes place, and, for all that now appears, there is too much ground for anticipating in every case the same abortive conclusion. Between two sections of the contending parties, there is an earnest and (on one side, at least) an honest warfare. Of the two, one contends for the development of the Church system, such as the Church herself designed it to be; the other, for its development according to their own views; but a third section starts up, proclaims that the disputants are representatives of extreme opinions, and takes upon itself the plausible office of mediation. This we fear is the class who will carry

the day. They have the unenquiring world with them; because they possess, in appearance, the qualities which are esteemed in the conduct of human affairs—prudence, caution, considerateness, deliberation. Talk to a man of this class of the grievous practical defects of the Church, he will join with you in lamenting them; show him to how great an extent the Catholic elements of the Church system have been swamped by a flood of Protestantism and irreligion, he will concede with regret that it is too true; nay, he will descant with you on the theoretical beauty of the Anglican ritual system,—on the admirable manner in which apparently jarring materials have been so amalgamated as to constitute, if not a real, at least a practicable, *via media* between Popery and Protestantism: in short, he will go as far as you will in theory; but attempt to speak of reducing theory to practice, and he is gone. Urge upon him a reformation of present practice, and he straightway anchors himself on an infinity of exceptions arising out of the supposed exigency of the times; or he esconces himself under a shield on which he paints in such vivid colours the dangers of innovation, the dread of giving offence to tender consciences, and a thousand other considerations of a like nature, all addressed to the world's good opinion, by which he contrives to protect and justify himself in his immovable and impenetrable position.

It is, we confess, with much misgiving, that we recognise symptoms of the prevalence and increase of this tone of mind among those of the Clergy, especially, whose chances of preferment may be reckoned the most probable. What reasonable hope of reformation can remain to us, if the price of preferment be to stand tolerably well with all parties by means of a shuffling and trimming, the sole purpose of which is to avoid committal to the views of any? Is there the most remote prospect of straightforward and energetic conduct, such as the pressing necessity of the time requires, from men, the strength of whose position is maintained by theoretical agreement with Anglo-Catholic doctrine on the one side, and practical sufferance, and therefore sanction, of its denial on the other?

We have no wish, of course, to assert that prudence or considerateness are not qualities highly necessary and desirable in the Clergy, and more particularly in the prelates of the Church, or that there is not a real *via media*, which it is their bounden duty to pursue. Ever since the Reformation, there have been opposing elements in the Church of England, between which a middle course is to be steered; but the Church herself has pointed out the road. The Anglican system, undoubtedly, contains in it elements both of Catholicity and Protestantism, each of which is *abated* by the other. It presupposes the existence of two antagonist states of feeling; and not only so, but its right working was

probably designed to be secured by this very antagonism of individual bias, in the one direction and in the other. If, for example, in her Ordination services, the Church appears to uphold the absolute and independent character of sacerdotal power, she provides elsewhere for a very different view of the priestly office. She first makes it absolute, and then practically limits its exercise in a manner not dissimilar to that by which the monarchy of the Sovereign, though in theory absolute, is restricted in matters of temporal governance. And so in the case of the Sacraments: it requires no very acute discernment to recognise in one place an acknowledgment of the *opus operatum;* but the abridgment of the old doctrine is equally apparent in another. We can have no quarrel, therefore, with the Protestantism of one party, or the Catholicism of another, so long as their proceedings tend to develope the Church system as a whole; because it was intended as a whole to give scope to, while it amalgamated and restrained from excess, the very tendencies or tones of mind in which the antagonistic parties originate. It was for this very end that the Church herself chalked out a *via media* for us; for this, that her system is of the very nature of a middle course. It has in it throughout, an admixture of religious republicanism, *i. e.* of Protestantism; but the balance of interests, the adjustment of parties, has been struck by the Church herself. When your *safe* men, therefore, in the present state of things—*i.e.* the Church system,—the true *via media*, is not being carried out,—assume that the desires and views of those who are anxious to travel in the path made plain for them by the Church, are extreme views, which are to be kept in check by the sufferance of Protestant nonconformity; when they take up their position midway between the advocates of the Church system and its opponents; when they proclaim that by doing this they show themselves to be the wise men—the men to be trusted, fit to steer the bark of St. Peter; we admit that, in the present state of things, they have adopted a course which commends itself to the good opinion of the world; but it must be persisted in at the expense of honesty. In their endeavour to avoid committing themselves in one way, they have done so most fatally in another. They have committed themselves to a practical falsehood, by assuming that what is termed Anglo-Catholicism is an extreme, because in doing so they cannot avoid placing the Church system in the same category.

That there may be an extreme party on the Catholic side, we readily admit; that there is an ultra-Protestant one, nobody doubts; but neither the one nor the other can manifest itself herwise than at the expense of the Church system. The ddle men of the present time, therefore, if they obstruct the l operation of that system, must obstruct it either on the

one side or the other; if they hinder the development of its Catholic characteristics, their pretended *via media* is not in the middle, but on one side. However much they may approve of, and profess to admire, the Catholic theory of the Church, they are in practice anti-Catholic; and the result of their government, if to such they are called, must inevitably be obstructiveness, and the mere conservation of things as they are.

We say that, looking to the future with every hope for the best, it costs us many sad thoughts to watch the gradual widening and consolidation of this false and misnamed *via media*, and its acceptableness to the world. That it should be acceptable to the world is not to be wondered at; for it costs nothing: it is an easy way of holding high doctrines. But a lamentable prospect surely opens to us if people in general come to think that the doctrines of the Oxford school ought, somehow, to form part and parcel of the Anglican system, but only in theory; that the Clergy are, somehow or other, to believe them, but that an honest endeavour on their part to breathe life into them, would be so great evidence of imprudence, as to preclude all who have been accessory to such an attempt, from the hope of rising in the Church. If, in short, to acknowledge the Catholic theory of the Anglican system, and yet to hinder its practical development, be the course required of such as would retain the most remote chance of arriving at the prelacy, we have too much ground to dread that Providence has revived the nearly extinguished torch of truth only for our condemnation as a Church — too much ground to dread that a reformation on the whole is hopeless, and that the light afforded is intended to be a witness against us—a guide, indeed, to the individuals who are able to receive it, but, with respect to the whole Church, a witness whose testimony shall be overborne by the oily tongue of the prudence and wisdom of this world.

These observations, although suggested generally by the present posture of Church affairs, are not without considerable bearing on the subject now under our consideration. Church music, like every other ritual matter that is admitted to stand in need of reform, runs no little risk of being placed, after a deal of discussion, on a *safe footing*; *i. e.* of remaining as it was. Here, as in other cases, we have an illustration of the dispute about the candlesticks. Right-minded persons of taste become painfully alive to the degraded state of our choral service: they object to it; write against it; urge reformation on the parties concerned. By and by, as knowledge advances, their objurgations assume a more practical character. They point out the ancient and approved models to which the service ought to be conformed. They resolve the service into its elements, and for each of its component parts they prepare exemplars, manuals,

guide-books. At length, nothing seems wanting: every means have been adopted towards practical reform; and symptoms of amendment are just beginning to promise some reward to their labours, when up start the safe men with their extinguishers. They commence with their customary professions of agreement, not only with all that can be said in favour of reform, but with the means proposed to effect it; and having made their usual flourish of Catholicity and so forth, they conclude by showing us that, in present circumstances, nothing whatever should be done.

Two of the works placed at the head of this article afford a curious illustration of this course of events: the one, Mr. Dyce's edition of the Common Prayer, with plain-tune; the other, Mr. Jebb's Choral Service, or, rather, that part of it which relates to Gregorian music. The one professes to be the authorized manual, or Choral Book of the English Church, and, as such, to be the standard by which the plain-song of the service ought to be regulated, or, if need be, reformed. The other is a dissertation on the Choral Service, imbued almost throughout, but more particularly in those portions that treat of music, with every characteristic of the *safe* mode of viewing things. The one accordingly is a standard which the other admits in theory, but contrives to reject in practice. Of course, in thus speaking of Mr. Jebb's work, we must be understood to refer only to his remarks on music; for, with respect to the general structure of the service, the arrangement and due regulation of choirs and decorum in the performance of the divine offices, there is much valuable matter to be gleaned from his pages; for which we heartily thank him.

No sooner, however, does he touch on the more technical subject of music, than the clearness and straightforward accuracy by which his strictures on the general defects of cathedral arrangements are characterised, vanish, and, in their place, an indistinct, dissatisfied, querulous tone is assumed. He becomes discontented with everybody and everything; finds fault with modern usage, yet cannot suffer it to be amended; approves of ancient usage, yet will not allow it to be restored; blames the ancient because it is not modern, and the modern because it is not ancient. He is not very willing to have it imagined that any one preceded him in the discovery that plain-song had certain determinate rules,* yet when the discovery is made, he will neither apply the rules himself, nor permit any

* Mr. Jebb states that he had not seen Mr. Dyce's preface to the Musical Prayer-Book (in which these rules are for the first time within the last two centuries laid ·n) when the part of his work relating to the subject was written. But our ·rs will recollect a notice which appeared in this Review in 1841 (and which opied into the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal), in which a description of these very was given from materials which we requested Mr. Dyce to furnish.

one else to do so. Though he informs us that in these days "decent order in the particular of sacred music is so deranged as to make the finding of any settled rule difficult, *nay, impossible*, were reference made to the present practice of the Church alone;" yet, on the rule being discovered in the matter of plain-song (and, as we have said, he is anxious to claim the merit of the discovery), he runs a tilt against Mr. Dyce, because he, guided by the rule, and fortified by the example of Tallis, had corrected a misprint or two in Marbeck. He affords us innumerable instances of variation in the plain-song of the service as it is now sung in cathedrals; and, although he only can affirm that they *are variations*, by having first ascertained *what they vary from* (and, indeed, he positively states that one of the choirs sets the "usual rules" at defiance), yet he allows no force whatever to the rules as correctives. On the contrary, he "suspects that there may be a good principle in this:" *i. e.* in disregard of the rules; "not," he continues, "that I would by any means recommend the disuse of the ancient responses: quite the contrary." Then, perhaps, he would recommend their use where they have been forgotten? Oh no, quite the contrary. His inference is, that "the uses of the different cathedrals (*i. e.* ancient responses, disregard of rules, &c., all included) ought to be religiously retained and preserved from any alteration, *which a deference to the ancient principles may suggest*, as it is very possible that their supposed irregularities may, in fact, be the assumption of some new and sound principle."

It certainly is a pity that Mr. Jebb was not present at our candlestick dispute in the north. *Mutatis mutandis*, his reasoning would have been an effectual preservative of the tin and white paint. "Judging," he might have said, "judging, my friends, by appearances, judging by what people generally consider to be wax candles, these may appear to be irregular; perhaps they are, perhaps not; I am not prepared to say. I admit that they ought to be made of wax; at least, they used to be so. The Catholic symbol seems to imply that they ought somehow to be candles; and if any other cathedrals have real wax candles, I would by no means recommend their disuse: quite the contrary; but as I think it just possible that our tin candles may conceal in the inside some new and sound principle, they ought to be religiously retained and preserved from any alteration which a deference to the ancient principles may suggest."

But to return. Shortly after the passage quoted above, Mr. Jebb proceeds: "Before concluding this section, it may be observed, that the setting of the clause, 'Favourably with mercy hear our prayers,' contains a curious evidence of the changes which have taken place in the pronunciation of the concluding word. In the ancient books, it has the *cadence proper to a dissyllable*, as it was formerly pronounced; while in the uses of

Winchester, Durham, and Westminster, that *proper to a monosyllable*, as it is now sounded, is observed." Whether it be true that the word "prayer" was ever pronounced as a dissyllable, though it may have been sung as one, we do not profess to know; but if it was, the proof Mr. Jebb adduces of its having been so was rather an unfortunate sequel to the remarks he had just made. We suppose he specifies the choral practice of Winchester, Durham, and Westminster as an exception to that of other choirs; and, accordingly, that while these three adhere to ancient rules (though the doing so oblige them to apply the rules in a new way, owing to a change in the syllabic value of the word,) the other cathedrals violate the rules by an apparent adherence to ancient practice:—that is to say, a "deference to ancient principles" in the one case led them to correct a mistake which must have occurred, had they continued the old intonation after the word had ceased to be regarded as a dissyllable; while in the other, they have respected the custom without caring about the principle,—they continue to chant the word as a dissyllable, though, in process of time, according to Mr. Jebb, it has become a monosyllable, and therefore has, as he says, another cadence "proper" to it. Now, we are very desirous of knowing in which of these two practices we are to reckon it "very possible that there may be, in fact, the assumption of some new and sound principle?" Not we imagine in the case of Winchester, Durham, and Westminster; for, by Mr. Jebb's own showing, they have assumed an *old* and *sound* principle; the "irregularity," then, in which the "sound principle" is latent, must be sought for in the other cathedrals. But their irregularity in this instance, simply consists in the use of the wrong ecclesiastical accent; and where the mysterious principle may be concealing itself is more than we can divine. To our simple apprehension, this little fact, adduced by Mr. Jebb, proves, beyond a doubt, two things:—first, that in times past there was somewhere, though not everywhere, that very deference to the ancient principles, which Mr. Jebb deprecates. The choirs of Winchester, Durham, and Westminster, happening to be acquainted with the ancient laws of ecclesiastical accent, altered the customary (for at one time it must have been the customary) manner of intonating the word "prayer," to suit a change in the syllabic value of the word; and if so, in the second place, the other choirs which adhered to the old intonation, after it had ceased to be correct, either did it in ignorance, or through perversity.* This seems to us as clear as the light of day. If the three choirs did right in making the change, the others must have

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We have recently been informed, that one of the three choirs mentioned above, ly, Westminster, still continues, in some measure, to prefer a deference to nt principles to the chance, by setting them at defiance, of discovering new and

done wrong in not making it; or we must conclude that both were right, and so give up the old rules altogether. Had Mr. Jebb taken the latter ground, his position would have been intelligible; but as it is, we do not very well know what he would be at.

It may be a very ingenious way of viewing matters, to suppose that cathedral choirs have been for some time past, and are at present making experiments (without knowing it) on plain-tune, with the view of evolving "new and sound principles;" and, therefore, that each ought to be left to its own devices; but such a supposition sounds very like sheer nonsense. Yet, what else is the conclusion to be drawn from Mr. Jebb's discussion of the subject? He explains to us the rules of plain-tune, and speaks, with the most religious horror, of any attempt to tamper with the ancient originals of our musical service; he shows us that cathedrals have, to a great extent, practically forgotten that such rules and "ancient originals" ever existed,—admits this to be an irregularity, and yet finishes, by strenuously contending for its remaining uncorrected, because it may, by some possibility, involve an *ignotum quid* of novelty or soundness in principle.

We very much regret if we have misapprehended Mr. Jebb's meaning; but, with every wish to do him justice, we have been unable to draw any positive conclusion from that part of his work which relates to plain-song, other than this:—that we are to regard both ancient rules and ancient models as beautiful archæological illustrations of past choral history; but which, now-a-days, are of no practical use, because the world has not only been making great progress in the arts, but we are, in fact, at the present time, engaged in evolving what possibly may turn out to be new and sound principles; and, consequently, that the question of reformation must not be mooted, since it may in the end appear that the practices, which simple people now suppose to be mere mistakes of ignorance, carelessness, or indolence, are, in fact, a sort of disguise for beauties, which are yet to be revealed to the world.

It must be admitted, that this is a most dexterous way of getting rid of difficulties. According to this view, canons, rubrics, constitutions, catholic practice, everything ancient, in short, are beautiful arrangements of old time; but they have no particular bearing on things modern; or, if they have, it is of no consequence, for we are just at this moment in the crucible, and

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sound ones. One of the "uses" peculiar to Westminster, in which these new principles were supposed by Mr. Jebb to lie concealed, has altogether vanished within the last six months. It has "died and made no sign." Ancient principle stept in, and, on a sudden, the chrysalis of the new and sound one disappeared. The fact was that one of the canons, on discovering from Mr. Dyce's work that the said "use" was neither more nor less than a mistake, lost no time in correcting it.

therefore must not be disturbed by any reference to them. By and by we shall see something turned out,—something quite new and sound. Let us wait, therefore, and allow matters to take their own course. We are all just now in the ecclesiastical nest, hatching new and sound principles; so you must give us time. Some of us are apparently sitting upon bits of stone, lumps of wood, bundles of hay: no matter; let us not be in a hurry; this apparent irregularity may, by possibility, tend to the best results in the long-run.

In this view of things, it is quite unnecessary to prove that such and such is the law of the Church,—that the "apparent irregularities" of cathedrals are real mistakes. This will be at once conceded; but the concession implies no admission that the mistakes ought to be corrected. Though real mistakes considered in one aspect, according to Mr. Jebb, they become valuable experiments in another; valuable at least in possibility, if not in fact; and, therefore, to be let alone. It is of no avail to talk of a reformation; for, in his estimate, there is no need of it; or, rather, since we have yet to make up our minds whether practices which, estimated by ancient standards, seem to be glaring defects and corruptions, are really such as they appear to unsophisticated minds.

But now it may be said that this is a matter of art, not of morals; and that we have no infallible standard to judge by in the one case as we have in the other. The arts are, or are supposed to be, always on the advance; new and sound principles of art may arise out of practices which, when referred to the usage of former times, appear to be erroneous. There may be so many "more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy," that it is next to impossible that one age should discover and apply (or rather discover by applying) the rules of art to such an extent as to leave nothing for succeeding times to accomplish. Allowing, therefore, it may be said, that the subject of plain-tune was pretty well understood in the Middle Ages, and at the time of our Reformation, that is no reason why we should not understand it better. A long interval has, doubtless, elapsed during which the subject has been banished from our thoughts, formed no part of our studies; but still plain-song has been in use without interruption. We may have used it carelessly and ignorantly; still this very carelessness and ignorance may have tended to a further development of its beauties; and, now that we have begun again to study the practice of our forefathers, may we not take advantage of the very mistakes of the last ntury towards a more complete elucidation of the principles plain-song, than the ancients were able to reach?

Again, the art of music is said, by approved modern writers, have been in a state of great imperfection in early times and

in the middle ages; are we to proscribe improvement? Are we to deal with matters of art as with doctrines; to hold by ancient, and *possibly* Catholic, practice in art, as we do by ancient, and *undoubtedly* Catholic, belief?

This is a process of thought which evidently carries with it great force in Mr. Jebb's mind; and in truth it affords the only means of accounting for the preposterous inconsistencies to which we have been referring. Let us, therefore, look for a little while into the grounds on which the supposed force of such reasoning rests. The question is simply this:—Are the ancient melodies of the Church susceptible of improvement in the *modern sense*, or not? Were the defects attributed to them by those who advocate, what is termed, the perfect scale of modern music, the result of ignorance? Mr. Jebb affirms this: we deny it. He affirms that the ancient system of plain-song, being based on an imperfect scale, was, on that account, the result of ignorance, and therefore that it may be, and ought to be, altered and improved in accordance with modern discovery. Again, that as the invention of counterpoint brought with it the "varied and expressive resources of a more scientific music," by which he conceives the ancient melodies may be greatly improved, we are acting "on narrow and partial reasonings," and have a "pertinacious scrupulosity for the defects rather than the excellences of antiquity," when we require that the Gregorian melodies, particularly the Tones for the Psalms, should be sung in unison.

Whether the ancient system of plain-song was based on the scale, or the scale arose out of the system, as a part of it, is a question by itself; but neither the one nor the other was, in the first instance, the result of ignorance. If there be evidence that the early Church musicians expressly made choice of that which is termed an imperfect system, having it in their power to employ a more perfect one, it is quite clear that we must either adopt the system as it is, or reject it altogether; since an attempt to improve it, by the addition of that which was designedly omitted, would be fatal to the very characteristics which the omission was intended to impart. Now, there is proof of the most conclusive kind to be gleaned from the fathers of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, that they were perfectly aware of the existence, and acquainted with the musical character and effect of the ancient Greek scales, which (as may be proved out of Aristides Quintilian,* Ptolemy, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Boethius, indeed all the later ancient writers on music) were not only in use among the Romans, but continued to be so after the period when the music of the Church

* Aristides Quintilian wrote his treatise in Greek, but he is believed to have lived in Rome some time after the Augustan age.

had assumed a definite character. These scales were six in number; and their use implied a perception of the beauties of melody to an extent which we not only can hardly boast of, but are unable to comprehend in the present day. One of these scales was identical with our diatonic; another was not very dissimilar to our chromatic scale. What then becomes of Mr. Jebb's bold assertion, that "the natural scale alone was then (*i.e.* in the fourth century) known?" If the fathers, who commend the gravity of the diatonic scale, and those whom they addressed had been ignorant of any other, their commendation must have been out of place; they would surely have confined themselves to simple praise of the use of music, if only one sort was known to them, or to their auditors. But, in truth, conjecture in this matter is quite unnecessary; for it so happens, that nearly every early notice we possess on the subject of Ecclesiastical music, involves a contrast between the then music of the theatre and that of the Church—the former of which was uniformly characterised by the use of chromatic and enharmonic modulations, which were strictly forbidden in chanting the divine offices.* And why was this prohibition so strict? It clearly was not through ignorance; for it is quite certain that at the time the prohibition was made, there were at the command of the Church (to use Mr. Jebb's words, in another sense) "the expressive and varied resources of a more scientific music;" and yet she refused to avail herself of the advantage. In this she, perhaps, acted on "the narrow and partial reasonings of many in the present day," when she "discouraged improvements in the arts;" we cannot help it. There is the fact staring us in the face, that the early fathers did *not* "dedicate to God's service" the "most expressive and varied resources" of the music of their time; nay, they objected most strongly to doing so. They intentionally made choice of the least expressive scale of music, then in use; and even that, in practice, they made less expressive, by excluding from it the semitones. With their eyes open, in short, they converted a complete scale into what is currently reckoned to be an incomplete one.

Whatever might be their reasons for this, Mr. Jebb, we suppose, will allow that they must have perceived some "excellency" in the kind of music produced by this imperfect scale. That which he terms the "defects of antiquity," may have been, nay, must have been, in the eyes of antiquity itself, not defects, but excellences; for the qualities of their music, pronounced by Mr. Jebb to be defects, were adopted intentionally. The rejection of the B flat, and the absence of accidental sharps, cannot have been so frightful to them as it is to Mr. Jebb; since, if they had liked, they might have thoroughly beaten us in the

* See some notes on this subject, in the Christian Remembrancer for 1841.

matter of sharps and B flats. They had only to borrow from the next theatre the "expressive and varied resources of a more scientific music." There they might have had quarter-tones, and thirds of tones, and semitones, and three-fourths of tones, and two-thirds of tones;—resources so varied and expressive, that modern musicians, for want of ability to sing divisions so minute, have doubted whether the ear can appreciate them. Nevertheless, they were sung in the Roman theatres; and it was precisely because they were so expressive, that the early guardians of Christian worship proscribed their use in church.

If there be any, then, among us, who, as Mr. Jebb says, have "a scrupulous regard to the defects, rather than the excellences, of antiquity," it is plain that they may turn round, and tell him that, even admitting their regard to be scrupulous, it is directed on qualities of music reckoned by antiquity itself to be excellences, not defects; and, besides, that these "supposed irregularities" of antiquity may have been, "in fact, the assumption of some new and sound principle."

But it is also possible that the regard to antiquity, in this matter, may not be so merely scrupulous and pertinacious as Mr. Jebb imagines. What if many have come to appreciate, as a matter of religious taste, the excellency of the primitive Church melodies, and to prefer them to the expressive and varied resources of modern music? What if they are able, not to conjecture merely, but to affirm that, in the intentionally limited resources and seemingly rugged character of early Church music, there *was* the assumption of a new and sound principle? What if that principle should be, that it is not perfection or imperfection of the scale, not the command of artistic resources, not mere refinements of art as art, that constitute excellence in works of Christian art, but the true and sincere expression of Christian sentiment, whatever be the means employed to effect it? What if we have come, not by "narrow and partial reasonings," but by sound philosophy, to recognise, in the character of early Church music, the unadulterated result of that revolution which Christianity brought about in the world of taste? May not a more just estimate of the use of art in divine things, have given us a new standard of excellence, which, while it sets at defiance, to a great extent, the mode of judgment which has been current for the last century and a half, leads us at the same time to appreciate the merit of early works? May we not, besides being able to prove that the defects currently attributed to the ancient melodies of the Church were intentional, be convinced that the musical effect which we feel to be so sublime in them,—so unapproachable by modern composers, is due to the very restraints imposed by the Church on early musicians? Nor need we, on this account, affirm that the early Church music is perfect, or even that it perfectly

accomplishes its purpose; but we may be convinced that the relation between its means and its end is so intimate, that any attempt at alteration, with the view of improvement, must be on the part of those who are too obtuse to perceive the character of the works with which they are impertinent enough to meddle. For example, without affirming the treatise of Thomas à Kempis to be perfect, or its Latinity faultless,—without in the least proscribing any new attempt of the same kind, we may, with perfect justice, think that the so-called classical version of the first three books by Sebastian Castalio, is a piece of ignorant presumption. Or, to take a higher instance, it will not follow, because we may be able to show that St. Paul wrote in bad Greek, that his works, considered in their essential purpose, may be amended by emendation of his language. His language, such as it is, is perfectly adapted to the purpose he had in view, and so say we of the early music. We may dislike its purpose, or have little sympathy with its sentiment: that is a matter of taste; but those who admire both, must not be charged with "narrow and partial reasonings," "scrupulous regard," and "pertinacious scrupulosity for the defects of antiquity," when they require, that if we are to use the melodies of the ancient Church at all, we should have them as they are, not altered to suit modern theories about the imperfection of the scale in which they are composed.

In truth, it is utterly ridiculous to judge of the merit of any work of art by the extent to which the artist may have employed the resources at his command. The question is, not what means he employed, but what effect he produced? If it were demonstrated a hundred fold more clearly than it is, that the Gregorian music is constructed on an imperfect scale, it would not follow that the music itself is imperfect, considered *æsthetically*. No musician is obliged to employ *all* the notes of the scale in *every* melody, simply because the musical effect of his composition may demand the omission of certain notes. If this were otherwise, Rossini, Bellini, all our modern composers might be charged with having used, at times, an imperfect scale; and it would be just as absurd a proceeding to alter particular modern melodies, because it might be impossible to show from them that the composers had a complete scale at their command, as it is to insert notes in the Gregorian melodies, which, as in the other case, were designedly omitted. If certain notes never occur in the Church melodies, the reason was that the use of such notes produced a musical sentiment to which the early musicians objected. That objection, no doubt, took the form of a permanent condition of Ecclesiastical song, which, in its turn, tended to adapt the scale to the use that was made of it; but if this adaptation rendered the scale a defective one, the deficiency was intended to secure, as much as possible, at all times, a

corresponding deficiency in the music constructed upon it; that is to say,—to secure the permanence of a certain musical character which the melodies of the Church were thought to require.

The early Ecclesiastical musicians, in short, acted as all musicians, all artists, have done and still do:—they adapted their means to their end; but they differed in this,—that whereas the latter ordinarily make rules for special cases, the former made a rule to meet all cases; having decided that Church music ought always to preserve a certain sentiment, they, in order to secure it, bound down their composers to the observance of specific limits in the use of their materials.

The Gregorian music, then, *such as it is*, ought, we conceive, simply to be received or rejected. If we do not like it, let us honestly say so; but let us not draw reasons for our dislike from mere theories which have little or nothing to do with the question of its merits as a particular species of sacred art. As a style of music it is as easily distinguishable from all others with which we are acquainted, as the Romanesque or the Pointed styles of architecture are from the Greek or Egyptian; and although, as a matter of history, we may be able to trace its derivation from one kind of music, and its gradual merging into another, just as we do in the case of architecture, its own characteristics are not the less obvious and peculiar. In this view, even were our Church silent on the point, we conceive that, in respect to present use, plain-song ought to be treated like any other species of ancient ecclesiastical art, *i.e.* to be employed or not in modern worship; but if employed at all, to be so in a pure and unadulterated form.

The readers of the Christian Remembrancer are aware that we have been the advocates of other styles of Ecclesiastical architecture than the pointed, at least, so far as to justify their adoption by modern builders; but it is one thing to allow a certain latitude in the choice of a style, and quite another to sanction an ignorant jumbling of styles. Indeed, we fancy there are not many persons in these days who would fail to conclude, that an architect who adorned a Romanesque church with ornaments belonging to the later styles of Pointed architecture, was utterly deficient in perception of the characteristic merits of either the one or the other. And the case of ancient Church music is very analogous. It has two distinct styles, each of which has belonging to it an incommunicable something —a charm peculiar to it. Gregorian melody is one of these; figured vocal music another; which of them is best, we need not undertake to decide; but one thing is perfectly certain, that, by harmonizing the former, we at once transfer it into the region of the latter; we deprive it of its identity. Good Church music may, no doubt, be produced by the adaptation of harmo-

nies to plain-song; but the plain-song, *as such*, cannot be said to be thereby improved, since it has ceased to be plain-song at all. Another species of art has been the result of this "superaddition of the resources of a more scientific music to the melodies of ancient tunes;" just as the superaddition of the pointed arch, with its more perfect science of construction, on the old Romanesque, produced not an improvement on the latter *as Romanesque*, but converted it into a new style altogether.

We say that sound principles of æsthetic criticism would lead us, if we employ Gregorian melody at all in modern service, to employ it with intelligence and discrimination, as a thing *sui generis*; and if, as has been observed, the Church had left us at liberty, we might have dealt with it as we do with any one of the species of ecclesiastical architecture, and so have considered its employment, or otherwise, a matter of choice. But the Church has not left us at liberty; she has expressed her wishes on the point. It is clearly proved, both by Mr. Jebb and Mr. Dyce, particularly by the latter, that plain-song ought to be the ordinary, as it is the only, distinctly authorized music of our service; and such being the case, we are doubly bound to use it in a pure and unaltered form.

These observations, which, we trust, will have cleared away the misapprehensions that may have been occasioned by the confused statements and inconsistencies of Mr. Jebb, will also serve to obviate an objection which (it has occurred to us, and will doubtless occur to others) may be brought against Mr. Dyce's edition of the "Plain-Song" of our Ritual, especially that part of it most likely to be referred to in ordinary cases for practical guidance. We allude to his arrangement of the Gregorian tones for the Psalms, which differs considerably from most of those published within the last few years. That it is the most accurate, if not the only true one, as adapted to our service, which has yet appeared, no one, who takes the trouble of perusing his observations on the subject, appended to the second part of the work, can have any reasonable doubt. Mr. Dyce has evidently gone into the matter deeply and carefully; and we have to thank him for much information, which we confess is as new to us as we believe it will be found to be by the majority of inquirers into the subject of which he treats.

His investigations, however, have led him to a result which, in present circumstances, is likely, as we have said, to assume the form of an objection to the common use of his arrangement of the Tones. He proves distinctly that the Gregorian chants, as they were formerly sung, and, as a reference to ancient examples shows that they ought to be sung, cannot be brought under the conditions imposed by the modern manner of uniformly dividing the chant into a certain number of bars; and hence, that the correct use of them implies the necessity of

adopting a new method of chanting. This is the difficulty; a difficulty which we think it must have required some courage on Mr. Dyce's part to disregard. It would have been natural in such a case to have endeavoured to effect some compromise between ancient authority and modern practice; and to have proposed an arrangement which would have applied the old melodies to the modern method of chanting in such a manner as to preserve their true character as *nearly only as was practicable.* Mr. Dyce, however, has, we think, acted wisely in avoiding this snare; in the first place, because he has thereby preserved for his work the lofty tone of a formulary, or rule of practice; and, secondly, because, in accordance with the views which we have advocated in the foregoing remarks, we believe that if the Gregorian tones are to be employed by us at all, they ought to be sung correctly. Our observations, indeed, furnish at once a justification of Mr. Dyce's work, and an answer to the practical objection that may be brought against it. If Gregorian music is to be looked upon as a specific kind, or style, of Church music, in the same sense as the Romanesque, or the Pointed, are reckoned styles of Church architecture, which we may use or not, but which if used, are to be used *as specific styles of art,* and of which the peculiar characteristics ought to be carefully preserved, it is evident that, on the one hand, a *jumble* of ancient and modern practice is as much to be avoided in music as it is in architecture; and that, on the other, Mr. Dyce's correct formulary of ancient practice is the greatest boon that could have been bestowed on us.

We are persuaded, indeed, that as the study of Church music advances, people will come to look upon that which is now called Gregorian chanting, much in the same light as they regard the mongrel Gothic of Sir Christopher Wren in the towers of Westminster Abbey and elsewhere. One of the most prominent features of our age is the facility with which it appreciates the character and works of ages by-gone; and that not in a general way, or by the cold and dispassionate estimate of antiquaries, but heartily, and as a matter of religious and poetic sentiment. We become denizens of the past, make its thoughts our own, are inspired by its feelings, with an ease, readiness, and pleasure, which is, to say the least, remarkable. One effect of this transformation is a keen perception of excellence in works of ancient Ecclesiastical art; and having such an origin, it is easy to understand why this perception should be accompanied with the desire either *to reproduce or to employ ancient art exactly as we find it.* Our admiration of it has been gained by throwing ourselves, in imagination at least, into the circumstances, the habits, the turn of mind and sentiment in which it arose, and, having done this, our sense of its complete adaptation and fitness to its purpose, becomes so keen, that we at once detect and dislike the incor

gruities, the unmeaningness, and the insincerity of art, such as that of Wren was, when he imitated the Pointed style of architecture without the most remote acquaintance with its spirit.

This method of learning the excellence of old art by entering heartily into its spirit, is beginning to be applied to music; and, in proportion as it is, a taste for ancient music, not in the antiquarian sense, but as the means of giving expression to a certain habit of mind and religious sentiment, must inevitably follow; and, in its turn, this will ensure the preservation of the ancient styles in all their purity. The groundwork for this result is already undoubtedly laid; and we may, without much fear of being reckoned false prophets, predict that, by and by, we shall have as great a distaste for the so-called Gregorian chants, embellished with organ accompaniments, and Mr. Jebb's accidental sharps and B flats, as we now have for Sir Christopher Wren's jumble of pointed arches with the gigantic cherubs and festoons of turnips and cabbages of the architecture of the end of the seventeenth century.

The objection, then, which for the present may be made to Mr. Dyce's version of the Gregorian Tones will not, we think, prove a very lasting one. If he has given them in a correct form, the time cannot be very far distant when the very accuracy of such a formulary will be the best guarantee for its being generally adopted. And, after all, the objection is merely a practical one, depending on habits already formed, and which, as a matter of fact, are not altogether comfortable. Indeed, there are many symptoms that, in respect to Psalmody, our habits are now actually in a state of transition. Mr. Jebb considers the manner of enunciating the Psalms in chanting to be entirely wrong in many of our Cathedrals and minor churches; and within the last few years some half-dozen publications have appeared, each of which proposes some scheme for the settlement of the question, and all of which proceed on the supposition that we are not quite perfect in this particular.

One of these publications, though not intrinsically valuable, deserves notice on one account; we mean Mr. Oakeley's Psalter with Gregorian Tones. This is, at least, an attempt at something better than we have been accustomed to; and if it has not been successful in that respect, it certainly proposes a method of arrangement so new, and so different from any of those at present in use, that if it has been possible to introduce it in practice, we need hardly despair of effecting any change in the performance of Psalmody, however radical it may be. Now Mr. Oakeley, we believe, has found no difficulty in the introduction of his method; and, although it would not require many words to show that it is inaccurate both as respects the copy of the tones used and the manner of their adaptation to the English Psalms, yet he cannot be denied the peculiar credit of

having made the first practical effort towards a restoration of the ancient mode of intonation, and of having thereby clearly evinced that the change of habit in such matters, which many people are apt to regard as a bugbear, and to consider an insurmountable obstacle, may be effected by a very gentle effort. Not that any proof of this was in reality wanting, so far at least as the mass of the people is concerned, among whom it can hardly be affirmed that any great prejudice exists with respect to Church music. A total want of interest in it, rather than prepossession in any one direction, has for a long time characterised the state of popular feeling; and although this indifference is rapidly passing away, owing to many causes, not the least being an advancement of general intelligence in the arts; still we have not got much further as yet, than a mere disposition to think well of, without being very critical on the efforts made by the Clergy toward the amelioration of this accessory of Divine service. There is evidently a desire for something better in the shape of music than our parish churches have for a long time afforded; and if we may judge by the crowded state of the metropolitan cathedral and collegiate choirs on Sundays, an improvement in the service of the minor churches would be heartily and sincerely welcomed, whatever form the improvement might assume. Certainly, when we consider the wretched condition of the service in the majority of parish churches in the metropolis, it need not be matter of surprise, if the merely uninformed instincts of the people led them to perceive that all was not as it should be. But in truth, their instincts are not altogether uninformed; the ordinary process of general education in the arts, consists in nothing more than a gradual acquaintance with works of art; and this process, as it respects music, has been going on rapidly in the metropolis for some years past, by means of street music. The character of this may generally be assumed as a test of the state of popular taste in music; and when we find ragged urchins so far advanced as to be able to sing or whistle, and therefore to admire, airs from popular Italian operas, it is not too much to say, that to ears so far cultivated, the music of parish churches on Sundays must have a sound greatly to the disadvantage of religion. The music of the streets is so superior, in its kind, to that of the parish church, that even if a comparison between them does not assume any form of recognised thought, in the minds of those who are familiar with both, acquaintance with the former must insensibly give rise to the desire of improvement in the latter, and make improvement welcome when it becomes apparent.

So far from there being, in the present habits of the people, any obstacle to amendment, we should conceive that the very reverse was true. With respect to the past, their habits are certainly as indefinite as can be desired; and their passive state

has been just so far unsettled and stirred up, by a rising taste for music, as to prepare the way for the guidance of the Church. They are sufficiently informed to desire something better than is now generally to be had, but too little so to have a definite feeling for or against any specific form of improvement that might be attempted. The obstacles, we fear, lie quite in another quarter; and sorry we are to think that obstacles and hindrances should arise, where least of all they ought to be found, namely, among those on whom, in present circumstances, the practical direction of nearly all that relates to the music of the Church devolves. It is a serious thing to make so sweeping a charge against any class of men, as to say that they are the enemies of improvement; but really, in sober truth, there is much ground for complaint, and much need of remonstrance, when we consider the offensively obtrusive manner in which our organists employ the overgrown instruments (the "music mills," as Mr. Jebb happily terms them) at their command, and not only this, but their uniform preference of music which, though confessedly not of the best sort, gives them the most ample opportunity of display, and the pertinacity with which they insist on the use of the organ in cases where not only good taste and their credit as intelligent musicians, but even common sense, ought to teach them to dispense with it.

These, it may be said, are only accidental defects; and so they are; but they have become habits—habits which involve the love of personal distinction, and therefore are of a kind which, in artists, nothing but the love of something far higher will ever be able to overcome. There is not to be found, we really believe, any more elevated and more difficult form of self-sacrifice, at the present time, than that of an organist, who, having the means of display at his command, forgets himself in the common purpose of Divine worship; and on this account, although we do not justify, on any ground whatever, the undue place which they almost universally now-a-days assume in choral performance, we are very sensible how great the difficulty of restraint on their part is.

If there be any organists who feel this difficulty, they have our warmest sympathy; but we fear there are very few, if any, who take such a view of the matter; at the least, an immense majority seem to consider it their right and their privilege to use the organ when they please and as they please—to overwhelm the voices of the choir, or to leave them to themselves, according as the fancy of the moment may strike them. If, in short, one is to judge by appearances (and in this matter there is no other way), organists of the present time are thoroughly of opinion that the use of the organ is an improvement on the want of it at all times and under all circumstances; and this, we affirm, not simply as it is a mistake, but as it is a mistake embodied in

a habit, constitutes the greatest obstacle in the way of a reformation of Church music.

There are two things to be accomplished towards such a reformation; the one, to determine what the music of the service ought to be; the other, to secure its right performance. Now, supposing it were to be agreed upon that in its best form, the music of the Church dispenses almost entirely with the use of the organ; it is easy to perceive how great a wound on the *amour propre* of organists such a determination must inflict. It is obvious that an organist who is persuaded (and what organist is not?) that the organ is the all-important element in choral performance, must consider it extremely mortifying to be told to moderate the use of his instrument, and little less than an affront to be required to silence it altogether. We say it is but natural that such men should, on the one hand, regard with dislike, and affect to treat with contempt, the views of those who go the length of wishing that our organs were entirely shut up, or, on the other hand, that they should give a preference to that kind of music which accords to the organ the most ample means of display.

We are not, however, going to enter on any general question about the music of the Church, or the advantages or disadvantages of organ accompaniment; for it will be perceived, that in accordance with the principles advanced in the foregoing observations respecting Gregorian music, the inquiry is here also a specific one. It is not whether the use of organs be in general an improvement in divine service, but whether their being used is *right or wrong in particular instances?* The question whether the organ be admissible in the *best kind* of Church music, or rather, whether that be the best kind of sacred music which dispenses with the use of the organ, is one by itself—on that we do not now enter. We take the music now performed in our churches, which, as a matter of fact, includes all sorts, from Plain-song, down to the productions of the theatrical school of Purcell and his contemporaries and successors, and inquire whether the use of the organ to all of it, indiscriminately, is not a practice on the part of organists which lays them open to a charge of gross ignorance, bad taste, or egregious vanity—ignorance, if they do not know better—bad taste or vanity, if, knowing better, they still continue to employ the organ, and give it an offensive predominance where it either ought not to be played at all, or used only for the convenience of sustaining the pitch of the voices.

This charge, as we have said, and be it carefully remarked, is not made on any general grounds respecting the use of the organ. Whether better music be produced with the organ, or without it, we need not now inquire; but it is perfectly obvious and certain, that those specific compositions by authors of cele-

brity, which are complete without accompaniment, and which were never intended to have any accompaniment, are, and must be, spoiled as works of art by such unwarranted additions as are made to them by organists. If, for example, it can be shown that Tallis wrote an organ accompaniment for his well-known service, then let us have it, by all means, performed as he intended it should be; but if the particular musical effect designed by him was to be produced by voices alone, it is neither more nor less than a piece of vulgar impertinence in an organist to overlay the composition with organ effects which Tallis never contemplated.

What would people think, or say, if the keeper of the Cartoons at Hampton Court, under a notion that the colours were not bright enough, were to daub them over with fresh tints; or supposing that the pictures were deficient in light or shade, to change entirely the degree of prominence given by Raffaelle to particular portions of his designs. Yet there is no difference between such a proceeding and that of organists, who assume that they know better than Tallis what effect his compositions ought to have, and what means should be employed to produce it.

Or, in the case of Rossini's operas, in portions of which the music is performed by voices alone, what would be thought of the leader of an orchestra who, in defiance of the composer's intentions, should insist upon accompanying the voices all through with trumpets, and drums, and trombones, with any orchestral effect, in short, which he might choose for the time? Would not people say he was mad, or that he was an ignorant blockhead, or a vain fool, who forgot his place? Yet this is exactly the conduct of our organists in the case of music such as that of Tallis, Bird, Farrant, and other writers of their epoch, whose compositions are purely vocal, and as such, so complete, that there is no place for accompaniment, except by a mere repetition of the notes sung by the voice; and this is altogether superfluous, if the choir be adequate to their performance.*

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* That we are not exaggerating the absurd conduct of those who are reckoned the best of our organists, shall be shown by an instance. During the course of last month, Farrant's anthem, "Lord, for thy tender mercies' sake," was sung in the Sunday Evening Service at Westminster Abbey. Here was a case in point. Everybody, who knows anything of the matter, is aware, that Farrant's anthem is a purely vocal one, and, like all compositions of the kind, has vocal effects, which cannot be heard on the organ, and which the organ annihilates; as, for example, when a high note is sung by a man's voice, and a low one by the voice of a boy, the different quality of the voices produces a peculiarly beautiful effect, which the organ, having notes only of the same quality throughout, cannot imitate. Now, one would have thought the organist might have, in this instance, left the choir (a very ample one by the way) to itself. But, no; the organ began with the commencement of the anthem, rather gently. After the first musical phrase had been sung, then followed an *imitation of thunder!!! i. e.* the organist put his feet on several of the large pedal-pipe keys at once. Could anything be more preposterously out of place, more intensely dis-

In short, what we have said of Gregorian music, in respect to the addition of harmonies, we now say analogically of music by composers of the purely vocal school, in respect to the use of the organ;—if the latter, considered as a specific kind of Church art, requires the aid of the organ as an element towards its completeness, let us have the organ by all means; but if it requires no such aid,—in the name of good taste and good sense, let us not convert what is admitted to be one of the most perfect forms of sacred music into an inferior description of the music of a later age. In the music of the post-restoration school, the organ is an essential element; it is necessary to complete the intention of the composer; it would be just as preposterous to require in this case that the organ part should be omitted, as it is in the former case to insist upon its being used. As we have said, we are not disputing which kind of music is best on the whole; all we demand is, that whatever sort we agree to use shall be performed correctly and with intelligence,—not spoiled by the influence of theories about the general advantage of organ accompaniment, or the progress of musical science, which have nothing to do with the matter. If we are to have the play of Hamlet, we must neither omit the part of Hamlet, nor add characters which its author intentionally left out. And this, because of the recognised principle in the arts, that every work of genius, and the class to which it belongs, must be received or rejected with its beauties and its faults.

If we reckon the Gregorian Chants, or the music of the sixteenth century, worthy of being used in Divine service, either as classes of art, or as specimens of those classes, let them be used as such. If we are not satisfied with either, let us make better if we can; but this can only be done, as it always has been, by individual men of genius; and when we have got this new and better music, we shall not have arrived a step nearer the kind of abstract perfection which people dream of; we shall only have substituted one class of individual works for another. But there will be this difference, that modern composers will protect themselves against the unwarrantable and impertinent liberties which organists take with the works of ancient masters.

There seems to us to be a sort of *fatuity* which comes over organists of the present time, the moment they enter the organ-loft; for the very same men, in other circumstances, would admit the justice of the views just now expressed, and not only admit their justice, but act upon them. Who more strenuous oppo-

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gusting to good taste, or more shocking to devout feeling? He continued the accompaniment throughout the anthem, during the first time it was sung; but left off for a little during its repetition, thereby, in fact, showing that he was aware how it ought to be performed; but we suppose his fingers were itching all the time, for, before the conclusion, we had another unmerciful crash of thunder.

nents than they to the use of accompaniment of any sort in *Madrigal singing?* If you ask them why they object to it, their answer would be precisely that which we give in the case of Church music of the age of Madrigal writing; viz. because the music requires no accompaniment, was not intended to have any; and therefore is, *as Madrigal music*, spoiled by it. Yet once set these very men on the organ-stool, let their fingers touch the keys, or their feet the pedals, and all their judgment, discrimination, and knowledge seem to vanish. We suppose the pleasure of organ-playing must be irresistible. There must be some fascination in it which gets the better of common sense and prudence. This we can easily believe. The immense size and power of an organ, the facility with which its magniloquent music is drawn out, must have an intoxicating and self-exaltatory tendency on the comparative pigmy who wields, by a slight touch, its majestic thunder. He must come to feel himself a sort of deity presiding over a world of harmonious noise. All this, we can well imagine, may happen and does happen. What then? It is nothing, after all, but a temptation, which it is the duty of organists to resist; not only as the giving way to it is a foolish vanity on their part, but as its effects are in so many cases an infringement on the prerogatives of the choir, and in every case inconsistent with the moderation which ought always to characterise the worship of God where his fear prevails.

Would the Queen of England be highly gratified by the conduct of any of her subjects, who, by way of doing her honour, should appear before her with a successful mimicry of some of her incommunicable attributes as sovereign? If they came to ask her queenly mercy and pardon for deadly offences committed against her government, dressed as kings and queens, what could she think but that they were deranged, or the most extravagantly impudent people that ever existed? Did the pagan Greeks fancy that their Jove was highly honoured by the success with which an individual once among them, produced an imitation of thunder? Did they not mark their horror of the profanity, by feigning that the person guilty of it was struck dead by a thunderbolt? Yet, if we enter our metropolitan collegiate church, the chances are, that some prayer for mercy by those who call themselves miserable offenders will be accompanied by a grotesque and preposterous imitation of thunder.

This, we hope, is an extreme case (indeed it is difficult to conceive that musical profanation can go much further); but if we may judge of the mean by the extreme, matters are in so deplorable a condition, that no language can be too strong, no means too violent, to get rid of abuses every way so detestable. We repeat our assertion, then, that the greatest obstacle to a reformation of Church music generally lies at present in the

habits of organists, and that, specially with respect to the introduction of Gregorian chanting, in its proper form, *i.e.* without accompaniment and unisonous, there is little hope of success until they are willing to consider themselves as the mere servants and helps of the choir; or, to put the matter in the form of a rule for Church music generally, until organists shall have come to regard their instrument and its music as one element only towards the completeness of choral effect, and *which is only, in fact, admissible when it constitutes, by the express provision of the composer, an essential ingredient in his work.**

Before we conclude, a few words must be said respecting another of the works cited at the head of this article: viz. Mr. Bishop's Edition of Tallis's Harmonies to the Versicles and Responses, &c.

This little work, (which, so far as its professed purpose goes, is very creditable to Mr. Bishop, and contains some new information on the authorship of certain harmonies and chants hitherto erroneously, as it appears, attributed to Tallis,) would scarcely have come within the scope of our present observations had it been nothing more than it purports to be on the title-page. But he has been trying his hand at Plain-tune for the office of the Holy Communion in a second part of the book, (to which its title makes no reference,) and on this we have a remark or two to offer.

Mr. Bishop, like many others in these days, is sensible that the music of our Church service is rather out of joint; and lends his willing hand to mend the matter if he can. He makes a beginning, accordingly, by furnishing us with a true copy of Tallis's Responses and Litany; so far well. But, proceeding onwards, he gets into deep water. He has to deal with the Communion Office, and being rather puzzled to find a something that shall look like the manual which, by the aid of Tallis, he has prepared for the Matins and Evensong, he resorts to Mr. Jebb's book for a solution of the difficulty. There he finds that the whole of the Eucharistic service must have been sung at one time; that it ought to be so now; that the work of Marbeck contains the music that was sung; but that this work being, generally speaking, obsolete, we have to hunt for new and sound principles in the present practice of Cathedrals, or, if they are not forthcoming, we may resort for guidance to books which give some account of this former practice, *i.e.* at some period

* Of course we do not mean to affirm that the organ is not to be used as a help to an inefficient choir; but we believe that most choirs are really more capable than they themselves believe, and would be more efficient if they were not always in the leading strings of the organ. All we desire, however, is, that it should be always distinctly understood when the organ is performing an integral part of the composition, and when it is acting as a mere convenience,—when it is necessary and may not be dispensed with, and when it is unnecessary and would be dispensed with if it could.

after Marbeck's work had become obsolete. The "ancient choral books," accordingly, being laid on the shelf, Mr. Bishop's chances of success rest on discovering the present or the past recorded usage of Cathedrals: and what is, what can be, the only result of his inquiry? Simply this: First, that Cathedrals have never, within the memory of man, chanted in plain-tune the office of the Holy Communion, properly so called, *i.e.* from the Offertory to the Gloria in Excelsis; and, secondly, that the only accounts we have of their former practice apply to the "second service," as it used to be termed, *i.e.* the commencement of the Communion Office as far as the Offertory—the *Missa sicca*, in short. Mr. Bishop accordingly concludes that nobody can tell how the rest ought to be chanted, and this being so, he sets to work and *invents a new use for himself*. "So little information," he says, "can be gathered as to the manner in which the office of the Holy Communion should be performed, that the editor has been compelled to draw up this portion of the work more from analogy than from positive directions. He therefore offers it simply in the spirit of suggestion, and in the hope that, should any defects be found, they will lead to the compilation of a service more perfect in its form....."

Our readers need hardly be informed, that in setting aside Marbeck's work, and with it, ancient and Catholic usage, Mr. Bishop cut himself off from the possibility of success in his attempt. The very assumption, that we know nothing of the manner in which the Communion service *ought* to be performed, is one which, of itself, no person competent to suggest the proper manner could ever have been guilty of making. And in truth, Mr. Bishop has shown that he is utterly ignorant of the subject. What, we would ask, is the analogy by which he has been guided? Where are the "positive directions," as applied to the Matins and Even-song, which he was unable to find for the intonation of the Communion-office? Is there any difference between the two, so far as rubrical directions are concerned? Not a jot. The proper manner of chanting the Communion-office is to be learned by reference to the same rules, the same directions, the same ancient exemplars, by which the true intonation of the daily office is ascertained. And if the work of Marbeck is the model in the one case, so it is in the other. That much more of the ancient music of the daily office has been in practice retained than of the Communion-service, is quite true; and the fact affords miserable evidence of the extent to which we have forgotten that the Eucharist ought to be the centre-point of interest in the ritual; but this does not alter the case. Whether we have chanted it as of old, or not, it ought to have been chanted; and had it been so without interruption, the music must now have borne traces of its Catholic origin to the same extent as that of Matins, Even-song, or the Litany does.

Considering, therefore, that the ancient intonations and music of the Communion, have been entirely disused, and, accordingly, that there is not even a shadow of the pretence on which Mr. Jebb deprecates the restoration of ancient usage, where it has only been corrupted, not laid aside, we conceive that Mr. Bishop's attempt is a most pernicious one; since it endeavours to carry the present errors and abuses of the plain-song of the Daily Service into a part of the Ritual which, hitherto, it may may be said, has been devoid of music altogether. Even according to Mr. Jebb's principles, the mere disuse of the ancient plain-song does not constitute a reason for its not being still regarded as a pattern for guidance. All he contends for, is, that where the plain-song has undergone alterations in practice, we may, possibly, find that the alterations have been the result of some hitherto unrecognised principle; and, on that account, that it may be a question whether we ought to disturb present established usage. But here there was no established usage whatever. There was no vestige of a modern use, to stand in the way of the Catholic and ancient one. The ancient model on which the music of matins, even-song, and the Litany, is admitted to have been derived, provides, also, for the case of the Communion Office; but in the latter there has been no modern corruption of the plain-song; for it has never been used at all. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that, however much or little of the ancient music of the Communion Office we may care to use, that much or little ought to be taken from the Exemplar, whose authority in the matter is proved by the fact that the music of matins and even-song is derived from it.

We repeat, then, that we consider Mr. Bishop's attempt to make plain-song for the Office of the Holy Communion, not only an evidence of great ignorance—proceeding, as it does, on the assumption that we have no authority or direction to guide us in the matter,—but that the work itself is a most pernicious one, because it recommends and facilitates the introduction of un-Catholic practice, in a case where our practice was in abeyance. The sentiments with which we regard this work, are precisely those we should have, if some clerical tailor, understanding that copes, chasubles, and dalmatics, ought to be worn by the clergy, and, being unable to discover what these vestments ought to be, were to set to work, and invent a set of modern dresses, and call them by the old names. We should, no doubt, honour his zeal, and take his attempt as pleasing evidence that the decorum of the Ritual was becoming matter of general interest; but, if the dresses were neither copes, chasubles, nor dalmatics, we should, of course, object to their being used, and choose rather that the present mode should be retained, tha that any change should be made in the wrong direction. If ou clergy had been in the habit of wearing chasubles of the bass

and the trader, call to it in vain. The amazed book-keepers wave their flags, the policemen hold up their wands: but no—it passes on as reckless as Kehama of old, whose

> —— "brazen cars of triumph straight
> At the same moment drove through every gate."

The excellent arrangements which had been made about tickets were useless. The passengers who awaited its arrival must make their way across the country by such new roads as they could discover, grumbling at Watt, Brunel, and every body else who pretended to provide for the public accommodation. Those who entered it at all could do so only by such desperate leaps as few were quick enough to adventure. The train itself, however, went well enough, except that it laboured rather at a few ascents, as though it were in danger of stopping, and precipitated itself down the slopes with a somewhat desperate rapidity. Nor was this to be wondered at, for the spectators could see at once that there were no drivers upon the engine. Whether they had fallen off, or been forgotten, had slunk back into the carriages to sleep, or been knocked on the head at one of the bridges—the result was the same, the engine was without guidance. This circumstance, however, was unobserved by the majority of passengers, whose business was not to drive the train, but to be carried by it. Moreover, the gentlemen in the first-class carriages were too busy reading the last night's debate upon the currency to take any notice of the matter. Those in the second-class were prevented by wooden partitions from looking forwards, and they were locked up besides, for it was before the time when Sydney Smith distinguished himself as a railroad emancipator. But what seemed strange was, that an excellent carriage next to the engine was occupied by a company of engineers, who had nothing to do but to step out, and take the guidance. Yet there they sat, as still as the seven sleepers. Some thought them asleep, and many were the shouts, ay, and the missiles, directed against their vehicle. But it is understood that they were quite awake to the matter. Indeed, it is said that they were debating whether it was not much safer that the engine should be left without guidance. There were stories afloat of great dangers which had attended the attempt to direct it. If they stopped, was it certain that they could be set off again; and were the drivers themselves quite agreed as to the rate of motion? True, those who were waiting at the stations were likely enough to be dissatisfied: they would have to make new roads for themselves, and perhaps pull up the rail in their vexation. But those who jumped might get in as it was; and, even if the carriages stopped, the rest might not choose to enter. And so the whole train was trusted to the instinc of the engine.

We cannot direct our readers to the number of the Railway *Times* in which this singular experiment is recorded. But, if they

are to trust to Mr. Lathbury's book, they will find an exact parallel in the condition and fortunes of the Church of England. "I will venture to assert," he concludes his work, "that no member of our Anglican Church, who fully understands her constitution, and is acquainted with her history, can deny that our position, without a Convocation, in which alone the Church can authoritatively speak, is most anomalous." How far he makes good his assertion we shall see hereafter; at present, let us observe that he first notices the earlier part of the Church's career; then shows the nature of her legislative organs; lastly, explains and deplores their inactivity.

We will deviate a little from this order, more suited, perhaps, to the describer of a railroad journey than to a systematic expositor of the Church's constitution, and profit by his inquiries into the nature and number of our Church's laws. These are mainly of two sorts, Acts of Parliament and Canons. We cannot find space to point out fully the relative places of these two classes of obligations: of which the first has always the more power, but the second often the more authority. For we cannot agree to what Mr. Lathbury says, we hope in a thoughtless mood, "the law of the land may impose a duty on the ministers of the Church, and they readily perform the duty." (P. 349.) Whether they should do so or no depends on further considerations: we ought to obey God rather than man. Were the Church, to which we have promised obedience, to give a plain command, none but an Erastian would say that we might disobey it. We hold to what was replied by Sir Thomas More to the base traitor who endeavoured to entrap him: "If an Act of Parliament was to rule that God was not God, would it be binding?" This, then, is the general position of the two authorities: where the Church speaks plainly and decisively, her Canons are of more authority with Christians than Acts of Parliament. When she does not command compliance, we are not called upon to brave the edge of the civil sword, or rather we are not justified in originating angry contentions, for what would be more desirable, but is not positively enacted. If, for instance, the State required us to alter our creeds, no persecution could justify compliance; when she interferes, as she does at present, with the exercise of our discipline—the main injury our Church suffers from the State—we are only called upon to employ peaceful remonstrances.

The most important Acts of Parliament by which the Church of England is affected are the Acts of Uniformity, passed in the 1st year of Queen Elizabeth, and the 13th of Charles II., and that of Henry VIII., by which the Clergy are prohibited from making any laws for their own guidance without the consent of the Sovereign. In each of these cases, (we say nothing of the persecuting Præmunire laws,) the civil power does not interfere as though possessing an originating authority, but only as watching, sanctioning, and confirming what the rulers of Christ's Church have enacted. This appears to be the theory of our Constitution, broken in upon,

perhaps, to some slight degree in modern times, but sufficiently entire to be still defensible. We hope the present generation of Churchmen will not retreat to any more assailable ground. Those who would know all the provisions (till of late years) which concern ecclesiastical matters, will find them in the learned Codex of Bishop Gibson, [the student should procure the last edition, Oxford 1761,] where those statutes, which have been superseded, are printed, by way of distinction, in a smaller character.

We find here all the State laws which affect the Church of England; and it may assist us in repelling the charge of being merely a Parliamentary Church, that many of those which are still in force are of earlier date than the Reformation. The very first clause of the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill of this year proposes to alter three Acts, still in operation, which were passed by Parliament in the reigns of the three Edwards. Nor are our Canons of less antiquity. They consist, according to the 25th Henry VIII. c. 19, of "such Canons already made as are not contrariant to the laws of this realm." Whatever portion, therefore, of the general Canon law of Europe had previously been accepted in this country, continues in force, unless it is contrary to some of our national enactments. This Act gives the same sanction to these ancient Canons, which the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer receive from the Act of Uniformity; they thus pass from the department of Ecclesiastical into that of State laws, and are not only enjoined by the Church, but imposed by the Legislature. It is otherwise with that collection of enactments which was passed by Convocation in 1602, and which was no doubt designed to form such a collected body of statutes, as should supersede the necessity of referring to the ancient rules. But, as these Canons have never received a Parliamentary sanction, they have not taken the place of the scattered fragments of original custom, and are only binding in themselves upon those who were represented in Convocation. On the Clergy, however, they have the force of law; and even beyond this they have a measure of authority. "Some of them," Mr. Lathbury says, "even now concern the laity." What should be done, *i. e.* by the Clergy, in the exercise of their functions among the laity, is indicated by this rule, and it is the duty of the ministers of the Church to induce the laity to submit to it. But no actual process against a layman can be based upon this mere authority. When Lord Melbourne, for example, two years ago, pointed to the bench of Bishops, and declared that there sat the Convocation of the Church of England, he was protected not only by privilege of Parliament, but by his lay character, from the lash of the 139th Canon, which asserts, that "whosoever shall hereafter affirm that a national synod is not the Church's Representative, shall be excommunicated, and not restored until he publicly revoke his wicked error."

It is well, however, that the Clergy should remember the punishment to which they would expose themselves by questioning the

authority of Convocation, as well as the sentence passed upon those who deny the validity of its Canons; for, strange as it may seem, "some persons have asserted that they have no authority at all. The editor of a newspaper has maintained," says Mr. Lathbury, "that they are only conventional rules among the Clergy." (P. 212.) We could ourselves mention a county paper, under Wesleyan influence, though professing great friendship to the *Establishment*, which actually maintained this paradox, at the very moment when Mr. Escott was under suspension for violating the 68th Canon. Mr. Lathbury notices, and it is needless to do more than notice, the absurdity of such discussions respecting the validity of a rule which the Ecclesiastical Courts are habitually enforcing. As well might the accuracy of the sentiment, so absurdly attributed to Lord Denman, that acts of Parliament might be safely violated, form the subject of debate among the prisoners in the Borough Compter.

But let us hear Mr. Lathbury state the constitution of that body, which claims in so authoritative a manner to be "the Church of England by representation."

"England is divided into two provinces of Canterbury and York. The Convocation of Canterbury consists of all the Bishops of the Province, who constitute the Upper House; of twenty-two Deans, fifty-three Archdeacons, twenty-four Proctors of Chapters, and forty-four for the Parochial Clergy, and one Precentor, who compose the Lower House. As there is no Dean of the Chapter of St. David's, the Precentor is summoned in his stead. Llandaff is also without a Dean, yet no one is summoned as a representative [A. D. 1842]. Before the dissolution of the monasteries, the Abbots also had seats in the Upper House, at which time it was more numerous than the Lower. At present, however, the Upper House in the Province of Canterbury consists of 22—the Lower, of 144.

"The method of choosing the proctors for the Clergy varies somewhat in different places. In the diocese of London each Archdeacon chooses two, and from the whole number the Bishop selects two to attend the Convocation. In Sarum the three Archdeacons choose six, and the six make a selection of two of their own number; and the same method is adopted in the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. In Bath and Wells all the incumbents choose their proctors jointly. In Lincoln the Clergy of the six archdeaconries send commissioners to Stamford, who make the necessary choice of two persons. In Norwich the two Archdeaconries of Norwich and Norfolk jointly choose one, and the Archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury choose the other. The same is the case in Chichester. In ancient times the Clergy were represented in Convocation by the Archdeacons. Such is the mode of choosing proctors in the Province of Canterbury. In the province of York two proctors are returned by each Archdeaconry. Were it not so, the numbers would be too small for the transaction of business. In this Province, therefore, the proctors for the Parochial Clergy are equal in number to those for the Chapters."—P. 119.

Mr. Lathbury then notices the double summons given to Convocation, which occasioned such warm controversies a century and a ago—controversies which called forth the genius of Atterbury, ere at length buried under the ponderous learning of Kennet Wake. The Convocation is summoned by two writs, one from own to each Bishop, which, in a clause beginning with the "præmunientes," orders him to bring to Parliament his Dean,

Archdeacons, one delegate for his Chapter, and two for his Clergy, (Lathbury, p. 121;)—the other writ is from the Archbishop of each Province, who, at the order of the Crown, summons in a similar manner the Clergy under his jurisdiction. It has been a ground of contention, then, whether these writs referred to two assemblies, distinct in nature, though consisting perhaps of the same persons, and summoned at the same period, or whether they were merely adopted as a securer way of enforcing the same summons. On this important point Mr. Lathbury takes no decided view—in p. 121 he favours the former, in the following page the latter alternative. The theory of Atterbury, who adopted the last of these two hypotheses, appears to have been mainly taken up in order to assimilate the powers and processes of the Lower House of Convocation to those of a modern House of Commons; while that of White Kennet, who distinguished between the State Assembly of the Clergy and their Ecclesiastical Synod, though more probable, leaves some difficulties to resolve. These arise especially from the division of the two provinces. Freedom from arrest, for instance, is granted to delegates to Convocation in consequence of the "præmunientes" clause, which summons them to Westminster: by what circumstance has this been extended to the assembly which meets at York? We should gladly see some more complete and satisfactory work on the theory of Convocation, in which these questions should be fairly examined. Mr. Lathbury, though popular and useful, passes *sicco pede* over matters of research. And all his inquiries are confined to this side of the Trent. He seems to have taken more heed than King James to the difficulty of passing that river:

> "Many a pennon will be torn,
> And many a knight to earth be borne,
> And many a sheaf of arrows spent,
> Ere Scotland's king shall pass the Trent."

Our author is on his guard against such dangers. His mode of describing the Archbishop's summons (p. 122) would imply, though we by no means charge him with designing to infringe the hyperborean privileges, that the southern Primate summoned both provinces. Again, in the passage we quoted, he states that "in the Province of York two proctors are returned for every Archdeaconry, therefore the proctors for the Parochial Clergy are equal in number to those for the Chapters." (P. 119.) How can Mr. Lathbury, or his authority, Hody, be ignorant that the northern province contains twice as many archdeaconries as chapters? The delegates of the one, therefore, are three times as numerous as those of the other. Several interesting points, likewise, which arise from the divisions of the provinces, he fails to resolve. What part, for example, have the bishops of the northern province in the southern Convocation? The presence of the Bishop of Durham in a Committee of the Upper House of Convocation is mentioned by our author (p. 245) without observation. Again, if the appointment of a prolocutor arises merely from the

division of the two houses, (Lathbury, p. 124,) why do the Clergy of York appoint a similar officer, and what are his rights and duties? Yet we see from Wilkins, vol. iv. p. 567, that, A. D. 1661, the following was the course adopted:—"Post lectionem literarum commissionalium Reverendissimi Ricardo Marsh, Johanni Neill, et Antonio Elcock, directarum, et post concilii continuationem in horas pomeridianas, Johannes Neill, unus commissionarium in prolocutorem unanimi consensu electus, Archiepiscopi Commissionariis præsentatus, et ab illis admissus fuit." Of these commissioners, the first was Dean of York: Neill, who was selected, was Archdeacon of Cleveland: the latter may have been chosen, lest the right of presiding might be supposed to appertain to the principal Dean of the Province. We hope that our brethren of the northern Province do not neglect to keep up their privileges, but we do not remember to have heard lately of any address presented by them to the Crown.

We are sorry that Mr. Lathbury has not entered at large upon these questions, to which his learning, industry, and opportunities qualify him to do justice. Perhaps he reserves it for a subsequent work, or a second edition. We hope he will add an Index, which, for a book like his, is particularly needed. Of his present work the historical outline of Convocation is the best part, though here too he is not altogether without error. What right has he to say that "British Bishops were present at the Council of Nice" (P. 20.)? Stillingfleet, indeed, thinks it probable; but it is not right to assert what can only be suspected. Mr. Lathbury speaks as though he had in his library the lost copy of S. Athanasius's Synodicon. Again, we are not satisfied with his notice of the 5th and 7th Councils—the 5th was not merely directed against the opinions of Origen, nor was the 7th universally received in the Western Church. He is more at home on native ground, and especially when he enters upon that interesting period of the meeting of Convocation which followed the Reformation. This was the time when the privileges of that body, as the representative of a national Church, were asserted and acted upon. To the interval between the death of Queen Mary and the Great Rebellion, all members of the Church, of course, look back as an age when her principles developed themselves with most definiteness. We next pass to the reign of Charles II., when a design was in agitation for superseding Convocation by a Royal Commission, which would have entirely altered the constitution of the Church of England, and given an opening for its total destruction at the era of the Revolution; for, had so ready an instrument been in existence, the pernicious changes which were meditated by Tillotson and his associates could hardly have been prevented, and the claim of our communion to be a branch of the primitive Church Catholic would have been altogether surrendered. It was not Courts or Prelates, but the mass of the lower Clergy, whom we are to thank, as God's instruments, at that period, for our salvation. And that they were able to defend us must be attributed in part, as Mr.

Lathbury observes, to a man whom it has been the custom of all party scribes to abuse, but who has not had sufficient justice done him by the adherents of that Church which he served with so much zeal, and for which he suffered with so much patience. The feelings of an apt representative of the Low Church party towards Peter Heylin were expressed in the assertion, [vide the interesting Life by his son-in-law, Dr. Barnard,] "that the Archbishop (Laud) might print, and the doctor (Heylin) might preach what they pleased against popery, but that he should never think them, or either of them, to be less Papists for all that." (Barnard's Theologo-Historicus, p. 240.) Yet Heylin, like some whom we could mention in the present day, did good service against Popery by defending the existence of that Church, which is the only barrier against its prevalence in the world. And among other services was the letter, preserved by Dr. Barnard, (p. 250,) in which he urged the summoning of Convocation in lieu of the Ecclesiastical Commission, which was endeavouring, and the warning is not without present utility, to occupy its room. The Savoy Conference followed. Then came a season during which Convocation met, but with little effect. The Revolution for a time revived its energy. The plans for improvement which were in agitation during its sessions at the commencement of the last century were many and various. The revival of Church Discipline, the regulation of the office of Rural Dean, the extension of Episcopacy on the Continent, the visitation of prisoners, the erection and endowment of new Churches, the care of our Colonies,—these were the topics to which the thoughts of the Synod were directed, and for which, had it continued to act, provision would probably have been made. That all these subjects have been handed on untouched to the present century, and almost to the present generation; that thousands, or rather millions of men have waited vainly for the beneficent ministrations of the Church, and see her pass by them year after year, as though the mute call of their brutish ignorance was no summons which could interrupt her onward course,—all this is to be attributed to nothing so directly as to the want of some legislative power in the Church, which could retard or accelerate her progress, could meet the demands of time and place, and adapt her to the exigencies of the hour.

It is not our purpose to follow our author into the disputes which at first raised a prejudice against Convocation, and led finally to the suspension of its action. But we think he has hardly done justice to the Clergy of that age; for he has not noticed what seems to us a sufficient account of the passion and prejudice with which they acted, that they were left, like the celebrated companions of Xenophon, to find their unwonted way amidst the opposition of a hostile government, and without the guidance of their natural leaders. If they escaped in safety from such dangers, it was all that could be anticipated. Disorders and disputes, and some misconduct, either among one another or towards their neighbours, was the inevitable result of so unnatural a situation. We

have in it a striking proof of the great evil which the Church suffers when men are raised to its highest offices who are without the confidence of their inferiors. Yet such was the situation of things when, as Addison expressed it, with more truth than himself discerned, the diocese of Salisbury had not a Presbyterian in it except the Bishop. We think it is Lord Mahon who has observed that this was the great thing which prevented the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline over the Clergy during the last century. And to this do we attribute the unkindly feeling between the two houses, which placed the Convocation of the Church of England in so unfavourable a light. The Crown had just commenced a merciless persecution of the Scottish Church. But the Bishops whom it had appointed here showed no sympathy with their afflicted brethren. The permanence of the Prayer Book, and the purity of the Church, was openly threatened; but no sound of remonstrance was heard from the Upper House. Meanwhile, a large body of the Clergy believed the ejected Prelates to possess the real authority of their order. How natural then their distrust of those who showed no sympathy with their dangers! How difficult was it altogether to conceal their conviction, that no army could prevail, so long as the enemy appointed their generals! And what wonder that such a state of feeling should issue in the dissensions which followed!

To all this more justice should have been done in the work before us. Yet it is gratifying to observe, that it contains the most decided protest against the Erastian notions, which would do away Convocation altogether, and that a strong desire is expressed for a revival of its action. Yet we are not sure that the author sees his way very clearly as to what Convocation *might* do, and as to what ought to be its first measures. On these points we will make a few remarks in conclusion.

The great want of the Church of England in the present day is obviously independence. She is placed in the midst of many voluntary institutions, which are constantly endeavouring to seduce her into companionship in their uncatholic ways. She pays for the negligence of her leaders during the last century, who neglected to take such steps as might have retained the bulk of the people in her communion; and she can no longer prescribe, as she once did, for the benefit of the whole land. She is contented to spread her board for such as choose to continue in her family, without taking account of those who refuse to be her children. Over their faith and habits she exercises no control. Her sons are members of a Parliament which others enter. She receives a share of national grants, which are given as well for the support of truth, as the inculcation of falsehood. She profits by a protection for her public worship, which is given equally to the Churches of God, and the synagogues of Satan. In these respects she conforms to that law of God's providence, which makes the sun to shine on the evil and the good, and gives rain to the just and the unjust.

But what she does not, and may not do, is to recognise and sanction those evils which she cannot avert. And this it is for which the sectarians clamour. It is of no profit to them to be raised to high places, so long as the King's ancient servant may sit sad and silent within the royal gates. They invite her to take livery and service with them, and offer a participation of their novel blessings. She gave degrees in her universities to those who had a Church education; they do the like for those who are educated without religion. She registered the temporal incidents of her children; they required the State, which alone of God's ordinances they acknowledged, to do so for them. She blessed marriages; they desired a mode of marriage without blessing. She educated her children; they desired the State to educate theirs. But with all these concessions they were not content, unless Churchmen might be compelled to suffer those privations which they themselves chose as their privilege. They require not only the right to grant degrees, but that our titles should not be our own exclusive possession. They compel us to enroll our births and deaths in the registers invented for their benefit. They complain because we wish to be married like our fathers, and as they did to bring up our children. All looks the same way: they have lost the benefits and associations of a Church, and wish to pull us down to their level. Their complaint is not of the situation which they have chosen for themselves, but because we cannot be compelled to share it. Liberty is not enough for them without equality. They pride themselves on being destitute of the apostolical succession. It is well. But what harm do they suffer by our retaining it? It is the old apologue—they have cut off their own tails, and would follow the fox's precedent. In other words, they want intercommunion with us. Now, there is one weak point in our system. We are compelled to recognise baptized persons, who die without being subject to sentence of excommunication, as Christian brethren. Over all such our Burial Service must be employed. The Church designed that separatists should be severed from us by public sentence, but this Parliament prevents. This, then, is our difficulty. To recognise persons as our brethren in Christ who are not in communion with any branch of the Church Catholic is a clear infraction of our principles: it imposes upon us individually the assertion of what, at the best, we think questionable: it subjects the Church at large to the heinous guilt of giving men false encouragement. A large body of the Clergy live in the constant expectation of being compelled to suffer persecution for breaking the law of the land. We speak not here of the burial of children, who have been baptized by schismatics, which may be alleged to stand upon a different footing; we take the case of grown persons, who have lived in open separation from the Church, and died declaring that they did not wish to be reconciled. What possible ground is there for receiving such perso as members of our communion? If it be a profanation to minist the Holy Eucharist to a professed infidel, why is it less so to recei

as a member of the Church's fold those who by voluntary profession are separatists? Yet the Clergyman who refuses to do so is subject by the letter of the 68th Canon to be suspended for three months. We say its letter, for the law contemplated no such case. Now what Clergyman can tell that he may not be the next who is called upon to suffer this persecution for the sake of the Gospel? But this perplexity might be removed by Convocation alone; for it rests only on the 68th Canon. That nothing else compels us to use the Funeral Service over sectarians is obvious, for had any common-law right existed, it must have been pleaded in the case of Mastin *versus* Escott. This, therefore, is the first object for Convocation—to free us from a yoke which we have taken upon our own necks, and from which nothing else can exonerate us. We need no Act of Parliament; it was our own work, and can be undone by ourselves. And why the whole body of the Clergy do not incessantly solicit the royal license for the meeting of Convocation, as some dioceses have already done, if it be merely for the removal of this capital evil, we are unable to conjecture.

We are surprised to find so little mention, on our author's part, of this, in our view most material object of the meeting of Convocation. He introduces others which, however important, are less immediately within the power of our Synod. He says, very justly, "any material change in the Liturgy is out of the question." (P. 389.) But he does not appear to discern, that there is in this case the further safeguard of a legal, as well as a moral impossibility. He is surely in error when he says (p. 124,) that Convocation can "reform the Liturgy." True, no change in the Liturgy can be made without its consent; for, having been fixed by the joint authority of Convocation and Parliament, it must be amended by the same power from which it was derived; but Convocation by itself cannot alter what the Act of Uniformity has enjoined. Were the concurrence of Parliament obtained, a change might then no doubt be effected. And this we take to be the reason why nothing of the kind is to be desired. We suppose that no party would choose to consult a body so indifferent, if not hostile, to the Church as the House of Commons. There are certainly some things which many Churchmen would not regret to see otherwise. Why should Edward's First Book have been tampered with by foreign meddlers? What evil would there be in the abjuration at Baptism, or the invocation of the Holy Ghost at the Holy Eucharist? And yet, though these things may be abstractedly good, we have no wish to introduce a spirit of innovation, which is never so injurious as in the Liturgical offices of a nation. To give the minister the option of changing a few words, (as done in America,) renders it uncertain, on any occasion, whether the voice of the Priest and the mind of the people will go together. To alter existing prayers, therefore, we should hold little short of a profanation. We think it was Coleridge who said, that, to change a word in a line of Milton was like attempting to push a single brick

out of a well-built wall with the fingers; and still less could we tolerate such a process in what is not only consecrated by the inspiration of genius, but hallowed by the associations of devotion. If any change were made, it must be of a kind which should not interfere with existing prayers, but add something alongside of them. And if we must "ventilate such generals," we should observe that the thing most wanted in our service is a sufficient variety for varying seasons, for fast and festival, for joy and humiliation. This would be attained by the permission to use one of the penitential Psalms in lieu of the 95th, or of either of the Canticles. Those who attempt to do justice to our Church's resources would thus be enabled to adapt her words more completely to every season. We will mention one thing more which we should be ready to concede to the complaint of some of our town brethren. The length of the Ministration of the Holy Communion precludes them, they say, from assuring each individual that the Saviour's body is bestowed upon him for his single benefit. This complaint is an instance of the evil of sacrificing primitive usage to present difficulties. To exclude the modern figment of Transubstantiation, the hallowed simplicity of the ancient ritual was exchanged for the short sermon to each individual, which closes our present form of administration. This is found to render the service so long, that in many places it is pronounced but once to many worshippers. The ancient words had been so chosen as not to prolong the service, being coincident in the time which they consumed with the act of administration. Thus have men created the difficulty under which they suffer. And in place of the present unauthorized omission of the words, is it impossible to return to the primitive usage; to repeat the ancient words with which our modern form commences to each worshipper, and the longer form, if need be, once only to the whole body of communicants? We counsel no deviation from the Rubric; but such a practice, as the case stands at present, would seem to us a much slighter departure from the prescribed rule than that which is now too commonly adopted.

Another advantage which Mr. Lathbury anticipates from the revival of Convocation, is the restoration of Suffragan Bishops. We know not why he supposes that any legislative act would facilitate a step which it is so manifestly in the power of our present rulers to effectuate. We are clearly of opinion that it is not advisable to seek new powers, till those which lie dormant in our system have been done justice to. Indeed, we see, from a notice of a recent tract, that he is aware that no new Act of Parliament is needed. And we heartily wish that his expectations, as to the revival of this order, may be realized. It is obvious to those who are believers in the reality of the Church's ordinances, that nothing can be more fa[t] than that a most important part of our system should be practic[ally] in abeyance. While the Church's office of instruction has b[een] infinitely augmented, there has been a positive retrogression in th[e]

parts of her system which are set forth as the especial channels of grace. Charity schools for the young have been increased; the Clergy, who were bound to preach once a month, have multiplied their homilies eightfold; but what proportionate increase has there been in the solemnity with which Confirmation is administered? The Canon which enjoins triennial Confirmations seems to measure the utmost which is aimed at, and, in many instances, not attained to by our spiritual rulers. When a Rector or Vicar is disabled by age or sickness from the exercise of his function, he is obliged to procure a substitute for the discharge of his duties. Why are the much more important duties of the successors of the Apostles to be in such a case neglected? We have heard discussions of late respecting the establishment of new Bishoprics. This would no doubt be desirable, but the project is beset with such difficulties as must delay, if not defeat it. For our part, we agree with Mr. Lathbury, that the best remedy is to use, in the mean time, our existing powers. Let the Bishops, who are oppressed by extensive dioceses, or whom age or sickness disqualify from exertion, procure the aid of Suffragans. By this means the functions of the highest office in the Church would be duly performed. We should not hear of churches being opened by license, because the Bishop could not attend to consecrate. How interesting and impressive is it, that the place of God's especial presence should, from the period of its first tenancy by mankind, be taken possession of by the Church's solemn rite, secluding it from aught else till the hour of doom! How grievous is it that this affecting privilege should be sacrificed to the convenience of him whose office it is to be the servant of all men for Christ's sake! Yet how can it be otherwise, while the Bishop is oppressed with his present load of business? He can but do his best. But let him have an assistant, empowered to execute such portions of his office as are committed to him by letters patent, and restricted, under penalty, from doing more, and the whole of any Bishop's duties might easily be effected. We will venture to say, that the effect produced upon the whole Church would be instantaneous and incalculable. The Hierarchy would begin again to be not merely a system of polity, but an instrument of grace. The people would learn that the Church is not Episcopal in name alone, the priesthood would give effect to the words of the Apostolic martyr, and do nothing without their Bishop.

Now, although the session of Convocation is not needed to give effect to a law which is already in existence, yet we agree with Mr. Lathbury in supposing that nothing would so certainly lead to the consecration of Suffragan Bishops as its assemblage. To enter upon the reasons of this opinion would lead us into somewhat delicate ground. Suffice it to say, that the only reason why Episcopal duties have been so ısly neglected, as in some cases might be instanced, has been : there was no authorized means of applying a remedy. That yman should reside for years on the continent, and shut up

his church, is impossible—he has a superior who would prevent it. Is the same thing impossible for a Bishop? The answer is but too apparent—what has been done may be repeated. But it is clear that such a thing could not be done were there any authorized assembly of the Church's representatives, which was convened to redress such abuses. And so on in respect to lesser evils. The grand abuse of the present day, the great inattention, namely, to the due efficiency of Confirmation, is a case in point. Considering that our present want is Church Discipline, that it is only to be approximated to by such processes as may at least enable the Church to declare who are and who are not her members, the cardinal point of our system would be such a provision as pointed out distinctly how men entered into full communion, and enabled us to keep a precise register of our members. This would at once make the Church an organized body. If Confirmation was never ministered save when young people were prepared and fit to approach the Lord's Table, and if the Church's order to require the names of new communicants were obeyed, this object would at once be secured. But the great hindrance which is felt by the parochial clergy is, that the rare recurrence of Confirmations makes it dangerous to reject unfit parties, lest they should be altogether lost sight of before the return of the three years, when the Bishop is compelled by canon to administer this rite. What result might follow its more attentive celebration may be illustrated from the following passage of a work, which contains some useful observations in the midst of much which is low and fallacious:—

"Another cause of the great influence of the clergy, and of the total absence of religious dissent, is the great consideration in which the rite of Confirmation is held. It is not here, as it practically is in the Church of England, a mere ceremony, in which the Bishop knows nothing personally of the parties he is admitting into the Church, and the parish priest knows little more than that they were baptized, and are of age. There is here a strict examination by the Bishop, or the Probst, or rural Dean, into the young persons knowledge of his moral and religious duties, his capacity, acquirements, and character; and it is only after a long previous preparation by his parish minister, equal almost to a course of education, the confirments being instructed singly, as well as in classes, that the individual is presented for this examination. I was present lately at a Confirmation of about twenty young persons in our parish church by the Probst. The examination, in presence of the congregation, occupied nearly two hours. It was a sifting trial, to know if each individual attached the real meaning to the words he was using, and actually could understand what he had been taught on the subject of religion. It was evident that considerable pains had been taken with the instruction of each individual. To pass such a confirmation implies that the young person is well grounded in the principle of his moral and religious duties, and is of good character and understanding. It is, in common life, equivalent to taking a degree in the learned professions, being, in fact, a certificate of capacity for discharging ordinary duties and trusts. It is accordingly so considered in Norway. "A *confirmed* shop-boy wants a place,"—"Wanted a *confirmed* girl who can cook,"—are the ordinary advertisements to or from that class of the community; and the not being confirmed would be equivalent to the not having a character, either from want of conduct, or of ordinary capacity. Something similar prevailed formerly Scotland, but not to the same extent. A young man of the labouring cla usually took a certificate of his good character from the minister, when h

removed to a distant parish. The confirmation in Norway certifies much more, as, in the face of the congregation the confirment has shown that he can read, and has the use of his mental faculties to an ordinary degree, according to his station, and has moral and religious principles to direct him. It is extraordinary that the Church of England has not, like this Lutheran sister in the north, kept fast hold of a rite, which connected her so closely with society, its education, and its business. This simple discharge of an unexceptionable duty shuts out dissent from the Norwegian Church."—*Laing's Residence in Norway*, p. 188.

We will close with but one further observation—respecting the probability that we shall live to see Convocation restored. We often hear its want deplored, and the fault laid upon her Majesty's Administration. Now this is surely most unfair. The fault is obviously with the Clergy themselves. Why should they expect to see this Synod restored, till they express their wish for its restoration? The Crown has solemnly promised, and the promise is repeated in every copy of the Book of Common Prayer, that whenever the Clergy petition for a restoration of their synodical functions, no opposition shall be offered by the secular power. (*Vide* Proclamation prefixed to the Articles.) The State requires only to be told when Convocation is thought needful. Every time it summons a lay-parliament it calls our assembly together, and waits only for a request from the Clergy to give it freedom of action. Now, is such request made? From how many Dioceses has it yet come? We have heard of it in two or three, but what is done by the rest? But, it is said, if the request were made it would be fruitless. So long as the Royal Declaration continues to be appended to the Book of Common Prayer, we have no right to suppose that its promise would be violated. Should such be the case, the Church would, no doubt, be exonerated from its responsibility: but till we ask we cannot allege that we have been denied. As yet the fault is our own.

It is the more needful to say something on this subject, because the duty of petitioning has been so long neglected by the Clergy, that they need as much to be reminded of the manner, as of the necessity of its performance. At the present moment, for instance, we have the form of a petition before us, which is said to be "lying for signature" at the very shop whence Mr. Lathbury's works issue. [Parker's, West Strand.] Yet we think it impossible that the author of this singular document can have read even so slight a sketch of the nature of our Synod as Mr. Lathbury supplies. We say nothing of the structure of the petition, less perspicuous and scholarlike than we should have desired: our objections are to the admission, that we are without a legislature, and that the Houses of Parliament have the power of supplying one.

Neither of these assertions is true. We have a Legislature, though its powers are in abeyance. We cannot allow that "Convocation has fallen into desuetude." If any Clergyman thinks so, let him formally deny the 139th Canon, and see whether the Ecclesiastical Courts would not teach him that the sacred Synod of this nation,

which still meets at least once in seven years, is the Church of England by representation. Convocation has no more ceased to exist than the House of Commons in the interval between a dissolution and re-election.

This may seem to some a verbal question, but its vast importance is the conclusion which its denial involves. What leads men to petition the Houses of Parliament but the notion that Convocation has ceased to exist, and that it remains for our civil rulers to establish a new system of Church legislation? Now, that they have any power to do so we altogether deny. The attempt would imply that the Church of England was an Act of Parliament Church; which all her advocates have perpetually contradicted. Yet what else were she, if the Houses of Parliament could do more than give their temporal assent to her spiritual enactments? It would be for the Church herself to consider of "the establishment of some deliberative Ecclesiastical body, having authority to frame regulations, and to decide in questions of doubt and difficulty." And she has already considered the point sufficiently. Parliament can only lend the sanction of its powers to what is already settled by authority.

We hope, therefore, that no Clergyman will sign this objectionable petition. Indeed, we doubt whether any one can sign it without danger. Let it "lie" to the end without signatures.

But do we wish the Clergy to do nothing? On the contrary, we rejoice that attention is called to the subject; and entreat them to petition the Queen that our existing Legislature may have scope for action. Let her be requested to call together, without delay, her Ecclesiastical Council. Let every Diocese send up its separate petition; and if the other estates must be included, let us ask the Lords, the Queen's hereditary advisers, to join in our request. In truth, however, this seems idle, till we have ourselves asked. Till the Clergy of every Diocese have petitioned the Queen for redress, how unmeaning is it to have recourse to secondary quarters! If we languish, for want of the power of adapting our resources to the time, let us not look to others to remedy the defect. It is not the laity, whose duty it is to look for guidance; it is not the country gentlemen, who are busy with their secular cares; it is we ourselves, who sit still and neglect to do our part. Who then but ourselves are the culpable individuals? The mighty machinery of our Church system is mismanaged or forgotten; thousands are ready to profit by its divine march; they wait only that we should give them the opportunity, and open for them a course. That this is not done, is no fault of statesmen or parliaments; it is not the crime of economists or politicians; it is the Clergy's fault, and, till they attempt to alter it, will undoubtedly be their sin.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Report of the Oxford Parish Burial Ground Committee.

The value of this document is not to be rated by its length. It is the record of a most energetic and successful maintenance of principle in the face of an apparently irresistible opposition; and it has opened a question of general and vital importance to the Church. We will first give a history of the events connected with this matter, as far as we have been able to ascertain them, because they afford a striking illustration of the manner in which an evil precedent is allowed to establish itself, unless it happens to be encountered in its infancy by men of more courage and long-sightedness than common. At Oxford there is an admitted want of space in the burial-grounds attached to several of the churches. The defect ought to be remedied; and the natural and obvious course would have been to consult the leading residents of the place as to what the remedy should be. And foremost among persons so consulted, of course, should have been the Clergy. But instead of pursuing this method, a few busy individuals resolve that they will have a Public Cemetery, in which the ancient practice of interment shall be entirely departed from, and one of modern date substituted in its stead. Had such an intention been openly avowed, the citizens would have scouted it; or had the real movers appeared in the matter, it would at once have failed. But upon the plea of health, a number of benevolent, unsuspecting, and unsuspected individuals are induced to place themselves at the head; and the very name of a Cemetery throws them upon the precedent of Kensal Green, &c., and the last Act of Parliament. A meeting is called, by special invitation, of persons supposed to be friendly, and resolutions are prepared beforehand, and all things seem to promise the overthrowing of the system of more than a thousand years in the ancient city of Oxford, by a kind of *coup de main*. But there happen in Oxford to be a body of Clergy a little better informed than in some other places; and though only asked to attend at the eleventh hour, they had yet the perspicacity to see through the nature of the proposal, and the moral courage to oppose it in the midst of a large and influential meeting already committed to its adoption. Nine Clergy withdrew, no one following them; and small comfort we may well conceive they were likely to meet with from the Heads of Houses, who, as a body, seem to have a righteous abhorrence of anything like principle. By degrees, however, a few persons came over to their side; and this gave opportunity for the more cautious, whose sympathies no doubt were all along with them, had not prudence stood in the way, to declare themselves. And now we see that they number supporters from all sides and parties.

But it is not our object to do honour to these men, who have nobly stood in the gap; but to assert a great principle, and to bring before our readers, and the Church generally, especially its rulers, before it be too late, the general question of Public Cemeteries.

It appears that the first Act of Parliament authorizing the establish-

ment of a Cemetery was passed in the year 1823. Whether this was designed for those who used and those who refused the Church's burial equally, we have not been able to ascertain; but there are said now to exist at Liverpool, for which place the Act was passed, distinct Cemeteries for members of the Church and Dissenters. About twenty Acts have subsequently been obtained, in all of which a single plot of ground is divided in two parts, a wall or a trench forming the boundary. Yet it was not the spirit of Schism that gave rise to these joint Cemeteries, so much as the spirit of Mammon. They were, in their origin, and still are, almost exclusively, private trading speculations, in which the only object proposed is to secure as many burials, and, consequently, as large returns as possible. The Dissenter, or the Jew, or the Mahometan, who brings his money in his hand, is just as acceptable a customer as the most orthodox Churchman. But the question appears now to be assuming something of a more public character. Mr. Chadwick, the Secretary of the Poor Law Commission, who seems to have a special antipathy to all the ancient institutions of our land, has written a voluminous report upon, or rather against, intramural interment, as injurious to the public health; and recommending the appointment of a central Board of Health, with a staff of officers, in every considerable town, whose duty it should be to enter every house which had been invaded by death, inquire into the causes of decease, carry off the corpse, possess the exclusive furnishing of coffins, and ultimately convey the body to the Cemetery, which is to be at some distant spot,—three or four serving for the whole of England. Of this Report we do not like to suffer ourselves to speak. Its offensiveness is only relieved by the extreme impudence and absurdity which characterise it, and the utter ignorance displayed of the feelings of Englishmen. It is amusing, indeed, to find a gentleman at Somerset House quoting Jeremy Taylor and the Fathers; intended as a *ruse* to catch unfledged Churchmen, *we* accept it as a homage to the increased value now set upon ecclesiastical lore; and only wonder that the author had not more wit than, in one of the very pages in which he makes this extraordinary display, to speak of a Government Cemetery in contrast with a church-yard, as "an object on which the mind may dwell with complacency, a place in which sepulture may be made an honour and a privilege!" as though the shadow of a church and the remains of ancestors for many generations mouldering around into the common dust, was not an object to be regarded with complacency; and as though the blessing of the Church was not a greater "privilege" than the warrant of the Board of Health, and her Majesty's Secretary of State!

But we will not waste words on Mr. Chadwick. Our objections lie against public or joint Cemeteries generally, and they are shortly these:—1. Individual Churchmen, by cooperating in their establishment, and Bishops, by consenting to exercise their sacred office in their behalf, are helping to embody and give a visible, permanent, corporate existence to Dissent. The burial of the dead is one of the duties of the Christian Church; and she cannot, without dereliction of principle, recognise any body of men acting in that

matter independently of herself. Still less ought she to bring herself within sight of those who transgress her laws, and to encourage them, by uniting them together, and so giving them a kind of symbol of unity. Moreover, (2,) if the only external difference between those who depart with the Church's blessing, and those who are separated from her, is allowed to be the merely lying on the right or the left of some path, or trench, or dwarf-wall, in one common Cemetery, are we not in great danger of casting a stumbling-block in the way of ill-informed persons, and leading them to make light of the distinctions between right and wrong? 3. Another, and a very strong objection to these Cemeteries, to our mind, is this, that they amount to the legal establishment of Dissent. Every such Act of Parliament recognises Dissent, and helps to establish it. Can this be done without sin, both individually to those who concur in the scheme, and nationally? 4. In all Cemetery Acts with which we are acquainted, the Company is invested with the power of making by-laws respecting the use of the Cemetery, and the duties of the officers connected with it, by which the right of Incumbents, and even Bishops, are virtually set aside, —a power which might be made an engine for harassing the Clergy in a most vexatious way, and which, by its very existence, is an insult to the whole Clerical body. Lastly. They render the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, in regard to burial, altogether hopeless.

But what, it may be asked, is to be done? Parliament, it is probable, will not sanction your exclusive burial-grounds, and what then? Our answer is, and we are indebted to the Oxford Committee for it; no one had before made the discovery,—Do not go to Parliament at all: but go, instead, to the Office of the Commissioners for building Churches, in Great George-street, Westminster, and they will be able to give you all necessary powers and facilities. One of the express objects of their incorporation in 1819, was to facilitate the "purchase of Cemeteries *not within the bounds of the parish*, for which the same shall be provided;" and if it is wished to unite together burial-grounds for several parishes, the Act will furnish the necessary powers; and the ground, when consecrated, follows in all respects the rule of the old church-yards. For this purpose the Act authorizes the sale of lands under every kind of holding, whether held in trust, by corporations, or colleges, or any other bodies whatever; and if even additional facilities were required for promoting this great sanatory object in the way most congenial to the feelings of Churchmen, they could not consistently be refused by the Legislature. We trust that the Church in many places will see the wisdom of taking the initiative in the matter, now that attention has been drawn to the subject, and will meet the demands of the political economist by providing for the burial of the dead in the great towns,* with a due regard to the public health, and without the sacrifice of those great essential principles which the Church Universal has ever cherished. We again repeat our thanks to the Oxford Committee, and especially to the nine Clergy.

* The Rector of Bath has munificently given a plot of ground for the benefit of that city, which has been recently consecrated by the Bishop of Salisbury.

Since the above was written, we have received a "Statement of the attempt now making in Oxford to obtain additional Burial-ground, without doing violence to the Parochial principle," (Parker, Oxford,) which persons who desire further information on this subject will do well to purchase. It is written in that healthy and beautiful spirit, which seems to make all the sons of Oxford one family. Though the subject seems eminently unpromising, it is treated with almost touching propriety.

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1. *Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, &c. Second Edition. By* WILLIAM SCOTT, M.A. *Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Hoxton.* London: Burns, &c.
2. *Observations on an "Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Russell. By* RICHARD BURGESS, B. D. *&c.* London: Seeley, &c.

THE "Appeal," which we noticed in our last number, has reached a second and considerably-enlarged edition: it now bears the author's name—a piece of formal information which recent circumstances have rendered necessary, although we believe that it was generally known from the first.

Mr. Burgess' publication we were rather curious to see. At the last meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, this gentleman, in an offensive personal attack on the Author of the "Appeal," thought proper to give out that he was prepared to prove that all the passages produced in the "Appeal" were shamefully garbled, and that it was utterly unworthy of credit. What could Mr. Scott and his friends anticipate from this bold flight? Of course an elaborate proof that Robert Nelson had not been mutilated, that Bishop Wilson had never been falsified, that Ken was intact;—we expected a mass of documentary evidence to demonstrate that the S. P. C. K. reprints agreed *verbum pro verbo* with the accredited editions of the old divines. This would have been a conclusive answer to the "Appeal."

But what is the result? Does Mr. Burgess make good his vaunt? From p. 1 to p. 31, there is not one single syllable in defence of the S. P. C. K. reprints: *they are abandoned without a murmur!* the accuracy of Mr. Scott's collations and contrasts is not disputed in a single instance. Again: Mr. Scott undertook to prove that No. 619 was inconsistent with the theology of the best English Divines, such as Hammond and Bull; with the recognised principles of the founders of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Nelson, and Grabe, and Melmoth; and with the teaching of the most eminent Bishops of the present day. How does Mr. Burgess answer this? By quietly observing, in an anti-climax almost ludicrous, that—

"If I had *a little time at my disposal*, I should not fear to undertake to prove that the doctrine set forth in Tract No. 619 is in perfect harmony with our Articles, &c. and with our soundest divines of modern times; but the observations I have

not intend to say one word about anything else: true that the Lichfield memorialists only refer to the 'Appeal' on the allegation of altering the old Divines, and this is a subject on which I cannot say a single word; but then, somehow, if I can get up a prejudice against the 'Appeal,' as far as relates to No. 619, perhaps the Lichfield memorialists, and the thick-headed rustics who compose the Society, will be good enough to consider this as tantamount to having replied to the 'Appeal' on the mutilation question." In other words, if I can prove that A is not B, I flatter myself that I have demonstrated that A is not C. Mr. Burgess has not, we believe, had the benefit of academical training; a ten-year man, however, who quotes Epiphanius, might have heard of the *ignoratio elenchi*.

The sum and substance of Mr. Burgess's pamphlet is a coarse and ungentlemanly tissue of the most vulgar and silly personal abuse of Mr. Scott, who, through one-and-thirty pages, is sneered at for being young, and, therefore, unfit to protest against tract No. 619, while at p. 30, Mr. Burgess, meaning we suppose some hidden piece of humour, which few will be skilful enough to discover, affects to doubt whether Mr. Scott wrote the pamphlet at all! or "whether such a person exists"!! The absurdity of such "observations" requires no exposure.

We now await the promised report of the standing committee on the mutilation question; and in the meantime we commit to our readers' attention Mr. Scott's re-statement of his case, which we extract from a manly and straightforward, and at the same time very conciliatory, advertisement, which he has prefixed to his second edition:—

"1st. That the charge against the *present governing body* of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge confines itself mostly to the publication of Tract 619, and I argue that the tone of theology in this tract, thus adopted by the Tract Committee, is the last and most important proof of the ascendancy of principles foreign to those of the founders of the Society; and, therefore, that the publication of Tract 619 is 'a doctrinal change *lately* introduced into the series of tracts circulated under their authority.'

"2d. That the charge of corrupting or of suppressing the text of deceased authors applies not so primarily to the present governing body; but so far to them, because having had their attention called to it, they have not repaired this wrong. It does not apply, nor was it meant to apply, to them as having wilfully corrupted the text of deceased authors; but it applies to the whole Society, because the corruptions and changes exist as a fact, whensoever or by whomsoever introduced. So that even admitting that it may be proved that these changes have been gradual, and that some of the mutilations are of long standing, it will be quite useless to produce old copies of the Society's own reprints, of Bishop Wilson, for example, as authorities for the present state of the text. There may be precedent for it, and yet the corruptions may and do exist. The charge is, that the Society's reprints *are* corrupt: it is no answer to this to say, as was said some years ago in the case of one of Wilson's Family Prayers, that an edition sixty years old had the passage in the words complained of. Do the Society's reprints agree or disagree with the authorized, genuine, accredited editions of the old divines? This is the only question to be answered; and it is quite beside it to say, '*We* did not change the text.' It may turn out that the practice of mutilating commenced early in the Society's career. Be it so: our business, now such practice is known, is, not so much to fix the blame as to undo the injustice and to retrieve our character. And when we refer to Nelson and Wilson, we do not quote them as infallible, nor do we say that their language might not be improved: the theology of the eighteenth century falls very far below the best standard; what we now complain of is, that, low as it is, we are sinking even lower. The changes are not only bad, *as changes*, which is our point, but as for the worse, which is another."—*Advertisement*, pp. iv—vi.

Thus, then, stands the case at the present moment. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge are charged with having abandoned the principles of their founders, by adopting No. 619 ;—"Granted," says Mr. Burgess, "but I like No. 619; and the author of the 'Appeal' don't understand it." This seems a dispute between the Rector of Upper Chelsea and the Incumbent of Hoxton, with which the members of the S. P. C. K. have marvellously small concern : let the respective polemics, if they please, wrangle it out till they are wearied. But the author of the "Appeal" also charges the S. P. C. K. with having corrupted Ken's Manual, Ken's Directions for Prayer, Ken's Hymns, Melmoth's Great Importance, Wilson's Family Prayers, and his Short and Plain Instruction, Robert Nelson's Christian Sacrifice ; and with having abandoned a whole host of orthodox books, commencing with Kettlewell and ending with the Shadow of the Cross. With this allegation, which was that alone adopted by the Lichfield memorialists, the members of the Society are very seriously concerned ; and to this not an attempt at a reply has been as yet ventured. What the Standing Committee will answer, it would be improper to surmise. Mr. Scott properly reminds us—

"Are our reprints trustworthy, or not? It is a very subordinate matter to find out *who* corrupted them. Even if it could be shown that we never had a genuine reprint, yet, *is it right that the tracts should continue unfaithful?*"—*Advertisement*, p. x.

We have spoken, it may be, sharply of Mr. Burgess ; but we ask the educated gentlemen of England who may have come in contact with him, either at the Board of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, or elsewhere, whether any remarks or discussions of his ought to receive more respect than may be due to their intrinsic merit, or relevancy ; and whether when, as in the present case, they happen to be quite beside the mark, they are content to allow him to be cited as the champion of the Church's principal Society, almost in one sense her *Home Office?* That Mr. Burgess is only a half-educated man might have been his misfortune, not his fault ; and had his career been one of modest usefulness, we should not, even in the heat of controversy, have thought it fair to twit him with the fault. But he has all along been an obtrusive person, with neither learning nor depth to justify the position which he assumes, and he himself forces on us the necessity of making people feel this if we can.

An Explanation of the Position of the Twenty-first Canon of the Scottish Episcopal Church. By the Rev. A. Ewing, *Presbyter of that Church, and Incumbent of St. John's, Forres.* A. Brown & Co., Aberdeen ; R. Grant & Son, Edinburgh ; J. Burns, London ; and J. H. Parker, Oxford.

use of innovation in the Scotch Church has found an extremely efender in Mr. Ewing. The Scotch Liturgy must be safe, if it be assailed by stronger arguments than these; *e.g.* :—

"Both Offices are good; either sufficient; but that is the better which represents all, which supports the weak, and prevents our good being evil spoken of. Both Offices are clean in themselves, doubtless; but if one be rejected by weak brethren, and by them be esteemed to be unclean, to them it is unclean; and so long as we insist on its use by them, we put a 'stumbling-block and occasion to fall in our brother's way.' If we urge that he is weak, it aggravates the offence, because his helplessness ought the more to move our compassion. In the Church of Christ there must be babes in Christ, and in those services where they meet the strong they must be contemplated with great forbearance."—P. 6.

That individuals should exercise a caution and forbearance in the expression of their opinions, we grant; but that a Church should give up truth in order to please its own "babes," is an absurd and untenable position. The "babes" ought not to dictate to their spiritual mother. Mr. Ewing's notion of the claims of "babes in Christ" is an extraordinary one.

Again:—

"Let none suppose, however, that such a step as the abrogation of the Scottish Office is recommended with a view to render England the test of Catholicity, or the centre of Catholicity, or with any desire to worship England at all. God knows we owe little unto England. England is the reverse of Catholicity in her treatment of her own Colonial Clergy, in her treatment of other sister churches, in her secular and *quasi* Erastian habits. Were it not for the faithful men in her orders we have among us, looking unto late events, I would say, 'Who is he that wishes more men from England?' But, because we have adopted the rest of her Liturgy,—because all of us can find the expression of our sentiments in her Communion Office, because in other respects we are as one Church and nation, let us not rend the unity of the Reformed Catholic Church of Great Britain by having diverse administrations of the one Bread in the one Body. The object of all Liturgies is uniformity of worship. If we break that uniformity in such an important point as the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, we defeat the object of all liturgical service."—Pp. 8, 9.

Mr. Ewing must know that if the Scotch Communion Service is exchanged for the English one, that exchange will tell so far on the side of the English Church, to the depreciation of the Scotch. Mr. Ewing, also, must know that "the unity of the Reformed Church of Great Britain" is *not* "rent" by having different Communion Services. It is not rent as a matter of fact; and there is no reason in the world why it should be by such a circumstance. The object of a liturgy, says Mr. Ewing, "is uniformity of worship:" yes, in the Church which uses it. Those who meet together for prayer in the same Church, should use the same order of prayer; but this is quite another thing from that order of prayer being bound to be the same in all Churches.

Margaret, or the Pearl. By the Rev. C. B. Tayler, M.A. London: Longmans. 1844.

It would be a waste of criticism to bestow much of it on this piece of ignorance and folly; which, indeed, is too weak and mawkish to give any satisfaction, except to those who are weak and mawkish themselves. But even such, if possessing any access to the facts, may, perhaps, be capable of asking, and then answering, the following questions, whether—leaving out of the question individual follies,

the direction and extent of which are, of course, beyond calculation,—the class of clergy whom Mr. Tayler calls *Tractarian*, on coming into a parish "dismiss all the Sunday-school teachers, dispense with the services of district visitors," "expressly forbid the laity" to "read the Scriptures, or give instruction of any kind in the cottages of the poor;" and while they celebrate daily prayers in their churches, "recommend" "the people to discontinue the practice of family worship." Supposing an admirer of Mr. Tayler's, if such there be, were to pay a visit to Leeds, and ask whether these things were so, we can fancy the uplifted eye-brows of the numbers who have, within the last few years, been taught and encouraged to practise the duties of Christian laymen, as they never had been before; and how their patience might, perhaps, fail them, were the traveller to ask further, whether their pastor "seldom visited them in their own houses." The force of falsehood, as of folly, can no further go, than by giving such a description, meant to be generic, of a class to which Dr. Hook, Archdeacon Manning, Mr. Perceval, and the Wilberforces, with many others, of whom it is to be read by contraries, belong; and all of whom are *Tractarians*, in the judgment of the very silly author of this book.

As usual with tales of this kind, we are in very high company, surrounded by rank and elegances; and the titles and names of the places —Glenarden, Duneden, &c. — would make us fancy ourselves in Scotland, though, of course, the scene is laid among ourselves. This may seem a small matter, but it indicates a want of sense in the writer.

Ecclesiastical Law. The Constitutions of Otho, with Notes. By John William White, *Esq. of Doctors' Commons, Proctor.* London: Rivingtons. 1844.

This work was originally published in the *British Magazine*, while under the conduct of Mr. Rose. To have received his approbation and *imprimatur*, is a sufficient guarantee of its excellence. There is no branch of learning in which our Clergy are so miserably deficient as Canon Law; and, as has been well observed, we want text-books. Gibson's Codex is indispensable, but too long; Johnson's Vade Mecum too short, and unsystematic; and Burn's Ecclesiastical Law is too restricted in plan. We want more familiarity with the Common Law of Christendom. Lyndwood much requires a new edition.

From the "Summary of the Legantine Constitutions made in the Pan-Anglican Council, held at London, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, A.D. 1236, and in the 20th of the reign of King Henry the Third, the Lord Otho, Legate of Pope Gregory the Ninth, being president thereof, assisted by St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter, Archbishop of York, and by other English Bishops,"—for various reasons, which will commend themselves to the most obtuse, —some of information, and some of amusement—we venture upon an extract or two.

II.—ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

"The sacraments of the church are to be performed gratis and readily, purely and ly; wherefore those who wish to enter into holy orders, or have the cure of

souls, shall be particularly interrogated as to how many and what such sacraments are; and archdeacons shall take care that those within their archdeaconries who have been already ordained, be properly instructed in the administration or performance thereof.

Note.—[II. This constitution is now in great measure altered, for by a constitution of Archbishop *Langton*, which had reference to all the sacraments, it appears that it had then become customary for offerings to be made by those to whom the sacraments were administered, and that such offerings might even be demanded as a matter of right. *Langton's* constitution is quoted in *Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, tit.* '*Baptism*,' in the words following—'*We do firmly enjoin, that no sacrament of the Church shall be denied to any one, upon the account of any sum of money; because if anything hath been accustomed to be given by the pious devotion of the faithful, we will that justice be done thereupon to the churches by the ordinary of the place afterwards.*' For the constitution itself, see *Lindwood*, ed. Oxon., p. 278. And indeed it is highly proper that it should be so, and is in accordance with scriptural authority—'*If we have sown unto you spiritual things*,' &c. And by the *Rubric*, in the office of matrimony, at the time of delivering the ring, the man shall also then lay down the accustomed duty to the priest and clerk; which, however, if he refuse to do, whether the minister is bound to proceed nevertheless does not appear from any *rubric* or *canon*." See *Burn, tit.* '*Marriage*.']

What will they say at Leeds to the following?

"XII.—NO BENEFICE TO BE DIVIDED INTO PARTS.

"Never, at any future time, shall one church be divided into several rectories or vicarages. And such as have been already thus divided, as soon as it can be conveniently effected, shall be restored whole again, save only such as shall have been so divided a very long time since, and these shall be divided over again into more suitable and convenient portions by the diocesan, who shall provide that in each of the divisions, one, having the accustomed cure of souls, shall reside. Furthermore, concerning the residence of rectors at their churches, and the holding a plurality of benefices, we think it more advisable to refer to the constitutions of the Roman pontiffs, than to frame new ones.

"*Note.*—[XII. There are several causes or reasons in the law for this consolidation, incorporation, annexation, or union of churches; and they are chiefly these five:—1. An unlawful dividing of those churches or ecclesiastical benefices, precedent to their re-integration or intended consolidation, as when such as had been formerly united were illegally divided. 2. For the better hospitality, and that the rector might thereby be the better enabled to relieve the poor. 3. The overnighness of the churches each to the other in point of situation, insomuch that one rector may commodiously discharge the cure of both, by reason of the vicinity of the places. 4. For or by reason of a want or defect of parishioners, as when one of the churches is deprived of her people by some incursion of an enemy, or by some mortal disease, or sickness, or the like. 5. For and by reason of the extreme poverty of one of the parishes. — *Godolphin*, c. 14, s. 3, where are copious particulars on this subject.]

"The Epistles of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Epistle to Diognetus," have been published in a portable little 12mo., by "Algernon Grenfell, M.A., one of the Masters of Rugby School," (Whittaker,) who has prefixed a judicious preface, and interspersed the text with a note or two, here and there. Mr. Grenfell deserves the thanks of divinity students for presenting them in so accessible a form, with a body of documents with which they cannot well dispense.

"The Church and its Ministers," &c., by H. Stebbing, D.D. (Taylor and Walton,) is an inquiry into the early condition of the Church,—a subject which might have been thought exhausted, but on which Dr. Stebbing seems to us to have said a good deal that was well worth the saying.

"The life of St. Stephen Harding, Founder of the Cistercian Order," (Toovey,) is the first of the long-promised Lives of the English Saints. Into the difficulties which have hindered, and in some degree obviated, the execution of the plan of this series we have no care to enter. A more delightful book in the way of history, and a more interesting one in the way of information, we ha not often met with. Indeed, Mr. Newman, writing with his whole heart in t

matter, and in some instances, as we fancy, perhaps unconsciously, picturing his own trials in those of his subject, and in the corruptions of the Church of the twelfth century, reading us a significant lesson in the nineteenth, could not but produce a work of surpassing power. It has all the beauty of a romance, and the mastery over style which Mr. Newman has now attained, renders it in this respect perhaps the most remarkable of his works. A very grave and all-important question is, however, suggested rather than answered by this publication. We should be unworthy of our office were we not to bear the fullest witness to the needs of a self-denying life: did the biography of St. Stephen Harding answer no other purpose than testify to the fact that there have been those who through grace have given up all for Christ's sake—who have lived a life of Faith and of the Cross, very different things from preaching about them, it would be a great gift to the Church, in *all* its branches degenerate. We want such testimonies in this luxurious and voluptuous age. But we question when men are to be led back to the ascetic life—and such is our greatest practical deficiency—whether some will not be deterred from commencing even any discipline by the exhibition, *in the first instance*, of the rigorous Cistercian rule. Some, again, will be led to conclude from the absence of certain qualifying phrases that the austere and celibate life is recommended as the only possible assurance of the Gospel's strait and narrow path: we miss, here and there, —what would have been very consoling and true, too,—some such distinctions as those of 1 Cor. vii. "Pulse and water" may be blessed as the prophet's diet, but may we conclude a rule from this mystical instance? The austere life is rather of the evangelical counsels than of direct and universal command: and there can be no question that in it certain facts of our human nature itself, God's gift, are sought to be obliterated rather than corrected. Can the argument of Butler's three first sermons, for example, be made to hold with the impression which the unwary might derive from St. Stephen Harding's life? We speak of it not as the legitimate, but as the probable inference from Mr. Newman's delightful, and, we will add, most subduing, volume. While we are on the subject, though by a most violent transition, we cannot award the slightest praise to the fittingness *in this place* of Mr. Pugin's frontispiece: correct and beautiful it is, and an admirable reproduction, both in feeling and detail, of a mediæval subject. But the stern abbot of Citeaux, he of the morass and the forest, with his rough cloak and scanty fare, his horror of splendour and beauty even in architecture and ceremonial, to be seated in a cloister as lovely as that of Salisbury, attached to an abbey of the most glorious proportions, surrounded with cushioned faldstools and jewelled mitres, brazen lecterns and richly-bound missals, diapered pavements, quatrefoils, clasps and illuminations, is as inharmonious as would be the Gregorian tones with a grand piano forte accompaniment: Scene, a drawing room: Performers, two young ladies.

Next in importance, or perhaps prior to Mr. Newman's book, is "Dr. Pusey's Guide for Passing Lent Holily," translated from the French of Avrillon and adapted to the use of the English Church. (Burns.) A most practical book, and one most acceptable to what we trust is a growing body,—those who seek to realize the severer life. It is enriched with a simple and intelligible introduction from Dr. Pusey, which will serve to dispel unreal thoughts, and mere talk about personal religion. The dedication is a dutiful and encouraging sign of Dr. Pusey's very considerate and loving nature. To the use of foreign devotional books, such as these, we have not only not the slightest objection, but we are very thankful for them. Thomas à Kempis, St. Francis of Sales, Pascal, Quesnel, and Nicole, are recognized English books, and we are glad to see the list extended: but we are by no means reconciled to this "adapting to use of the English Church:" it is but the old story of Ken's Manual over again another form: "acceptable" is not the English of "méritoire," and we are so certain that the latter word, literally rendered, is not patient of a Catholic sense. It is an unfair practice which we are sorry to see strengthened by Dr. Pusey.

Following up the same subject, it is quite consoling to find so many, and in many respects differing minds all turned one way, and that the way of penitence. Mr. Perceval's Two plain Sermons on Fasting, (Leslie,) may well be classed with the two last works. And all these warnings will serve to show us the danger of permitting the present *taste* for monastic institutions to degenerate into mere feeling and sentiment. A full choir and splendid church, long processions, cross and chasuble, banner and staff, these may be with, but most certainly also *without*, the life of Him crucified.

The "School-master's Manual of Bible Instruction (Burns) is a valuable addition to school-books, and its "Glossary of Ecclesiastical Terms" is a happy thought.

We were quite affected with Bishop Doane's *American* reprint of "Bishop Selwyn's Letters to the Society for Propagating the Gospel." The excellent Diocesan of New Jersey has prefixed a characteristic and, therefore, warm-hearted preface.

Dr. Moberley's Five Sermons, "The Sayings of the Great Forty Days between the Resurrection and Ascension," (Rivington,) is one of the most important books of the season, both as regards the subject—the Church, God's new Theocracy—and the richness and learning with which it is treated.

A specimen of a projected "Catechism of the History of the Holy Catholic Church, from its rise to the close of the eighteenth century" (Burns, and Rivington,) has reached us. It is executed with care and distinctness, and we wish every success to the undertaking; but in a plan so important we think the catechetical form proposed anything but happy. Such a book will be studied, not learned by heart: and question and answer for eighteen centuries is both bald and tedious.

The "Prophetic Register," edited by R. W. Vanderkiste, (Masters,) we denounce unconditionally. It is a catch-penny of the vilest description; by its most offensive placards about the walls of London, we find the Weekly Dispatch and Dissertations on the Millennium in grotesque and hideous combination. The publication itself is a collection of the wildest and most exciting dissertations, from all sorts of heretical and schismatical sources, on the awful subject of unfulfilled prophecy, flung together at random: the editor's principle of selection being apparently that of the prudent Tiresias:

> "O Laertiade, quicquid dicam, aut erit— aut non:
> Divinare enim magnus mihi donat Apollo."

"Almsgiving, ancient and modern," (Simms, Bath,) an excellent because brief and pointed warning on the benefits of the Offertory.

A "Letter to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster on the intended alterations in the interior of Westminster Abbey," (Rivingtons,) gives rise to the most painful reflections. *Because* attendance at Divine Service in this noble Church is daily on the increase, *therefore* the building is destined to be spoilt by the rash and conceited ignorance of the utilitarianism of the day. We freely acquit the Dean and Chapter of intentional wrong: but they are under the very worst of professional guidance, if under any. Can it be believed that it is not only seriously proposed, *but the plan is all but begun*, to throw the transepts into the choir for the mere sake of increased accommodation, by removing the present side screens, leaving the ugly stalls and organ screen as they are at present, and the nave empty? It is to go for nothing with the Dean and Chapter that there is not a precedent for this most offensive scheme in a single Cathedral in Christendom,—it is to go for nothing that a square box will thus be constructed for an audience, and not for worshippers, two thirds of them shut out from altar, alike, and from the sound of the lessons and prayers, *and from all but the pulpit.* The letter-writer proposes, and very properly, to throw open the nave by removing the present organ, which, it has been ascertained, formerly stood in the west aisle of the north transept, that the stalls—alas! a reduced num

for a plundered foundation—should be removed further eastward, and that the whole space of the nave from the cross to the great western door should be fitted with open seats. This is a noble plan, combining the advantages of thrice the accommodation of the transept scheme, without violating ecclesiastical precedent, to say nothing of the majestic effect which it would produce. We are speaking strongly, because we feel strongly; but we do trust that the most pointed remonstrances will be urged against the scheme of the Dean and Chapter. No time is to be lost: the Vandals are all but at their spoils. The spirit of Will. Dowsing is evoked. Let the architectural societies protest, let Churchmen protest: a principle is about to be sacrificed—ancient custom to modern presumptuous ignorance. The Dean and Chapter have a very grave responsibility laid upon them: already the interior of Westminster Abbey is a disgrace to any capitular body: the laity profanely admitted within the sacrarium, and the finest mosaic in England before the altar all but irreparably ruined thereby —a noble font built into a dark cupboard—dirt, destruction, and ruin in every part; and now to consummate all, they intend to make the (in its way) finest church in Europe, in the largest city in the world, a laughing-stock to every antiquary, and a disgrace to every Churchman. Puritan and rebel have hitherto inflicted no permanent injury in the way of *principle* on an abbey of six centuries of splendour and propriety:—this distinguished honour is reserved for the taste and literature of our own refined days.

There is no end to wonders! We lately remarked on the extraordinary extent to which Theology, in one form or other, was prevailing among all classes; and lo! as an illustration of our remarks, here comes "The Primitive Church in its Episcopacy," published by no other than Mr. Colburn. This book is by the author of "Dr. Hookwell," and a well-principled, intelligent book it is, calculated to give much information to the class by which it is most likely to be read. We do not accuse the author of what annoys us,—it is but a new manifestation of the publisher's besetting sin; but we beg the favour, if he have the power, to stop or abate a great nuisance in future—we mean the egregious *puffing of Dr. Hookwell* in the fly-leaves of the present book. *Dr. Hookwell* was a well-meant book, containing some excellent things; but as a novel it was an utter failure; the choice of the hero was felt to be a most unjustifiable use of a contemporary good man's merits and services; there was no creative power shown either in the story or the characters; and to talk of it as having produced a sensation, to speak of it as having been seriously ascribed to such a man as Mr. Milnes, to describe it as on the table of every undergraduate, is only to cover it with ridicule—a ridicule which might extend to the far more useful work, in juxtaposition with which we find such a farrago of nonsense.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge are publishing a pretty series of little square fourpenny illustrated books, called "The Meadow," "The Corn-field," "The Hedgebank," "The Wood," "The Heath," "The Sea-shore," &c. This is safe ground; mistakes here will do no harm,—no "Appeal" need be apprehended.

To "Amy Herbert," a Tale, in two small volumes, published by Longmans, we cannot award better praise than to say, that it paints nature to the life. It is by "a Lady," for whose soundness Mr. Sewell is sponsor. It is admirably adapted for the young of the higher classes. We hope that it may not be the author's last production. Only let us hint to the author that there is the *appearance* of a little want of reverence in the use of the Lord's name. And we never can be other than dissatisfied with the practice of *advertising*, as editor, other parties, and those, in all cases, of more reputation than the author. Far are we from seeking to impugn the character of such as Mr. Sewell: but can he be ignorant where this practice of "*editing*" commenced? Another instance, where the most mischievous confusion has followed this practice, is that of a recent novel, "*edited*" by Mr. Plumer Ward.

The "Committee of General Literature and Education" (S. P. C. K.) have published No. I. of a new series of "Reading Lessons." The subjects of the

Lessons, we are glad to be able to report, are more appropriate than in the "First Book" published under the same auspices, and the general tone more pure and healthy. At the same time, the book appears to us to have been prepared with but little skill. The lessons do not increase in difficulty; so that a child which can read the first can read the last,—we speak of Part II. Again, in Part I., although mention is made of the short and the long sounds of the vowels,—the "First Book" did not even distinguish vowels and consonants,—there is no attempt at showing what the causes are which lengthen them.

There is, it appears, at Bath a most energetic "District Visiting Society," which not only makes soup for the poor, and employs interesting young ladies to carry about baby-linen, but also publishes an Almanack, now in its fifth year,—and truly a curiosity this Almanack is. It professes to "contain twice the usual quantity of matter; and is designed to unite entertainment with instruction." And amongst its most "entertaining" peculiarities is the manner with which it deals with the festivals of the Church. It neither omits them all, nor recognises all; and what the principle of selection is we have endeavoured in vain to discover. At first we thought that those only which concern our Lord's own Person were inserted; but this would not do; for the Circumcision is given, and the Presentation is omitted. Neither, again, are the apostles impartially dealt with,—St. Paul and St. Bartholomew being honoured with observance, St. Peter and St. Matthew being cast out. The Blessed Virgin fares no better, the Annunciation being recorded, the Purification pretermitted; nor even the popular marks of time, the feast of St. Thomas being duly noted, but no mention made either of St. John Baptist or of "Barnaby bright!" The substitutions which are sometimes made to the places of the ejected Saints are no less remarkable: thus, Sir Walter Scott is canonized in the stead of St. Matthew; John Wesley supersedes St. Chad; and Oliver Cromwell has ousted the Evangelist St. Mark! St. David, Archbishop, gives place to the pithy apophthegm, "never trouble others for what you can do yourself." In the greater number of instances, the place of the deprived Saint is left unoccupied. In sober earnest, would it not be better for the learned Society above-mentioned to confine itself to "Advice about Savings' Banks," and "How to get sixpennyworth of good for a penny," and such like legitimate suggestions; and to consider, for the future, that the Church has already definitely fixed her own Calendar?

Mr. Gresley's "Anglo-Catholicism" will scarcely need a word from us, in order to secure extensive circulation. It was written with the view of calming unreasonable apprehensions, which are said to be abroad, by a distinct avowal of attachment to the English Church; and those who are acquainted with Mr. Gresley's honesty of purpose, and the remarkable perspicuity of his style and cheerfulness of tone, will know that he possesses peculiar qualifications for effecting this object. We rejoice to be able to add, that he has not, in so doing, departed in the smallest degree from the principles which he before advocated; nor, after the example of certain parties, to whom we alluded last month, on account of some trifling difference of opinion, is he prepared to throw himself into the arms of those, to whom, in nine points out of ten, he has throughout his life been diametrically opposed. Indeed, he does not scruple to read these "neutral" (qu.?) gentlemen a good lecture, and shows that "moderation" does not consist in finding a *via media* between high principle and low practice, but in thoroughly mastering the Church's theory, which is itself a *via media*, and in keeping to it. The cuckoo cry of innovation he rightly meets, not by a negative, but by distinctly admitting that change and reformation *are* the objects proposed by the body of men whom the worldling and the Evangelical, the Infidel and the Puritan conspire to calumniate—"change and renovation in a *corrupted system*—to raise the poor from the depths of degradation, to save the rich from their debasing self-indulgence, and to infuse the spirit of Christianity into our every-day duties and feelings."

We feel called upon to protest most earnestly against the device and mot

assumed by the "Clerical Club," of which the prospectus has been forwarded to us. The idea of a Clerical Club in itself, associated as such things are with idleness, and luxury, and gossip, and absence from home, is, we confess, not much to our taste; as indeed associations of this kind were forbidden by the early Canons of the Church. But to apply the Apostle's words, "Quis separabit?" (Romans viii. 35) and to set up, by way of emblem, a figure clinging to a *cross*, is really a profanation of the most holy things, which no clergyman ought to tolerate. Did the inventor of this device know the words that follow his motto in the Sacred Scriptures? Or how dare he speak of these panders to luxury in an effeminate age, in connexion with "tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or the sword?" Nothing surely but infatuation could have led persons so to blazon forth their own condemnation!

The translation of the "Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond," under the euphonious and presumptuous title of "Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century," by Mr. S. E. Tomlins, for Whittaker's "*Popular* Library of *Modern* Authors" (!) appears to have been made in a spirit for which we have the smallest possible sympathy. The translator belongs to that miserable cold-hearted school of antiquarians which has prevailed in this country for many years,—men who have no more feeling for the objects of their inquiry, than the student in anatomy for the corpse on which he is making experiments. Now, if to reverence the aged be a scriptural duty, we are at a loss to understand why the obligation should not increase rather than decrease with the lapse of time; and we are not afraid to avow our opinion, that the absence of this reverential religious feeling is what has marred the success of so many of our professed antiquaries. It is undeniable that the majority of recent English antiquaries have been of this cold unsympathizing temperament, (as *e. g.* Mr. Fosbrooke, the author of "British Monachism," and Mr. Wright, the impersonation of all guinea-subscriber-antiquarian-societies,) and how stunted their growth, need not be told. A catholic spirit seems pre-eminently needed in inquiries into the past; and wherever success may have been gained without it, as in the case of some of the sceptics of Germany or France, we believe that it is assignable to a deep sentiment of enthusiasm almost akin to religion. In this "Chronicle" we have the annals of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's during about thirty years, which, under a better interpreter than Mr. Tomlins, would serve to show the beneficial temporal uses which resulted from religious houses in the days of old,—uses which, though they might vary in kind, would doubtless still be derived from their existence. The world is still as great an enemy to God as ever: the oppression of a cotton-lord is not less grinding than that of a feudal knight; there are rustics who still need education and the offices of religion to be pressed upon them; the effectual fervent prayers of righteous men have not yet lost the promise. But for these objects Mr. Tomlins has no eye. The failings of individuals are made to extend, *of course*, to the condemnation of the whole, and their very virtues do the same, for they prove, what?—that they "were in advance of the age in which they lived." So argues Mr. Tomlins of Islington!

The world, at least the sermon-writing section of it, will not profit by our frequent warnings. The evil of single discourses "printed at the request" of Churchwardens and sundry Tomkinses, old and young, male and female, is rather on the increase, we fear: all our protests go for nothing. So to prevent anything like jealousy among the type-loving clergy we intend to label this last article of our review with Martial's motto:

"Sunt bona, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt mala plura,"

without relegating to each class the single specimens. If the authors choose to prefer the former and their readers the latter, "there may be much to be said on both sides." With which sage judgment we acknowledge Mr. Pelham Maitland's "Baptismal Regeneration," Mr. Griffiths' "God's presence in the Church," preached at Astbury, Mr. Wilkins' "*Club Sermon*," preached at Viveliscombe.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[*The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.*]

REVIVAL OF CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS.—No. III.*

(Testimonies continued.)

"The preamble of the very Act that annihilated the lesser monasteries, after suggesting the propriety of suppressing all such houses as had been certified of less value than 200*l.* per annum, and giving them, with their lands and revenues, to the king, proceeded 'to distribute their members amongst the great and honourable monasteries of the realm, where, thanks be to God, religion is well kept and preserved;' and granted to the king power to found anew such houses as he should think fit, by virtue of which, fifteen monasteries and sixteen nunneries were actually refounded, and remained until swept away again in the general destruction. Latimer, it is well known, never hesitated to express his sorrow at the wholesale ruin of those buildings, but, with honest earnestness (says Southey, 'Book of the Church,' p. 71, vol. ii.) entreated, that two or three in every shire might be continued, not in monkery, he said, but as establishments for learned men, and such as would go about preaching and giving religious instruction to the people, and for the sake of hospitality.'"—*Lord J. Manners.*

"It was not the strict and regular lives of these devout ladies, nor anything that might be said in behalf of the monasteries, that could prevent their ruin, then approaching, so great an aim had the king to make himself thereby glorious, and many others no less hopes to be enriched in a considerable manner. But to the end that such a change should not overwhelm those that might be active therein, in regard the people had everywhere no small esteem of those houses, for their devout and daily exercises in prayer, alms-deeds, hospitality, and the like, whereby not only the souls of their deceased ancestors had much benefit, as was then thought, but themselves, the poor, as also strangers and pilgrims, constant advantage, there wanted not the most subtil contrivances, &c. . . . . And as for the fruit which the people reapt after all their hopes built upon those specious pretences which I have instanced, it was very little; nor is it a little observable that, whilst the monasteries stood, there was no Act for the relief of the poor, so amply did those houses give succour to them that were in want."—*Dugdale.*

"To preserve some remembrance of these structures, once the glory of our English nation, and of their founders, that so highly deserved of the several ages they lived in, is the design of this book. No; I am not ignorant that the

* When will controversialists learn the simple lesson, that the only legitimate weapon of Christian controversy is brotherly remonstrance in a spirit of sorrow, love, and prayer! It is painful to find one, who has had such opportunities as Mr. Maitland of acquiring this lesson from his intercourse with the saintly spirits of elder times, so far forgetful of their precept and example, as, in the Preface to his valuable papers on the Middle Ages, to have assailed the proposed revival of conventual life *in a modified form*, with the unchristian arms of ridicule and satire. As far as regards the influence of Mr. Maitland's strictures, the advocates of the revival may be much at their ease. It is not a few clever popular arguments set off by "disdainful sharpness of wit," that can countervail a deep and solemn persuasion originating simultaneously in many independent minds, and founded on the keen perception of a want which (on the evidence of so many competent witnesses) nothing but institutions of a conventual *nature*, let them be called by what *name* they may, can supply.

Mr. Maitland has done so much good service to the Church, and is likely to do so much more, that the only feeling his opponents on the present question would wish to cherish is one of regret, that he should have indulged his peculiar vein on a subject, the seriousness of which ought to have exempted it from ridicule, and that he should have engaged himself on a side where his chief sympathisers will be persons with whom he neither has nor would wish to have (on questions of Church order and discipline, that is) any other sympathies.

generality of people, ever since the dissolution, have, through a mistaken zeal and false prejudices, thought that the very memory of those great men, who erected these places, ought to be buried in the rubbish of those structures that they designed should perpetuate their names to eternity. . . . . Nay, so much are some people possessed against them, that the least mention is odious and ungrateful. But there are no grounds for it; seeing *these religious places were, by the well-intended charity of their founders and benefactors, built, endowed, and adorned (how much soever they were afterwards abused) to the glory of God, the service of religion, and the relief of poor Christians.*"—*Idem.*

"There are some, I hear, who take it ill that I have mentioned monasteries and their founders. I am sorry to hear it; but (not to give them any just offence) let them be angry if they will. Perhaps they would have it forgotten that our ancestors were, and we are, Christians, since there were never more certain indications and glorious monuments of christian piety and devotion to God than those."—*Camden—Pref. to 'Britannia.'*

"They well deserved their popularity. Wherever monasteries were founded, marshes were drained, or woods cleared, and wastes brought into cultivation. The humblest, as well as the highest pursuits, were followed in these great and most beneficial establishments."—*Southey—Book of the Church*, vol. i. p. 61.

"Therefore Cranmer advised the dissolution of the monasteries, as a measure indispensable to the stability of the Reformation; and that out of their revenues more bishoprics should be founded, so that, dioceses being reduced into less compass, every bishop might be able to fulfil the duties of his office. And to every cathedral he would have annexed a college of students in divinity, and clergymen, from whom the diocese should be supplied. *More than this might justly have been desired.* After a certain number of monasteries had been thus disposed of, *others should have been preserved for those purposes of real and undeniable utility connected with their original institution;* some, as establishments for single women, which public opinion had sanctified, and which the progress of society was rendering, in every generation, more and more needful; others, as seats of learning and of religious retirement. Reformed convents, in which the members were bound by no vow and burthened with no superstitious observances, would have been a blessing to the country."—*Idem.*

"Jamdudum diem fatalem obierunt monasteria nostra; nec præter semirutos parietes, et deploranda rudera, supersunt nobis avitæ pietatis indicia. Minus impendiosa hodie cordi est religio, et vetus dictum obtinet, '*Religentem esse oportet religiosum nefas.*' Videmus nos, heu videmus, augustissima templa et stupenda æterno dicata Deo monumenta (quibus nihil hodie spoliatius) sub specioso eruendæ superstitionis obtentu, sordidissimo conspurcari vituperio, extremamque manere internecionem. Ad altaria Christi stabulati equi, martyrum effossæ reliquiæ. Sunt quidem zelatores adeo religiose delirantes, ut religiosos veterum ordines ἐκ τοῦ φρέατρος τῆς ἀβυσσοῦ prognatos aiant. Ita licenter sibi indulget προσπάθεια. Neque deerunt hâc, quâ vivimus, ætate homunciones, elephantina olfacientes promuscide, qui ista, quæ jam prodeunt, tanquam futilia, inutilia, et hodiernæ rerum conditioni minime congruentia damnabunt."—*Sir John Masham's* Προπύλαιον *to the Monasticon.*

"He (Archbishop Leighton) also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved, so that the Protestant Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified temper."—*Bp. Burnet's Memoirs of His own Times*, vol. i. p. 39.

"He reckoned the greater number of the regular clergy in Roman Catholic countries to be little better than *ignavi fures*—rapacious drones; at the same time he recognised among them a few specimens of extraordinary growth and beauty, and thought he had discovered in the piety of some conventual females a peculiar and celestial flavour which could hardly be met with elsewhere. Of their sublime devotion he often spoke with an admiration approaching to rapture; and much he wished that the sons of a purer faith and discipline could catch them in that seraphic strength and swiftness of wing by which

they soared to the topmost branches of divine contemplation, to crop the choicest clusters of heavenly fruitage. . . . Would Christians retreat occasionally from the dizzy whirl of life, and give themselves time to reflect, they might become enamoured of those beauties which lie above the compass of natural vision, on the summit of God's holy mountain."—*Idem.*

"They were tolerable tutors for the education of youth, there being a great penury of other grammar schools in that age; and every convent had one or more therein, who, generally gratis, taught the children thereabouts. . . . Grammar was here taught, and music, which in some sort sung her own dirge (as to the general use thereof) at the dissolution of abbeys. Nunneries also were good she schools, wherein the girls and maids of the neighbourhood were taught to read and work; and sometimes a little Latin was taught them therein. Yea, give me leave to say, if such feminine foundations had still continued, provided no vows were obtruded upon them (virginity is least kept where it is most constrained), haply the weaker sex (beside the avoiding modern inconveniences) might be heightened to a higher perfection than hitherto hath been attained. I say, if such feminine foundations were extant now of days, haply some virgins of highest birth would be glad of such places, and, I am sure, their fathers and elder brothers would not be sorry for the same . . . Their hospitality was beyond compare, insomuch that Ovid (if living in that age), who feigned famine to dwell in Scythia, would have fancied feasting an inhabitant of English abbeys. Especially in Christmas time, they kept most bountiful houses. Whosoever brought the face of a man, brought with him a patent for his free welcome, till he pleased to depart."—*Fuller.*

The above collection is from Lord John Manners' excellent pamphlet on National Holydays.

"His (Dr. Johnson's) respect for places of religious retirement was carried to the greatest degree of veneration. The Benedictine convent at Paris paid him all possible honours in return, and the Prior and he parted with tears of tenderness."—*Piozzi, Johnsoniana,* 47—*Convents.*

"As we walked in the cloisters (of St. Andrew's) there was a solemn echo, while he (Dr. Johnson) talked loudly of a proper retirement from the world. Mr. Nairne said, he had an inclination to retire. I called Dr. J.'s attention to this, that I might hear his opinion if it was right. JOHNSON.—Yes, when he has done his duty to society. In general, as every man is obliged not only to love God, but his neighbour as himself, he must bear his part in active life; yet there are exceptions. Those who are exceedingly scrupulous, (which I do not approve, for I am no friend to scruples) and find their scrupulosity invincible, so that they are quite in the dark, and know not what they shall do,—or those who cannot resist temptations, and find they make themselves worse by being in the world without making it better,—may retire. *I never read of a hermit but in imagination I kiss his feet; never of a monastery but I could fall on my knees and kiss the pavement.*"—*Boswell's Life of Johnson,* vol. iv. p. 59. Edit. Croker.

"[Monasteria] olim erant scholæ sacrarum literarum, et aliarum disciplinarum, quæ sunt utiles ecclesiæ, et sumebantur inde pastores et episcopi. Olim ad discendum conveniebant."—*Augsburg Confession,* 1530. (*The apology and explanation.*) [The whole article is directed only against the Romish *abuse* of religious houses, acknowledging their use; so also the *Confessio Saxonica.*]

"The lives of the conventuals abroad are mostly regular (I chiefly speak of those who are not obliged to roam about in quest of a precarious subsistence) and entirely free from those crying abuses with which ignorance or calumny have often charged them. Every essential breach of discipline which comes to light is most severely punished. Amongst the religious women there is usually much more happiness than in convents of the other sex. When fr

their tender years they have been brought up to a life of piety, and have carefully been preserved from the society of men, from conversations, books, and objects, which awaken the senses and inflame the passions, they mostly continue happy and content, and are satisfied with that degree of tranquillity, and those innocent enjoyments which they meet with in these retreats. Some similar establishments to those of which we are here treating might, if under proper regulations, be rendered of acknowledged utility both to individuals and to society; but they should only be considered as a temporary refuge, and not be enforced by irrevocable engagements. Peculiar circumstances may render a few asylums *desirable in every country.*"—*Hawkins on Celibacy*, pp. 129—133.

"If any of these societies do at all exist, I think they should be such alone as adhere to the primitive institution of the cenobitical life. They might, undoubtedly, be so calculated as to afford a comfortable asylum to those who, after having performed the duties owing to society, wish to conclude their days in peace, at a distance from the more distracting cares and bustles of life. But they should, at least, be only open to the few who, from peculiar inclination, or other personal circumstances, might be desirous of retiring to a quiet and temporary refuge, such as might either contribute to alleviate the grievances of affliction, or to facilitate their happiness."—*Ibid.* pp. 181, 182.

[The above two passages are the more remarkable, because they occur in an essay very violently, and often most objectionably, directed against the practice of clerical celibacy in the Roman church, from which the author was a convert.]

"I was yesterday evening at Oseney, now a desolate, dreary island inhabited by a solitary miller. Here were once assembled the hierarchy of the English Church! where swine now feed God has been solemnly adored; where the noise of reptiles now alone is heard did once resound the pious requiem for a departed soul, on the majestic laud of omnipotent goodness! Here learning was cultivated, education improved;—here was a retreat for grief, or sickness of heart, and weariness of life;—here the poor were daily fed. If monks and friars were greater villains than malice, still unextinguished, represents them, we should mourn and lament their loss."—*Ext. of Letter from Barré Charles Roberts, Student of Christ Church.*—See *Memoirs of his Life*, p. 32.

[If some of the following quotations refer only to the virtue, or dignity, or whatever else it may be called, of the virgin life, still it must be plain, that any admissions or assertions of such dignity, or even of the allowableness of this estate, have a very obvious bearing upon the matter in hand; monastic institutions presuppose the celibate, and are but the legitimate and natural growth of it; whether it is a fitting subject of a *vow* does not enter into the essence of the life as such.]

Archbishop Sandys writes as follows, "There be, no doubt, that have the gift of chastity by birth; and there be that have made themselves chaste by endeavour: but of this all men are not capable. As it is the gift of God, so it seemeth to be a rare and not a common gift. Such as have it, and so live sole, *they are more fit to labour in God's Church*, it must needs be granted, for they are cumbered with fewer cares. But be these cares never so many and great, better it is to marry than to burn," &c.—[Sermons by Archbishop Sandys, Parker edition, p. 316.] He then passes on to the defence of Matrimony, which is the subject of his sermon, his text being Heb. xiii. 4. Yet amid much complaint against the real or supposed abuses of virginity, or of the profession of it, similar admissions with that just cited above are not wanting. Thus at page 328, he speaks of St. Paul as "giving the *highest* commendation to single life;" and again, at the conclusion of his sermon, the ability to maintain this life is spoken of as a "*gift*," which must of course be held to imply the obligation on the part of its recipients to cherish and to use it. Indeed, above, some encouragement is held out to persons to "*endeavour*" after it.

Bishop Andrewes, in his Exposition of the Ten Commandments, writing on the Seventh Commandment, chap. vii. speaks of "two virtues: 1. castitas cælibatûs, and 2. castitas conjugalis." Then he adds: "For the first there is no doubt but it is *better* than the other; either if we take it *simply*, he that giveth

not his virgin in marriage doth better; or, in regard of the present necessity, which is to be thought upon; for the Apostle would have men to be without carefulness." Then he assigns "the care and trouble of a family in a married estate," and the inability of "the married either to watch, or fast, or pray, without the other's consent," the comparative facility which a single man has in providing for himself, the likelihood of his being "more free from covetousness," and more exempt from "distraction," as reasons why "the chastity of single life is chiefly to be desired." And in his treatment of the Third Commandment, when dealing with the subject of vows, he holds their lawfulness, their use, and their necessity, and that a man's state of life is a lawful subject matter of a vow, the "*possibile*" being of course presupposed; and adds expressly, "Some disallow the vows made in former ages as not possible to be kept, as to vow single life; of which we may say, that to say all may do it, is dangerous; so to say that *none* may do it, *is no less dangerous.*" And then he specifies certain means, in the use of which persons so minded may become enabled to do it safely and beneficially. An admission of the same nature is made by him in his Answer to the Eighteenth Chapter of Cardinal Perron's Reply, xiii. under the head of "*Marrying after vow of single life.*"

Bishop Mountague, in his Answer to the Gagger, seems to take a similar view (chap. xxxix.) "Your promise was, your undertaking is, to prove by express words of our own Bibles, that the vows of priests and religious persons touching single life, should be kept; and yet *neither do we deny the one*, nor you prove the other." The whole chapter, if consulted, and also the xv. xvi. xvii. of his "Just Appeal," will be found to bear out this view more fully. But being not directly on this subject, it would be difficult to show this by extract, without citing more than can be done in a limited space.

Bishop Cosin has the following passage in his Sermon on the Marriage in Cana of Galilee: "Had not Christ vouchsafed His presence at this marriage men might have had cause to doubt, as they did in the Gospel, whether it were good to marry at all, or no; for first, He was a virgin Himself, and His Mother, she was a virgin; neither He nor she would lead any other lives; and married life itself seems to be but an *imperfect* state, *the state of perfection is virginity, so much commended by our Saviour, so highly esteemed by S. Paul.*"—*Cosin's Works*, vol. i. p. 56. Oxford edition, 1843.

Bishop Hall, in his defence of "The Honor of the Married Clergy," (Book i. sec. 2,) writes thus: "Neither did I ever derogate ought from sacred virginity; or lay it level, whether absolutely or in all circumstances, with holy matrimony." And in sec. v.; "Single life is good; the opinion of the necessity of single life, and the unlawfulness of the married, is anti-christian. What can be more plain? Yet this wilful slanderer tells the world, that I make the profession of continence anti-christian: whereas, we do willingly profess, that *true profession of true continency is truly laudable:* that the forcible imposition of it, as necessary to some state of men," &c. And again (sec. vii.) in a passage, which, considering to whom it is addressed, and by whom, and where, is *instar omnium*, he says, "We do, therefore, from our hearts, *honor true virginity as the most excellent estate of life which is incident to frail humanity.* Gerson hath taught us not to call it a virtue; but it is cousin-german to a virtue. *Neither do we think that the earth affords anything more glorious than eunuchism for the Kingdom of Heaven:* which is, therefore, commended by our Saviour, not as a thing merely arbitrary, by way of *advice*, but of *charge* to the able: *Qui potest capere capiat.* In this we can gladly subscribe to S. Chrysostom, Bonum est virginitas, &c. 'Virginity is good; I yield it: and *better than marriage;* I confess it.' Secondly, every man, therefore, not ecclesiastics only, should labour and strive to aspire unto this estate, as the better; using all holy means both to attain and to continue it. Neither do we think it any other than blameable, that young persons, not so much as advising with their own abilities, without all endeavour and ambition of so worthy a condition, leap rashly into the bands of wedlock. Thirdly, though every man must reach for it, yet eve man cannot catch it: since it hath pleased God to reserve this, as a pecul

gift, for some persons; not intending it as a common favour to all suitors. Fourthly, those, then, which are, upon good trial, conscious to themselves of God's call to this estate, and his gift enabling them unto it, *may lawfully make profession thereof to the glory of the Giver;* and, if need be, *may vow*, God continuing the same grace unto them, *a holy perpetuation thereof*, to their end; the observation whereof, if they, through their own neglect, shall let fall, they *cannot be excused from sin*, or freed from censure."—*Hall's Works*, vol ix. pp. 168, 176, 180, 181; Oxford edition, 1837.

Perhaps it may not be quite out of place here, to observe, that the Act of Edward VI. by which the marriage of priests was made lawful, sets forth in the preamble, "that it is to be wished the clergy would live single, that they might be more at leisure to attend the business of their function;" and that this Act, as is remarked by Collier (from whom I quote), "goes no farther than a *permission*."—*Collier's Ecc. Hist.* vol. v. p. 304. Edition, 1840.

"What their (the primitive monks) bill-of-fare wanted in cheer, it had in grace; their life being constantly spent in prayer, reading, musing, and such like pious employments . . . It would do one good even but to think of their goodness, and at the rebound and second-hand to meditate on their meditations. For if ever poverty was to be envied it was here. And I appeal to the moderate men of these times,* whether in the heights of these woful wars they have not sometimes wished (not out of passionate distemper, but serious recollection of themselves) some such private place to retire unto, where, out of the noise of this clamorous world, they might have reposed themselves, and served God with more quiet."—*Fuller's Church History*, book vi. sect. 1.

"Those who founded and inhabited these monastic buildings were for ages the chief directors of the national mind. Their possessions were, in truth, the possessions of all classes of the people. The highest offices in those establishments were in some cases bestowed upon the noble and the wealthy, but they were open to the very humblest. *The studious and the devout found here a shelter and a solace.* The learning of the monastic bodies has been underrated; the ages in which they flourished have been called dark ages; but they were almost the sole depositaries of the knowledge of the land. They were the historians, the grammarians, the poets. They accumulated magnificent libraries. They were the barriers that checked the universal empire of brute force. They cherished an ambition higher and more permanent than could belong to the mere martial spirit. They stood between the strong and the weak. They held the oppressor in subjection to that power which results from the cultivation, however misdirected, of the spiritual parts of our nature. Whilst the proud baron continued to live in the same dismal castle that his predatory fathers had built or won, the Churchmen went on, from age to age, adding to their splendid edifices, and demanding a succession of ingenious artists to carry out their lofty ideas. The devotional exercises of their lips touched the deepest feelings of the human heart. Their solemn services, handed down from a remote antiquity, gave to music its most ennobling cultivation; and the most beautiful of arts thus became the vehicle of the loftiest enthusiasm."—*Knight's Life of Shakspere*, pp. 184, 185.

"It was this principle (*i. e.* the surrender of this individual to the public will) transferred into the bosom of the Church, which produced the monasteries—a salutary and sustaining principle, till it was perverted to destroy the sense of personal responsibility. For it would be hard to find a good reason against the introduction of such a principle into a religious rule of life. If a man is led to give up some portion of his *natural* liberty for the sake of the advantages he derives from being a member of a well-regulated state, how much more may he make a free-will offering of some parts of his *christian* liberty, if he thus becomes enrolled in a community whose orderly life, regulated by well-advised

* Those of the great rebellion. The thoughtful reader will mark how strongly these yearnings come in aid of the assertion, that monasticism has its root in the principles and feelings of our common nature.

restrictions, is conducive to a perfection not easily attainable amidst the distractions of the world. . . . With regard to the errors of the monastic system, they have been unsparingly exposed; and, as far as they were the fruit of the system, no man will plead in their defence. But still it may be questioned whether any other foundations of human institution are on record which for so long a period contrived, by their public advantages, to counterbalance their defects. This, at least, is certain, that from the planting of Christianity among our British and Saxon ancestors, till their fatal decline in the 15th century, there was no period at which their influence was not the chief conservative power in society. The monasteries were the nurseries of education, the asylums of the afflicted, the seats of judicature, the record offices of law. Here our monarchs kept their court at the times of the Church's solemn festivals—here the nobles and knights assembled at the summons of the king to meet in parliament; and the spiritual and temporal peers conferred to preserve, by their counsels, the balance of the State. Here were trained the future rulers of the Church, and the statesmen who first set bounds to the will of imperious despots, and laid the foundation for civil liberty by establishing the prerogatives of religion. Here were the secure abodes of divines, philosophers, historians, and poets, inventors of rare arts which have since been lost to the world, but of which the fruit may yet partially be seen in the storied window, and in the pictured missal. Here, lastly, were the studies of those architects whose skill was directed by a nobleness of conception and design, such as the world never saw before nor since. And yet so little were they in their own esteem, that scarcely in a few instances did they leave their names to be known, or to invite the praise of posterity. We neither can nor would blot from remembrance these benefits:—we acknowledge those who conferred them to be the lights and glory of their time; and to their care in cherishing the records of learning, while the world around neglected them, we owe much of the returning civilization which has since been extended over the western shores of our quarter of the globe."—*Rev. E. Churton: Introduction to the Monastic Remains of Yorkshire.*

"Christianity was not once that umbratile thing, that feeble exotic, shut up in churches, and parsonages and parlours; but walked abroad, made the multitude both the receivers, the collectors, and distributors of her bounties; compelled cities to wear her livery, and dared to inherit the earth. She once provided *homes and forms of operation for the heroic virtues, for lofty aims and firm resolves*, making their torrents flow in the manifold channels of mercy, instead of suffering them to waste the land with a hateful magnificence. She once gave names, and methods, and ancient sanctions, and solemn order, and venerable holiness, and every quality men love and obey, to the pious bearers of spiritual aid to the ignorant and the poor. . . . She once did so combine and temper these works of benevolence with other holy employments, with *frequent daily prayer and oft-heard choral praise*, that the social acts of temporal and ghostly relief seemed no separate, adventitious work, no petty craft of artificial goodness, no capricious adventure or trick of interference, but rather flowing from a something holy, natural, and complete in all its parts. She once had officers, and employment for all; that all, however humble in rank or wealth, or mental culture, might be personally interested in the Church's work. She once could claim her own from every rank, teach all her holy characters, make all acknowledge her marks and passports of sacredness and authority. We cannot bring back those days again;—who would wish that *man* should have this power?—but still *they may come back to us.* The times are dark, and a curtain of gloom hangs over the future; but on its dark face we may discern, brightening in prismatic hue, a vision of past beauty,—the Holy Catholic Church."—*British Critic*, No. LVI. p. 370, quoted by Mr. Paget—"Warden of Berkinholt," Preface. *

* We owe a sincere apology to Mr. Paget for having admitted in our last collection of testimonies, a misquotation from his "Tales of a Village." Our contributor

warning. In the last number, in the article "Signs of Hope," (p. 179,) we are told that Mr. M.'s "Kingdom of Christ is, perhaps, one of the greatest treasures of the age," and much more is there said in his praise.

It would be presumptuous in any one to say that this work is not in some respects a remarkable work, and indicates considerable powers in the author, since it has undoubtedly attracted the favourable notice of many able men. At the same time it is equally certain, that a very different opinion of its merits is entertained by others, whose character for intellectual power, and still more for enlightened and thoughtful orthodoxy, entitles them to much weight.

This being the case, I think it is scarcely fair to hold up a work so questioned, to the unqualified admiration of the readers of the CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER. For my own part, I feel very strongly, with many others, the unsound and dangerous character of Mr. Maurice's writings, and of his tone as a writer. I think, therefore, your readers ought to be told that there is another opinion prevailing on the subject from that lately expressed so strongly in your pages—a very opposite opinion; and that among those who, on the whole, much approve the Remembrancer, and who stand high in the esteem of the school of which it is an organ.

I would, therefore, protest against the continued admission of such praises of Mr. Maurice and his works, and entreat you to consider whether it is wise or right to commit your Review to the writings of this gentleman, knowing that such difference of opinion exists as to his merits. I do not wish to prevent Mr. M.'s works from being read; I do not mean that nothing is to be learned from them; but I do object to the pages of the CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER being made the instrument of commending them to the favourable prejudices of your more unguarded readers.

I might content myself with having said thus much, and I will, if you please, be content with thus much appearing in your next, as a protest; but I am quite ready to state the ground of my opinions, if I may be permitted to do so, and it is not thought undesirable to do so, in your pages. To me, I confess this rather appears a desirable plan. It seems fair that the strictures should have an opportunity of overtaking the praises; and there is a precedent for such a proceeding in one of your late Numbers. I am the more disposed to do so, as it might elicit—what I have never yet been able to learn—the grounds on which Mr. Maurice's work is considered so able and excellent. With your permission, then, I will now make some remarks on Mr. Maurice's work, "The Kingdom of Christ."

Before I begin, let me assure the writer of the article, "Signs of Hope," that, although I may not be one of the few "*competent* to read" it, I have laboured to understand it. I do not pretend that I have invariably succeeded—I have not; and therefore I suppose, in self-defence, I might be tempted to accuse Mr. M. of being very misty sometimes, and of using words for thoughts, and so on; and this is one objection, which I own that I feel, to the work. But it is when I do seem to understand him, when I do see a meaning, that I obje to that meaning. I may still be mistaken; but I will now gi

instances of what I mean, which will at least show Mr. M.'s friends what kind of objections are felt to his writings, and why; and will give them an opportunity of vindicating him.

I begin, then, with his Preface to the first edition of his work—the only one I have seen, but which we are told is not superseded by the second. In this Preface, Mr. M. is engaged in stating, incidentally, the nature of his work, and why he has discussed it; and he seeks to defend himself from certain imputations that had been made upon him. This would seem, therefore, a particularly favourable portion of the work for arriving at a fair estimate of Mr. Maurice's opinions and principles. Let us see.

Mr. M. begins by observing, that the questions, "Is there a Catholic Church?—what are its principles and constitution?" have, from circumstances, forced themselves on the attention of all men. He shows how three different classes of men are led in a different way to these same questions. He "thinks it will be allowed that their cases include most of the forms of thought which prevail." He then proceeds to give the answers of each of these three classes of men to these questions. The first is nearly as follows:—Is there a Catholic Church?—and what are its principles and constitution? "We refer you," say one class of intelligent and thoughtful divines, "to the centuries which immediately followed the coming of our Lord in the flesh. To those ages in which lived the men who had conversed with Christ's own Apostles, received their traditions, imbibed their spirit, suffered their persecutions;—when men received mysteries with reverence, when the ministers spoke as those who had authority, and the people thought it their chief duty to receive their words, and bring forth the fruits of them in their lives;—when the dignity of sacraments, and the importance of ordination and consecration, were recognised and felt;—when the conditions and methods of a holy life were understood, and men fashioned themselves according to the rule of the Church, rather than by their own caprice. Then the Church was indeed a Church, one in itself, and Catholic. Since then it has fallen indeed, but it may be restored; and the early ages are our pattern: we must look to them, and gather from them the true principles and constitution of the Church, if we would restore it in our own age to its purity and strength, for the blessing of our people."

I have departed a little from Mr. M.'s own words, but only where they seemed to be an exaggeration or caricature of the opinions intended. The answer is essentially the same; and surely it is in substance saying that "*the* Catholic Church," commonly so called, is that Catholic Church which men are seeking for.

Mr. M. then gives two other answers to the question; one, the liberal creed of the day; the other, that of the Plymouth Brethren, I believe, and others. He then says, that he "is persuaded" that few even of those who hold either of those three doctrines "are so content with them as not at times to be ready to abandon them." He "is equally sure" that they would "resist the intrusion of any new doctrine affecting to displace its predecessors." He proposes, therefore, *to* "look at the facts of the case as presented by each of these

disputants, and to gather from them *hints of an older, simpler doctrine*, which, excluding neither, shall embrace all, and exhibit a church which shall satisfy the whole nature of man, and be a mirror of the glory of God." "My object," he says, "is only to trace the 'hints' of this doctrine."

This is an analysis of Mr. M.'s preface so far; and now what are we to conclude from this, but that Mr. M. does not consider *the Catholic doctrine of the Catholic Church*, as it has been taught or held in any age by any authors, a satisfactory answer to the question, Is there *a* Catholic Church adequate to the wants of human nature? It is impossible to avoid this conclusion, if there be a meaning at all in what is there said. Mr. M. asks the question in the most pointed way, Is there *a* Catholic Church? He gives in answer a doctrine, which most persons must understand to represent what is commonly called the Catholic or High Church doctrine; he charges upon this the same kind of imperfection that belongs to two other doctrines, which are heresies; and when he comes to give his own answer, he does not allude to *any other* doctrine existing as worth mentioning, he does not speak of expounding the *true Catholic* doctrine of the Catholic Church; but he proposes to collect from the facts of the case a doctrine "older, simpler, more comprehensive, more complete, more satisfactory!" including in its embrace the opinions and views of Catholics and heretics equally! I ask, with this declaration before us, can we think this author a sound member or safe teacher of THE Catholic Church—not of A Catholic Church in some enlarged Maurician sense—but in the actual and ordinary sense of that term? Is this a book to put into the hands of the many, or of any, with words of high praise?"

Your contributor seems to say that Mr. Maurice comes to the *same conclusion* as his contemporaries, the Catholic writers of the day, as to the doctrine of the Church. But this is surely a mistake; unless Mr. M. himself has made a mistake, or failed in his undertaking. The views and principles of these writers are contained substantially under Mr. M.'s first supposed answer. At least he thought so, or he would not have neglected to mention the opinion of writers of some note surely in this day, and supported by the authority of many of a former day. *Their* object and wish is to explain and restore the *old* doctrine, the ancient principles and constitution of the Church. Mr. M., on the other hand, comes forward in the character of a discoverer of something old at once and new. His predecessors have failed in solving the great problem of the Catholic Church. He is about to give us *his* notions or "hints" of what the Catholic Church really is or should be. He does not deny that this doctrine has been held in part by others—different persons possessing different fragments—that it has existed in germ and embryo always—but has not been held consciously and completely, not put together and viewed as a whole, in the due relation of all its parts and functions to all the various wants of man, as these "hints" will serve to exhibit it! This may be very original, very clear, very profound; but it is Catholic only in the most un-catholic sense, in the most abused sense of that much-abused word. I do not wish to speak strongly, but I feel that su

language and such sentiments as these deserve as strong reprobation as your contributor seems to think they deserve praise and admiration.

But such an undertaking as that thus avowed by Mr. Maurice, besides its other graver faults, would seem naturally to bring down upon the author a suspicion of a very unusual share of presumption and self-conceit. To discover in the writings of every different and opposing writer, "the blessing each one can, which the other cannot give," to look at every system and doctrine on "its fair and illuminated side;" and from this examination and survey, to collect a simpler, sublimer, and more comprehensive doctrine than has ever been reached or embraced by any writer; really does seem a somewhat presumptuous attempt—and does indeed suggest a suspicion that the author is almost "the most self-conceited of human creatures." Mr. M. is aware of this, and therefore proceeds at this point of his preface, (p. xxiv.) to guard his readers against such a mistake; a mistake which, "by a very slight and moderate injustice," they may easily be guilty of. Let us now see what he has to say in vindication of himself from such an odious charge.

It would be a mistake, he says, to suppose that he is one "who wishes to place himself above all sects and parties, that from a calm elevation he may behold, and smile with complacency at their errors." This would be a mistake; for the truth is, he only "wishes to place himself where he may receive the light from all (sects and parties), because he feels himself so dark and ignorant, that he cannot spare one ray of it." This is Mr. M.'s own account of the position he assumes himself to be in,—the position from which he dictates that greatest treasure of the age, "The Kingdom of Christ." That is, he *only* assumes to have placed himself at a point from whence he can see the fair and illuminated side of every doctrine and system. The rays from each converge to a focus on him. He is all over radiant with this reflected light. This is his position—this is the matter of fact. In speaking then as if he has the light and advantage of each and all, it must not be thought that he is conceited. He *has* all the light indeed. But what then? he only *received* it from them. His *only* advantage, his *only* peculiar claim is, that while each party has *its own* ray or rays; he has, from a humble sense of his own darkness, *collected them all.*

Again, he says, it must not be supposed that he is "putting himself in the place of a teacher, but of a learner; he is not assuming to be wiser than his neighbours, but is anxious to sit at their feet; he is not angry with them for presuming to teach him, but only because they will not admit any wisdom but their own." "I do not complain," he says, "of any for what they hold of truth, but for not holding what others have, and they have not," &c. &c. That is, he *only learns from all* what each has to teach him,—he sits at their feet from a sense of his own ignorance, to observe what each has of truth; and then, if with this advantage he proceeds to point out to each, how far he is right, and how far wrong, he does not assume to be a teacher, but is indeed, in the truest sense, a learner. True, he does [illegible] to *teach all* at last, but then he only teaches what he has *learnt.*

It would be a mistake, therefore, to say he is self-conceited, though "by a very slight and moderate injustice," he may be so represented. No, it is his "sense of his own ignorance" that obliges him to learn *from all, all* that they have to teach!

I do not know what effect this vindication may have on others, to me it is the most curious proof of the thing to be disproved that could be imagined; and I can truly say that I cannot feel that I have really caricatured his own account, nor do more than express, in other words, what it contains. I must add that, for my own part, I never in all my life saw any one, or read anything that exhibited such wonderful self-conceit as the writings of Mr. Maurice generally; while it is made more wonderful still, by the calm, complacent way in which he thinks he disproves by simply denying the fact.

In these remarks I have confined myself to the preface of the work, purposely avoiding all extracts from, or allusions to, the work itself, because I wish to be definite; and I wish what I write to be brought at once to book; and this preface consists of only a few pages of large print, which any one can read for himself in a few minutes. And, for the sake of being definite, I will now sum up and repeat the propositions which I consider this preface to contain, and to which I object. It implies or states 1st, That the true and adequate doctrine on the subject of "the Holy Catholic Church" has never yet been held or taught. 2d, That even the most Catholic doctrine as taught by Catholic divines, is only a partial and imperfect statement of it. 3d, That the doctrines of heretics and schismatics are partial and imperfect in the same way, perhaps a little more so. 4th, That the true doctrine lies not in any one of these doctrines in opposition to the others; nor in a doctrine independent of and distinct from all; but in one which is older, simpler, deeper, more complete and satisfactory than any, and *comprehends and includes all*, holding them each in its proper place and connexion, and in harmony with each other. 5th, That Mr. Maurice has possession of this COMPREHENSIVE DOCTRINE, and is about to trace "the hints" of it in this book. And 6th, In making this assertion, and avowing this intention, he is not presumptuous nor self-conceited. Each of these propositions are really contained or stated in Mr. M.'s preface, and are indeed a just, and only a just explanation of the whole drift and matter of the work, in which they occur again and again in every form. Mr. Maurice seems to feel that if he can be fairly chargeable with presumption and self-conceit in this avowal and design, such a charge would be both odious to himself and fatal to his work. I think so too; and must think *this imputation alone* conclusive against him and his work, until I can be made to understand how an individual who assumes to have now, first and alone, discovered the one idea of the Catholic Church which includes and embraces all other ideas of it; who calmly asserts this; whose one only professed object it is to exhibit this idea; how such an individual is either not the most gifted or inspired of men, or "the most self-conceited of human creatures."

Of course, I feel that I am laying myself open to the imputation of being one of those who, the writer of the article, "Signs of Hope." says, are "not competent to read" this work: and "whose reasoi

powers are too unexercised to receive such a banquet of pure concentrated thought." But really, this scarcely seems a fair or courteous way of settling such a matter. It is begging the question by the assumption, on the part of the writer, that his is one of the very few most highly-gifted minds that are competent to understand Mr. M.'s writings, and savours strongly of the very temper which I have been pointing out in Mr. Maurice. However, I shall be much obliged to any of those whose minds have been "deeply possessed and mightily moulded" by Mr. M.'s work, if they will interpret it to my less-gifted self. I shall be very happy to be obliged to admit that Mr. Maurice is orthodox as well as original, and that he is not conceited in spite of appearances.

If what I have here said against Mr. Maurice's preface to his book be not wholly a misconception of his meaning, we must expect from such principles, and such a tone of mind, their natural consequences in the work itself; and this expectation will, I believe, be found correct. I will, however, stop here—for the present, at least. Should time and opportunity be afforded me, I may, at some future time, go on to state other objections to Mr. M.'s particular opinions, and shall be very glad, if, by so doing, I may obtain a complete explanation of what appears so objectionable, not to myself only, but to many others.

Feb. 15. I am, &c. &c.

[We have admitted the above communication for much the same reason that the article "Signs of Hope," of which it complains, went unaltered to the press; *i. e.* because both that writer and his present censor are perfectly able and ready both to form, to express, and to defend their respective opinions of any theological book. The eulogist of Mr. Maurice is so much more deeply read than most of us in Mr. Maurice's somewhat subtle speculations, that it would have seemed almost presumptuous to object to the particular, though strong phraseology of a contributor, to whom, perhaps, more than all others, the "Remembrancer" is indebted. At the same time it is possible that such praise might be overstrained and excessive. The objections which we foresaw were not unlikely to occur, however, may probably be best met by giving Mr. Maurice, his friends, and censors, fair lists for their differences. And if the discussion, which seems likely to ensue, shall have only the benefit of bringing out, in an intelligible form, that on which such widely different opinions have been formed, as the *real* character of Mr. Maurice's works, the objectionable praise itself—if objectionable it shall be proved—will have done good service to the Church. It has always seemed a healthy state and condition of a Review, that its contributors should not be too much controlled (though of course restricted within due limits); and we have yet to learn that the writer of "Signs of Hope," even if it be shown that he overpraised Mr. Maurice, overstept the conventional licence willingly accorded to independent thinkers in any Review. The "Christian Remembrancer" is, and ought to be, the transcript of many minds. But while once more sanctioning the dangerous principle of admitting strictures on our own strictures, of which our present correspondent so adroitly takes advantage; or, in other words, while we abandon editorial infallibility, so far, at least, as to profess little acquaintance with Mr. Maurice, we intend to exercise a most tyrannical supremacy, by putting a stop to the proposed discussion, whenever, and for whatever reasons we please.]

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of Glouc. & Bristol, *April* 14.
Bp. of Rochester, *in April.*
Bp. of Chichester, *June* 2.
Bp. of Exeter, *June* 2.
Bp. of Lincoln, *June* 2.
Bp. of Peterborough, *June* 2.
Bp. of Salisbury (for B. & W.) *June* 2.
Bp. of Lichfield, *June* 2.
Bp. of Ely, *June* 9.
Bp. of Worcester, *July* 21.

ORDINATIONS.

By the Lord Bp. of London, *at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, on Sunday, March* 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—L. J. Bernays, B.A. St. John's; E. B. Heawood, B.A. Ch. Ch. (*l. d.* Abp. of Canterbury); L. S. Dudman, B.A. Wad. (*l. d.* Abp. of Canterbury).

Of Cambridge.—W. L. Hardisty, B.A. St. John's; W. Way, B.A. Trin.; T. A. Pope, B.A. Jesus; W. B. Faulkner, B.A. Sid. Sus.

Literates.—(For Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions.)—H. Laurence, C. W. Noesgen.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—H. Robbins, B.A. Wad.; M. Shaw, B.A. Brasen.; W. Cobb, B.A. Ch. Ch.; J. Yarker, S.C.L. New Inn H. (the last three *l. d.* Abp. of Canterbury.)

Of Cambridge.—J. F. Spong, B.A. Caius, and G. Beardsworth, M.A. St. John's (*l. d.* Abp. of Canterbury).

Literate.—(For Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions.)—J. Hunter, Church Missionary College, Islington.

By the Lord Bishop of Chester, *at Chester, on Sunday, March* 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—R. C. Black, B.A. Worc.; F. A. La Trobe Foster, B.A. Oriel; W. H. Jones, B.A. Queen's; R. S. Redfern, B.A. Queen's; E. Royds, B.A. King's H. and Brasen.; E. Tomlinson, B.A. Trin.; A. G. Woolward, B.A. Magd.; E. Walker, B.A. Pem.

Of Cambridge.—W. Chawner, B.A. St. John's; S. J. Lyon, B.A. Trin.; T. Troughton, B.A. Trin.; J. R. Whyte, B.A. Downing.

Of St. Bees.—H. T. Fletcher, W. R. P. Wandby, T. Wilson.

Of Lampeter.—H. T. Downman.

Of Dublin.—J. Bateson, B.A. Trin.; C. R. Huson, B.A. Trin.; T. Ireland, B.A. Trin.; J. Richardson, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—C. R. Clifton, B.A. Mert.; R. Fletcher, B.A. Brasen.; W. B. Garnett, B.A. Brasen.; W. T. Redfern, Magd. H.; J. Rigg M.A. New Inn H.

Of Cambridge.—J. Appleton, B.A. Cath. H.; T. Massey, B.A. Cath. H.; P. Thompson, B.A. Cath. H.; W. Shackleton, B.A. Cath. H.; W. A. Cartledge, B.A. St. John's; J. P. Firmin, B.A. Queen's; J. P. Power, B.A. Queen's; W. C. Greene, B.A. Clare H.; C. J. G. Jones, B.A. Clare H.; C. B. Jeaffreson, B.A. Pem.; S. G. F. Perry, Trin.; J. D. Raven, B.A. St. Mary Magdalen; J. B. Turner, B.A. Caius.

Of St. Bees.—J. Beilby, W. Hughes, W. H. Jones, J. D. Lateward, T. Sabine.

Of Dublin.—P. Reynolds, B.A. Trin.; R. F. J. Shea, M.A. Trin.; G. A. G. Warner, B.A. Trin.

By the Lord Bishop of Lichfield, *at All Souls' Church, Langham-place, St. Marylebone, on Sunday, March* 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—G. M. Haughton, B.A. Linc.; J. H. A. Herries, B.A. Trin.

Of Cambridge.—H. J. Stokes, B.A. St. John's; J. Hall, B.A. Corp. Chris.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—W. G. Holmes, B.A. Wad.; S. W. Steedman, B.A. Ch. Ch.; W. H. Skrine, B.A. Ch. Ch. (*l. d.* Bp. of Rochester.)

Of Cambridge.—B. Pidcock, B.A. Corp. Chris.; W. Rawson, B.A. St. John's; H. B. Greenwood, B.A. St. Cath. H.; J. M. Pratt, B.A. St. John's; J. Bradshaw, B.A. St. Cath. H.; J. Rushton, B.A. St. John's; J. F. Harward, B.A. St. John's.

Of Dublin.—R. W. Houghton, B.A. Trin.

By the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, *at Salisbury, on Sunday, March* 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—G. A. Oddie, B.A. Univ.; J. F. Stuart, M.A. Trin.; H. Thompson, B.A. Magd. H., and J. J. T. S. Cocks, B.A. Brasen. (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter).

Of Cambridge.—F. J. Biddulph, B.A. Em.; T. W. Dowding, B.A. Caius; P. W. Molesworth, B.A. St. John's, H. S. Aubyn, St. John's, B.A. and S. Dennis, B.A. Trin. (the last three *l. d.* Bp. of Exeter).

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—W. Grey, B.A. Magd. H.; J. N. Hinxman, B.A. Trin.; G. Nutt, B.A. Wor.; G. E. Cole, B.A. St. Mary H.; T. Dyson, jun. M.A. New Inn H.; J. C. Earle, B.A. St. Edm. H.; R. H. W. Miles, B.A. Ch. Ch.; G. D'Oyly Snow, B.A. St. Mary H.; N. Lowe, B.A. Queen's; H. R. Fortescue, B.A. Exet., G. B. Northcote, M.A. Exet., and G. E. Symonds, B.A. Linc. (the last four *l. d.* Bp. of Exeter).

Of Cambridge.—J. J. Evans, M.A. Trin.; F C. Wilshire, B.A. (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter).

Of Durham.—W. Haslam, B.A. Univ.

By the LORD BISHOP OF RIPON, *at Ripon, on Sunday, March* 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—D. Wright, B.A. Magd. H.; J. Swire, B.A. Univ.
Of Cambridge.—E. W. Cook, B.A. St. John's; J. H. Pollexfen, B.A. Queen's; C. Sangster, B.A. St. John's.
Of Dublin.—W. D. Wade, B.A. Trin. (*l. d.* Bp. of Kildare.)
Literates.—R. Ellis and P. Eggleston, St. Bees.

PRIESTS.

Of Cambridge.—A. J. W. Morrison, B.A. Trin.
Of Dublin.—W. Cockett, B.A. Trin.
Literate.—W. Cross.

By the LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH, *at Peterborough, on Sunday, March* 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—W. Hombersley, M.A. Ch. Ch.; N. J. Moody, B.A. Oriel.
Of Cambridge.—C. T. Glyn, B.A. Trin.; J. Levett, B.A. Cath. H.; W. J. Marshall, B.A. Queen's; M. O. Norman, Corp. Chris.; C. Pratt, jun. B.A. Trin.; G. E. Welby, B.A. Trin.; R. V. Whitby, M.A. Em.; A. T. Hudson, B.A. Jesus (*l. d.* Bp. of Norwich.)
Of Dublin.—S. Jervois, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—F. Baron de Paravacini, B.A. Worc.; T. N. Twopeny, B.A. Oriel.
Of Cambridge.—P. L. Smith, M.A. St. John's.

By the LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN, *at Lincoln, on Sunday, March* 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—A. Kent, B.A. Oriel; A. Kinloch, B.A. St. Mary H.; J. Mason, B.A. New Inn H.; P. Newington, B.A. Worc.
Of Cambridge.—H. Howard, B.A. Magd.; R. W. Sheldon, B.A. Trin.; W. Talman, B.A. Fell. of King's; H. Wortham, B.A. Jesus.
Of Dublin.—H. M. Archdall, B.A. Trin. (*l. d.* Bp. of Down, Connor, and Dromore).

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—A. R. Pain, B.A. Pem.
Of Cambridge.—T. Crossland, B.A. Sid. Sus.; E. G. Jarvis, M.B. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER, *at Hartlebury Castle, on Sunday, March* 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. B. Calley, B.A. Wor.; F. Tate, M.A. Univ.
Of Cambridge.—J. Hardy, Queen's; C. Turner, B.A. St. John's.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Barker, W. G.	Matlock, R.	Lichfield	D. of Lincoln	£320	3782
Barlow, J.	Guildford	Winchester	Lord Chancellor	171	...
Barlow, —	Shalford *w.* Bramley, V.	Winchester	Lord Chancellor	330	{996 970
Bassett, C.	Monknash, P.C.	Llandaff	Hon. W. B. Grey	67	109
Bayly, E. G.	Langton-Matravers, R.	Sarum	Rev. J. Dampier	351	762
Beaumont, J. A.	St. Mary, Leeds, P.C.	Ripon	Dr. Hook	47	...
Bowles, A.	Send *w.* Ripley, V.	Winchester	Earl Onslow	260	{1538 851
Broadley, A.	Bradpole, V.	Sarum	Lord Chancellor	199	1357
Bryan, R.	Childon, R.	Exeter	Hon. N. Fellowes	114	90
Carnegie, J.	Bishopstone, V.	Chichester	Bishop of Chichester	88	288
Cole, F.	Issey, V.	Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	246	748
Corfe, J.	St. Petrock, R.	Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	138	662
Crosthwaite, J. C.	{St. Andrew Hubbard, Ann, St. Mary-at-hill}	London	D. of Northumberland.	387	1318
Crowley, J. C.	St. John's, R.	Exeter	Hon. R. P. Carew	179	149
Cubitt, G. I.	{St. Thomas, R. Winchester}	Winchester	Bp. of Winchester	145	3071
Dennis, R. N.	East Blatchington, R.	Chichester	John King, Esq.	88	163
Driffield, G. T.	Stratford-le-Bow, R.	London	Brasen. Coll., Oxford	319	4626
Eden, J. P.	Redmarshall, R.	Durham	Bishop of Durham	341	272
Ellman, E. B.	Wartling, V.	Chichester	Rev. J. Pratt	307	962
Gibson, B.	{St. Mary Abchurch, R. *w.* St. Lawrence Pountney}	London	Corp. Chris. Coll., Camb.	206	{526 381
Gruber, C. S.	Westport, P.C.	B. & W.	...	...	...
Gunning, J. W.	East Boldre, P.C.	Winchester	...	...	...
Hall, J. R.	Frodsham, V.	Chester	Ch. Ch., Oxford	590	5821
Hodgson, E. F.	Holton, R.	Lincoln	C. Turnor, Esq.	334	191
Jones, H.	Holywell, V.	St. Asaph	Jesus Coll., Oxford	250	10834
Maxwell, M. H.	Frampton, V.	Sarum	R. B. Sheridan, Esq.	120	391
Oakes, H. A. A.	Nowton, V.	Ely	Marquis of Bristol	314	171
Overton, J.	Rothwell, R.	Lincoln	Lord Yarborough	250	290
Price, —	Wishley *w.* Syrford	Winchester	Earl Onslow	210	{155 333
Ray, G.	Statherne, R.	Peterboro'	St. Peter's Coll., Camb.	566	549
Richardson, J.	Heywood, P.C.	Chester	Rector of Bury	196	...

PREFERMENTS—*Continued.*

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Scott, F. T.	Eastbridge, R.	Canterbury.	Archbp. of Canterbury.	73	22
Scott, R.	Duloe, *sin.* V.	Exeter.	Balliol College	50	...
Smith, G.	Cantley, V.	York	J. W. Childers, Esq.	233	651
Smith, H.	Butlers Marston, V.	Worcester	D. & C. of Ch. Ch., Oxf.	88	313
Spring, G. T.	Hawling, R.	G. & B.	J. H. Hope, Esq.	100	217
Sutton, J. H.	Bishop's Hill, Sen. R.	York	Lord Chancellor	195	1302
Tetlow, J. R.	Pontesbury, R. First Portion	Hereford	Rev. H. Harrison	800	1489
Thompson, W.	Bramley, V.	Winchester	Queen's Coll., Oxford	385	428
Townley, R.	St. Matthew, Liverpool, P.C.	Chester	Rectors of Liverpool	107	...
Tucker, C.	Washford Pyne, R.	Exeter	Rev. C. Tucker	144	197
Westmorland, T. jun.	Sandal Magna, V.	Ripon	Lord Chancellor	157	3482

APPOINTMENTS.

Beamish, H. H. — Union of Kinsalebe & Grange, in the county of Waterford.
Bridge, S. — Minister of Denmark-hill Proprietary Chapel.
Clive, W. — Archdeacon of Montgomery.
Harrison, J. — Head Master of the Andover Grammar School.
Hill, J. — Head Master of the Royal Naval School, Greenwich.
Jones, J. — Archdeacon of Anglesea.
Meade, M. — Prebendal Stall of Coombe, Salisbury Cathedral.
Moore, J. C. — Archdeacon of the Isle of Man.
O'Brien, M. — Prof. of Natural Philosophy & Astron. at K. Coll., London.
Slade, G. — Mastership of the Free Grammar School, Manchester.
Symonds, H. — Minor Canon of Norwich Cath.
Traherne, J. M. — Chancellor of Llandaff.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Ackland, T. G., D.D., Rector of St. Mildred's, Bread-street.
Barrow, T., of Skirton.
Burrows, S., Rector of Shineton.
Bushe, W., Rector of St. George's par., Dublin.
Carlos, J., M.A., Rector of Thorpe-by-Hardiscoe, Norfolk.
Church, W., Rector of Woolsthorpe.
Cotton, G. H., Incumbent of St. Clement's, Rochdale.
Cresswell, D., D.D., Vicar of Enfield.
D'Eye, N., Rector of Thrandeston.
Fleming, G., M.A., of Christ's College, Camb.
Gilkes, W., Curate of Littlehampton.
Glaister, W., late Vicar of Kirkby Fleetham.
Harling, J., M.A., Curate of St. Lawrence, Evesham, Worcestershire.
Jackson, F. A., Vicar of Riccal, near Selby.
Jones, R., D.D., Vicar of Bedfont.
Langhorne, G.
Lister, J. S., Vicar of Luddington, Lincolnshire.
Manby, J., M.A., Chaplain to his Royal Highness the late Duke of Sussex, and Vicar of Lancaster.
Michell, J. H., Rector of Buckland.
Nash, J., of Flaxbourton.
Nicholls, D., Vicar of Llanegwad.
Oxenham, W., Vicar of Cornwood, Devonshire, and Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral.
Price, B., Tredegar.
Rhodes, C. H. R., of Barlborough Hall, near Chesterfield.
Sparke, J., M.A., Curate of Wrawby *cum* Brigg, Lincolnshire.
Vawdrey, G., B.A., Incumbent of Wrenbury, Cheshire.
Yolland, J., late Curate of Huxham.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING, AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

A MEETING of this Society was held on Monday last, at their chambers in St. Martin's-place, Trafalgar-square, to take into consideration a variety of applications from parishes and districts requesting assistance from the funds o

the Society to aid in the enlargement of old or the building of new Churches in places which are, as we shall see further on, sadly in want of church accommodation for the working classes of the people, and who are, therefore, left in the dangerous position of either not receiving any religious instruction, or of taking up any sort of dogmas that may be placed before them, whether good, bad, or indifferent; to obviate which awful state of things the constant and strenuous labours of the Society are directed.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury was called to the chair on that occasion; where, also, were present the Bishops of London, Chester, Bangor, Ely, Peterborough, Hereford, and Lichfield; Sir R. Harry Inglis, M.P.; the Reverends the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Spry, Dr. Shepherd, J. Jennings, and Benjamin Harrison; Messrs. F. H. Dickenson, M.P., William Davis; Newell Connop (the treasurer), Wm. Cotton, S. B. Brooks, James Cocks, A. Powell, &c.

The Chairmen of the sub-committees having made their respective reports, the meeting proceeded to investigate the cases referred to their consideration, and eventually voted assistance to the amount of 3,130*l.* towards the erection of seven additional churches or chapels; the rebuilding, with enlargement, of three existing churches; and the extension of the accommodation in eight other existing churches.

The situations where the additional places of worship are to be erected are the following:—Lower Cam, Gloucestershire; Brackmoor, parish of King's Winford, Staffordshire; Languic, Glamorganshire; New Radford, near Nottingham; Mosley, in the township of Congleton, Cheshire; Hazlewood, in the parish of Driffield, Derbyshire; and at Little Metros, near Tetsworth.

The churches to be rebuilt are at Westmeon, Hampshire; Bathwell, Nottinghamshire; and Honly, near Huddersfield.

The churches where additional accommodation will be obtained by enlarging, reseating, &c. are at Wichen, Ely; Fowley, Hants; Kirkdale, near Liverpool; Tottington, parish of Bury, Lancashire; Austrey, Warwickshire; Ugmaston, Pembrokeshire; Full Sutton, Yorkshire; and Upton-cum-Chalvey, near Slough.

The population of the eighteen parishes thus assisted is 154,615 souls, for whom accommodation, to the extent of 25,595 sittings, is now provided in thirty-six churches and chapels, of which 7555 are free. To this most scanty provision of church room 5683 will now be added, including free seats for 4963 persons; thus it will be seen that the present places contain accommodation for only one-sixth of the population, while the free seats are only in the proportion of one sitting for twenty persons.

The meeting next examined the certificates relative to the completion of new churches, enlargement, &c. of existing churches in several parishes and districts. These have been approved. The treasurer received authority to pay the grant in each case.

The provision of church room in these parishes previously to the commencement of the works now reported to be completed, was only 2832 seats, 1226 of which were free, while the population amounted to 11,022 souls; but 1920 additional sittings are now provided, of which 1182 are free and unappropriated in perpetuity.

Since the last meeting of the committee, forms of application have been forwarded to eighteen applicants, to enable them to submit their cases to the consideration of the board. Five of these applicants will solicit aid towards the erection of additional churches in populous places.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

67, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

At the General Meeting, held on Tuesday, the 5th of March, 1844, the Rev. Dr. Russell in the chair, the minutes having been read, it was moved by J. C. Meymott, Esq.,

"That the Standing Committee be requested to reconsider the course taken in regard to Bishop Ken's Manual, and Archdeacon Hale's work, as reported at the meeting in February."

This was seconded by N. Goldsmid, Esq., and *carried*.

The following report from the Tract

Committee to the Board was read to the Meeting:—

"The Tract Committee consider it due to themselves and to the Society at large to make the following report to the Board:

"The attention of the Tract Committee has been drawn to the prevalence of much dissatisfaction among members of the Society, with regard to the republication of the works of deceased authors, which are on the Society's Catalogue.

"The chief source of such dissatisfaction has been represented to them to be, a belief that the Tract Committee have been in the practice of making alterations as to doctrines, sentiments, and expressions, in the works of deceased authors, which had been adopted in their original state by the Society.

"Into the circumstances which may have given rise to such a belief the Tract Committee will not inquire, wishing to confine themselves to a statement of the facts with which they have been themselves connected.

"The Tract Committee was first appointed in the year 1834, a provision being made by the Board that all books and tracts should be referred to such Tract Committee, in like manner as they had been referred to the Standing Committee.

"In consequence of this resolution, some tracts which had been previously objected to at the Board, were referred to the Tract Committee for revision; and within the period which elapsed between their appointment and March, 1836, other tracts, against which objections were in like manner made at the Board, were by the Board referred to the Tract Committee.

"The Tract Committee accordingly examined such books and tracts as were so referred to them by the Board, and reported to the Board the results of their examination, recommending such changes to be made in those books or tracts as they thought desirable; and in no single instance does it appear that the Tract Committee authorized the publication of any work so altered without the express sanction and approval of the Board.

"Of the works thus referred to the Tract Committee, the following eight were altered by the Tract Committee, and with the alterations were submitted to the Board, and were afterwards published by the order of the Board; namely,—

"In the year 1835,

"Country Clergyman's advice to his Parishioners.

"The great importance of a religious Life.

"Companion to the Altar.

"Advice to Young Women on going to Service.

"The Church Catechism broken into Short Questions.

"And in the year 1836,

"The Pious Parishioner Instructed.

"A Companion to the Aged.

"The Christian Monitor.

"They are not aware of any other work having been altered during that time.

"The Tract Committee, having experienced great difficulty in fulfilling the wishes of the Board with respect to the revision of old books and tracts, were anxious to be relieved from this task, which was still urged upon them.

"At length, in March, 1836, they made the following communication to the Board:—

"'The Tract Committee regret to be obliged to report, that having endeavoured to the utmost of their power to fulfil the wishes of the Society, as to the correction of passages deemed open to objection in points of doctrine in works already on the Society's Catalogue, they feel themselves under the necessity of declining that part of the office assigned them by the Board.'

"This report was received by the Board.

"At the next Board, April 5th, 1836, the Standing Committee made a report, in which, having referred to the above resolution of the Tract Committee, they use these words:—

"'In consequence of this resolution, the Standing Committee think it desirable that the Tract Committee should be requested to direct their attention in future to the providing of new books and tracts, and that the duty of making such corrections in the old ones should revert to the Standing Committee.

"'This duty, however, they doubt whether they shall be able to discharge in such a manner as to obviate all objections, or to give universal satisfaction.'

"The Tract Committee, from the time of communicating their resolution to the Board in March, 1836, to the present day, have strictly adhered to that resolution, and have never, except as hereinafter stated, made any alterations of the doctrines, sentiments, or expressions in the work of any deceased author on the Society's Catalogue; nor are th

aware of any such alterations having been made either by the Standing Committee, or otherwise.

"In the year 1841, it having become a matter of notoriety that changes of different kinds had crept into the Society's editions of some works of deceased authors, the Tract Committee and the Standing Committee conferred together upon the subject of providing that the old books and tracts should be faithfully reprinted; and in consequence the following resolution of the Standing Committee was reported to the Tract Committee:—

Feb. 5th, 1841.

"'Agreed: that the Tract Committee be requested to take such measures as they may think proper for the careful republication of the old books and tracts on the Society's List, and that they be authorized to employ a competent person or persons to revise them, when new editions are required.'

In compliance with this request, the Tract Committee have from time to time engaged the services of competent persons for the express purpose of securing the genuine text of the works of deceased authors already on the Society's Catalogue.

"Under this head may be mentioned 'Nelson's Fasts and Festivals,' and 'Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Golden Grove.'

"In the case of admitting on the Catalogue for the first time the works of deceased authors, the Tract Committee have adhered to the same plan in every case, adopting the edition which they believed to present most faithfully the author's own text.

"Under this head may be specified, among other works, 'Bishop Patrick's Consolatory Discourses,' 'Sutton's Disce Mori, and Disce Vivere,' 'Archdeacon Welchman on the Thirty-nine Articles,' and 'Dean Stanhope on the Epistles and Gospels.'

"The Tract Committee, therefore, so far from having adopted the measures which they are represented to have adopted, have been engaged, to the utmost of their power, in securing the publication, in their original state, of such works as had not been altered with the express sanction of the General Board.

"The Tract Committee desire it to be distinctly understood, that in these observations they do not in anywise [illegible]rt to those books and tracts which [illegible]t any time previous to their [illegible]tment, been altered and adapted to the use of the Society, and published by direction of the Board.

"The Tract Committee would willingly be relieved from the task of providing for the faithful republication of the works of deceased authors already on the Society's Catalogue; but in the case of admitting such works now for the first time on the Catalogue, they will, as heretofore, take all the care in their power that no work shall be put forth otherwise than as it was published by the author."

This Report having been read,

It was moved by the Rev. Dr. Spry.

"That the Report of the Tract Committee now read be entered on the minutes, and printed in the Monthly Report."

This was seconded by the Dean of Chichester, and carried.

The Secretary stated that the above Report had been laid before the Standing Committee, at their meeting yesterday, and that they had agreed to the following resolution:—

"The Tract Committee having this day communicated to the Standing Committee a report which they intend to present to the Board to-morrow, and which appears to call for some additional information as to circumstances that took place before the appointment of the Tract Committee, it is resolved,—That a statement of facts connected with the alterations made by the Society in the works of deceased authors, be drawn up by the Standing Committee, and submitted to the Board at the General Meeting in April.

"And that this resolution be communicated to the Board to-morrow."

The following memorial was then read to the Meeting:—

"Memorial of certain Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, resident in the Diocese of Lichfield, addressed to the Chairman and Members of the Society, at their Meeting in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the fifth day of March, 1844.

"We, the undersigned, having recently seen a publication, called, 'An Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, containing statements which appear to us very seriously to affect the character of the Institution, beg leave to submit the following observations to the General Meeting.

"It is stated in the 'Appeal,'—and the statement seems borne out by the instances cited,—that changes have been

gradually made in the character of the tracts issued by the Society; and in particular that the works of Old Divines, some of whom were founders of the Institution, or connected with it at an early period, have been in many cases altered,—that various doctrinal and practical statements contained in them have been omitted, and in some instances, language attributed to the authors different from that which they really used.

"We beg to express our earnest hope —and in so doing we believe we are speaking the sentiments of a large majority of members—that the sound and orthodox principles which have so long distinguished this Society, as the instrument of the Church of England in some of her most important functions, may jealously be maintained: and, at the same time, to state our opinion, that if the principles of the Society be compromised or tampered with, the result can only be the promotion of strife and dissatisfaction, and the ultimate disruption of the Institution.

"With regard to the changes made in the books of standard authors, we confess that we are both grieved and surprised—having always supposed that we were reading and distributing the genuine works of the Divines of the English Church.

"We have in vain searched amongst the Rules of the Society for any authority by which the above-named alterations have been made. By the XXXIst Rule 'the Tract Committee is empowered to place upon the Society's Catalogue any Book or Tract which shall have been approved by them, and shall afterwards have received the sanction of the Episcopal Referees.' But it does not appear to us that this Rule gives any power to the Tract Committee for the time being to alter the books and tracts which have long been used for the purposes of the Institution.

"We beg that it may not be supposed that we desire to impute to the present or former members of the Tract Committee any wilful departure from the Rules of the Society; still less do we suppose that men of their high character would lend themselves to any design of misleading the public as to the views of the standard Divines of the English Church. We rather suppose that the practice of making alterations has been suffered gradually to grow up, without consideration of the very serious objections to which it is liable.

"We object to the practice,

"*First*, Because such alterations are disrespectful to the memory of pious and holy men—some of whom were founders of the Institution.

"*Secondly*, Because the language of the old writers is generally better than the new.

"*Thirdly*, Because the alteration of their language, and modification of their sentiments, and omission of their opinions, must have the obvious effect of giving to the numerous readers of the Society's books a wrong impression of the sentiments entertained by the Bishops and Divines of the English Church.

"*Fourthly*, Because their statements on many subjects (such, for instance, as passages on the Offertory and Festivals which have been omitted in the Society's editions) would, if fairly presented to the public, have tended to aid the exertions of those Bishops and Clergy, in the present day, who desire to restore the ancient and prescribed usages of the Church.

"*Fifthly*, Because the Clergy and others who use the books of the Society are liable to be misled, and fall into misquotation, by referring to works which are not genuine.

"*Sixthly*, Because being made aware of these defects, we do not feel that we can conscientiously continue to aid in the distribution of books which are not the genuine production of the authors to whom they are attributed.

"We, therefore, respectfully submit, that the books on the Society's list should be restored to their genuine state, and that in future no alteration of the language and sentiments of deceased writers should be allowed; nor any omission, unless it be found absolutely necessary for the sake of curtailment: and that in such cases the attention of the Episcopal Referees be specially called to the omission, and the usual mark indicating omission be inserted in the text.

"In the meantime, we respectfully request to be informed, what books and tracts on the Society's list are genuine, and what are not so. And if such information cannot at once be afforded, we beg to suggest that a committee be appointed, who shall make a careful collation of the books of the Society with authentic editions, in order to ascertain to what extent the alterations of the text have been carried.

"It appears to us, that these measure should be adopted without delay,

order to restore public confidence in the Society, as the instrument for the promotion of true Christian knowledge throughout the land.

"Henry E. J. Howard, Dean of Lichfield.

"T. Gnossal Parr, M.A., Incumbent of St. Michael's, Lichfield, and Secretary of the Lichfield Committee.

"Henry Oldershaw, M.A. Minister of Wall, near Lichfield.

"William Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield.

"Richard Greene.

"Joseph Taylor, Priest Vicar of Lichfield Cathedral.

"William Villiers, Vicar of Shenstone.

"Francis E. Paget, Rector of Elford."

The Rev. Dr. Spry moved, "That this Memorial be entered upon the minutes, and printed in the Monthly Report."

This was seconded by the Rev. J. Endell Tyler.

The Rev. R. Burgess moved as an amendment, "That the Memorial be referred to the Standing Committee."

E. Moore, Esq., seconded the amendment, which on being put from the chair was negatived.

The original motion was then carried.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[Owing to some inaccuracies in the copy of the following Address, inserted in our last Number, we give it afresh. Its importance requires that it should stand in the pages of the "Christian Remembrancer" in an authentic form.]

"*Nov.* 1843.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR REVERENCE,—We, the undersigned Presbyters of the Diocese of Aberdeen, beg leave respectfully to address your Reverence on a subject very deeply interesting to us as Scottish Churchmen.

"We have seen with surprise and deep regret that attempts have recently been made, in more than one Diocese of this Church, either to procure the entire abrogation of Canon XXI., in which the orthodoxy of the Scottish Communion Office is asserted, or otherwise so essentially to modify that Canon as to derogate from the primary authority with which that Office is invested in the Church of Scotland.

"Now we, your Reverence's faithful Presbyters, actuated by the earnest desire to obviate, if possible, any similar attempts—attempts which, we are well assured, will never meet with any sympathy from your Reverence—as well as to strengthen, so far, the hands of those Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of this Church, who desire to maintain the authority and use of the national Office, as recognised and warranted by Canon XI., beg leave respectfully to lay before your Reverence the following *reasons* which have prompted us to address you with this expression of our sentiments:

"I. Although, as your Reverence is aware, more than one of the undersigned Presbyters have availed themselves, from various circumstances, of the permission granted by Canon XXI., and administer according to the usage of England, yet they cordially unite with their brethren who use the national Office, in expressing their decided conviction of the superiority of that Office, inasmuch as therein the great Eucharistic doctrines of the Real Presence and a Commemorative Sacrifice are more fully developed, and by which its identity with the Divine model appointed by our Lord in Holy Scripture is clearly evinced. These characteristics of the Scottish Office have commanded for it the approbation of all Ritualists of orthodox and patristic principles; and, therefore, we prize it, not only as a mark of the integral as well as independent character of the Scottish branch of the Church Catholic, but also as a rich inheritance handed down to us by our fathers in the faith, and therefore to be by us faithfully transmitted to our children, and those who come after us.

"II. We desire to express our dissent from the idea of those who would seem to erect the principle of *Liturgical conformity* as the one great note of union and communion, and would remind them that the Catholic Church in Scotland is not a mere appendage to the Catholic Church in England, but, though unestablished, still a *national* Church; that

'every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things are done to edifying;' and that in primitive times, almost every diocese had its own particular Liturgy prescribed by its Bishop, and yet, that a more efficient intercommunion was maintained between the several portions of the primitive Church than has been secured to the various branches of the later Church.

"III. Although we are unwilling to contemplate the possibility of the abrogation, or even the remodelling of Canon XXI., yet, in such an event, we should feel it our sacred duty to protest against the sin which, in abandoning the Scottish Office, the relinquishment of such an amount of Catholic truth would involve; for that it *would* involve such a relinquishment, the undersigned cannot escape from the conviction, seeing that the present clamour against the Scottish Office *originated* with individuals who demanded its abolition, not chiefly because it is *expedient* to assimilate ourselves to the sister Church of England, not chiefly because *uniformity* is desirable—but principally and avowedly because, in their eyes, it is deeply tainted with Popish idolatry and superstition.

"IV. In order to guard ourselves against any chance of misconception, we deem it right to declare our conviction, that the Communion Offices of Scotland and England teach the same holy and scriptural truths; both equally remote from the Romish dogma of a *corporeal* presence, and the ultra-Protestant error of a mere *commemoration* in the holy Eucharist. We are satisfied that the distinctive doctrines of the Eucharist are contained in the one Office, by plain implication, obvious inference, and statements more or less explicit; while in the other we see them clearly and broadly enunciated, and without the possibility of heretical perversion. No disciple of Zwinglius or Hoadley could subscribe to the Scottish Communion Office. It is only when these distinctive doctrines are denied, an opposite and uncatholic sense attempted to be put upon the *English* Office, and the abandonment of the Scottish Office demanded *as a consequence*, that we feel it our duty to resist the repeal of the Canon which recognises that Office, and for the reasons above stated, solemnly to declare that, in our eyes, its relinquishment would be tantamount to an apostasy.

"That your Reverence may long be spared to preside over this diocese, and to the Church whose Primacy you so worthily hold, is the devout prayer of, may it please your Reverence, your Reverence's dutiful and faithful Presbyters,

JOHN CUMMING, Dean.
P. CHEYNE, Presbyter, Aberdeen.
DAVID WILSON, Presb^{r}, Woodhead.
ARTHUR RANKEN, Presb^{r}, at Deer.
WILL^{M} WEBSTER, Presb^{r}, New Pitsligo.
WILLIAM ROBERTSON, Presb^{r}, Old-Meldrum.
CHARLES GRANT, Presb^{r}, Meikle-folla.
JAMES CHRISTIE, Presbyter, Turriff.
JAMES SMITH, Presbyter, Forgue.
AL. HARPER, Presb^{r}, Inverury.
ALEXANDER COOPER, Presb^{r}, Portsoy.
ANDREW RITCHIE, Presbyter.
ALEXANDER BRUCE, Presbyter, Banff.
GEORGE HAGAR, Presbyter, Lonmay.
CHARLES PRESSLEY, Presbyter, Fraserburgh.
A. LOW, Presbyter, Longside.
JOHN B. PRATT, Presbyter, Cruden.
NATH^{L} GRIEVE, Presb^{r}, Ellon.

"To the Right Reverend
THE BISHOP OF ABERDEEN."

"I beg to express my hearty concurrence in the above address.
"CHAS. WAGSTAFF, Junior Minister of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, and late Curate of Arundel, Sussex."

THE NEW DIVINITY STATUTE AT OXFORD.

Oxford, March 7, 1844.

THE Statute now pending, which involves certain new regulations on the subject of the B.D. degree, has been re-committed by the Hebdomadal Board, in deference to the most unusually unanimous voice of public opinion. We may expect then that one or two of the more obnoxious provisions will be modified or repealed. Under these circumstances, it is better to confine our present attention to the *principle* involved in all that pa-

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

MAY, 1844.

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1. *Notes on the Episcopal Polity of the Holy Catholic Church, &c.* *By* T. W. MARSHALL, B.A. London: Burns.
2. *Tracts on Doctrine and Practice, &c.* London: Burns.
3. *Tracts for the Latter Days.* London: Painter.
4. *Offices of Prayer for Private Devotion, compiled from Catholic Sources.* London: Rivington.
5. *Anglo-Catholicism.* *By* WILLIAM GRESLEY, M.A. London: Burns.
6. *Sermons on Duties of Daily Life.* *By* F. E. PAGET, M.A. Rugeley: Walters.
7. *Answer to Anti-Supernaturalism.* *By* J. N. PARK, M.D. London: Nisbet.

. *Burns's Magazine for the Young,* No. XXVIII.

MEN are endued with faculties, feelings, and energies, which, all and each, have their own proper tendency and object. When they are directed towards that object they are in a state of health and strength, and advancing to their own perfection; when they are directed towards any other object, not their own, they are weakened, and, ere long, paralyzed. The Will influences and guides them all. Their true object is God. As they tend towards Him, *i. e.* to obedience to His Will, and working out His Ends, they become strong and perfect; when they are directed to any other object, they become weak in the proportion in which that object is distant from God. At the Fall, the Will became perverted, and directed all our powers towards false objects; our powers were weakened, and the human being became a weak, a disordered, and disorganized system, like a watch with all its works separated and out of place, not working their proper end. While the powers of man were thus disorganized, they gradually weakened; their strength and perfection

consisted in being united; each occupying its own place, and working out one end, its proper one; inactivity weakened them, disorganization warped and bent them.

The Church is the system which supplies the channels through which those feelings, and powers, and faculties, may be allowed to flow onward to God, their *true object*. The Church herself offers no Object short of Him who is her Head at which those powers may stop; but, though sometimes she may seem to do so to the short-sighted, we look farther, and see it is but a pathway a little deeper in the shadow of the wood, still leading out to God, and never stopping till in Him, though sometimes darker, narrower, and more difficult, that his child who walks along it may exercise his faith, and gaze more intently. *E. g.* Men say the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, received in the higher sense, in which the Church, in her voice of purer days, would bid us hold and understand it, stops short of Christ, and makes itself the final object of our trusting dependence and final perseverance. Yet is it so? Look deeper, and does not the Church, through the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, lead on the feelings and powers of man to rest more entirely in Christ than the mere statement of Truth would convey Him, which some men consider the only sure way of leading men to Him? Does it not lead men to dwell more entirely in Him—to understand Him? She tells us His real Presence is there—we believe it, and receive it. By her assurance we feel we are there His disciples, the abode of His continual presence. We there, of course, learn the bearing of His cross in the sight of His Broken Body; the preciousness of the Atonement in His shed blood; the lessons of charity and unity in receiving Him together; each man a Temple of Him, each a part of His own Temple.

Such means will, surely, lead men more certainly to Christ as the final Object: and does not the very need of entering into the force and intention of the Holy Eucharist lead men more safely and surely to that object, than the mere assertion of truths outwardly which touch the feelings, but scarcely arrest the attention? So the Church offers an immediate object for our feelings and powers—the Body of Christ, to whom, as the final Object, they lead. He is the Head; she is the Body; our Body may offer immediate objects for our attention; but all tend to the promotion of our existence. She offers the system through which we reach God. She brings the ordinance of God, and leads man to Him. Without systems which will find a channel suited to each feeling and power, they will make channels for themselves, and waste; without a system whose End is God, they will not only waste, but work ends which are their own destruction.

Socialism, and other like systems, are of the former kind; affording channels, though scarcely to be called true ones, leading men to false ends. Dissent will be an instance of the latter, as striking out systems, and supplying the want of system by giving one of its own,

which affords imperfect channels for the feelings and powers of our moral nature. Take the example just spoken of; schismatics reject the deep view of this Sacrament, and thus unconsciously make preaching a sacrament. They find they must have a deeper, more real way of approaching Christ than mere instruction; and so by arraying instruction in certain forms unconsciously to themselves, they give it a sacramental nature. Men say, that, in a perfect state, the feelings and powers will exhaust themselves on God without system. We do not know what may be the way devised by God, by which men shall serve Him hereafter. We are sure of this; in our present state, a system is needful to direct, guide, and discipline our powers in their search after God. It may be the accident of an imperfect state. But be it so; we are in an imperfect state.

Men imagine they can do without system, but belie their statement by immediately falling into it. The instance mentioned above is an example; and we may take another. We are told by some they want no system of interpretation of Holy Scripture: they will teach and understand it for themselves, and by themselves. What is the result? Do they not at once fall into a system: a way of taking Holy Scripture, under the rule of which they bring every word and statement, by which they receive this and condemn that? Have they not as complete a scheme of interpretation as the Catholic scheme of interpretation? Is it not so rigid often as to stand alone and independently of Holy Scripture, so that men fearlessly reject a manifest meaning because it does not find its place in their system of interpretation? Is not this as much bringing human interpretation and system to bear upon Holy Scripture, as the most devoted child of the Church could desire? The only difference between them is, the one seeks the system of ages—of the Catholic Church of Christ; the other, the system of to-day, and of his own individual mind. Both are systems: the latter—in some respects more so than the former—often falling under the rigid rule laid down by some individual interpreter of his own day, as fully as we would fall under the guiding of the Church.

Men must fall under system. It is as impossible to do without it as to support the bodily frame without regular sustenance, or as untrue as to say, that an act of the will does not precede each moral action. It is the support of our moral nature: men unconsciously fall into it who are most violently opposed to it as a thing external to themselves. But this is not exactly to the point; it is rather to show the futility of the objection which men raise to the Church under the notion of its being a system at all.

The final Object of systems with regard to our moral conduct is, of course, God, and subjection to Him. In the same degree in which they lead truly and surely to this End, in that degree, to short-sighted observers, they will seem not to do so. This mistake arises from the fact, that such schemes will present objects short of the Final on yet resembling it, to revive the tired energies, and to lead on tl

weak powers of men in their road to God: the truth is, they more certainly lead to and end in Him. They become rests on the journey, securing the steps already taken, and applying their gain to make the remaining ones easier and lighter. Ends short of the Final one, in systems, will have the appearance, at first sight, of taking the place of the Final one: they will closely resemble it: they will take part of its nature; whereas the leading feelings and powers directly to God, without the intervention or aid of systems, has the appearance of greater devotion to Him, and of avoiding the difficulties supposed above, as no End short of Him presents itself for their aim. This is the feeling of men who have fallen into views in the present and past ages, which they call "spiritual," as distinguished from schemes which involve Form and auxiliary ends. But what is, and must be, the consequence? Their feelings and powers are led to God. They keep His name and service in continual view; but with their eyes on Him, fail to reach Him with the step: they go to waste, become extravagant, unreal, and dissipated; keeping their eye as on the dawn in the horizon, become lost in the desert over which they go to reach it. They call this spirituality of mind and unity of purpose. It is, in truth, unreality. They imagine that they avoid Formalism, and, in doing so, lose the prop and support which Forms must give to enable their powers to reach their ends at all. They feel this at last, and fall into systems of their own, weak and insecure. We said, ends short of the Final one, partaking of its likeness and nature, are mistaken for it by some. *E. g.* the Holy Eucharist is an End, and short of Christ, yet leading to Christ by a sure road. Daily Prayer in Public Worship is an End which leads men to longings for continual support and beginnings afresh; yet it, of course, leads on these very feelings and longings to exhaust themselves on the repose of eternity. The traveller who sees the distant light which speaks of rest and shelter, must mind the path he takes to reach it. Better be in the right path to it, and his eyes off it, than his eyes on the light, and he in a road which finally leads away from his object.

The objections to systems at all, and to systems as leading men to stop short of the Final End, are, then, unreal. Men fall into them always, more or less: it is in their nature to do so; and so by the short-sighted, the ends contained in a scheme of forms partaking of the likeness and nature of the Final one, are likely to be mistaken. The Church is the divinely-appointed system to lead man in his every part to God. It is the only one which surely and really does so. It takes each power and feeling of men, guides them to their own proper object in God's scheme, and through them leads them to God himself. She only, while she regulates, prevents their extravagance, corrects them while she guides them.

Take the feelings of Reverence, and those which are called out to the awful and sublime; God is their final Object, in some way or other; but there must be means of drawing them out towards Him;

ends short of Him which receive the feelings, they must find, and have their own proper object in some scheme and system; or finding none provided for them, will find unfit ones for themselves, or run to waste. The Church offers her mode of administering the Holy Sacraments, especially the Eucharist. She throws a mystery about it; rather draws out the mysteriousness there is in it, and convinces men of it: her way of administering it creates and keeps up mystery; she makes it part of her system. The object of feelings of Reverence receives the feelings, and guides them on to God: takes of God, and gives Him to our feelings: she asserts and teaches the Real Presence after the mysterious sense: other systems explain it away or deny it. She only admits True Believers even to see it. She pauses while the unconfirmed leave her Temple, ever leading them to expect it as the last step of their preparatory life: a holy thing, to be looked for with hope and fear and earnest dread: not to be even seen till received: not to be received till duly fitted for it. Who shall say what are the mingled feelings that a child's mind has when leaving the hush of the church, on the day of its administration, when he sees the prepared altar, hiding from his sight the holy "Creatures"—the mixture of awe and wonder with which he leaves the threshold? The Church gives a home to his feeling of Reverence. And in the case of the recipient, too: the blessed symbols to be all consumed ere the Priest leaves the altar: the leaving not a crumb to fall again which has been gathered up from our Master's table: all is part of her system, finding objects for Reverence. Other systems find them not; fear them; and leave feelings of Reverence to waste where they will. Surely they must have their home on earth,—their resting-place in God's earthly system: surely they were not for nothing,—they were for God.

Again, her consecrated places of worship. Here she offers objects for feelings of Reverence: she attaches awe to place. She leads our feelings up to God, through scenery in which He teaches us that He resides and moves. Our natural Reverence is called out, and is satisfied with this: systems which afford no such objects for such feelings, lose the value of them. They will go somewhere; and the consequence is that they dwindle into Superstition of the worst kind. Superstition is the feeling of Reverence going after false objects in a wrong manner. Reverence becomes Superstition when it has no fit object offered for it. The Church, by the objects she presents, prevents the abuse, while she loses nothing of the use of such feelings. It is another point in her system, that she not only offers objects, but full, satisfactory objects. Some systems offer objects, but only slight ones, not receiving and engrossing the whole feeling, to which it is presented. Then, too, Reverence dwindles into Superstition.

These feelings, finding nothing on which to exhaust themselves are thrown back on their subject, and produce a strange deformity character, by injuring the growth and development of other feel

and principles. In some they produce morosity: in others constant dissatisfaction. They roll back like a flood on the advancing moral character, and draw back parts of it in their own receding tide, or they fix themselves on some trifling object, whose importance they magnify. In either of these two cases, the repression or false use of these feelings produce narrowness of mind. Any feeling without its due object will have the same effect. So it is that we find dissenters so often narrow-minded. They have no objects for feelings. The Church, in her systems, expands the mind, and leads the feelings to God. She does this by adopting the course the very contrary of the one just supposed. She does it by finding vents and laying hold of feelings and enlisting them fully in her service. Her objects are natural ones: the voice within seems always to have led men to attach awe to place and mystery to rites: it is the vent suggested by this moral nature for certain feelings. Who can contemplate without admiration the Church's vast machinery? Her buildings, whose symbol and ornament, by storied window and rounded shafts, arrest Reverence wherever we turn: the hoary hue of ages on her walls and towers, the deep meaning of her slightest carving, the silence of her mysteries, the footstep, oft returning, of her holy-days, independent of our fancy, and always the same, however we may change: the calm motonony of her daily prayers, though we are ever altering: the certainty with which she carries on her work, whether men will heed her or no. These are all parts of her system which offer full food for Reverence; fit, satisfying objects for our deepest feelings—objects which no other system has pretended to find, and many have indignantly rejected.

The consequence has been, that she has retained in her bosom her own children, while other systems have lost many, who have gone to seek in other homes objects to satisfy feelings which will have their way. She has caught in her grasp everything which was passing in the world's scenery, and made them her own,—antiquity, symbolism, sublimity, and mystery. She has declared them sacred, and has consecrated feelings of Reverence by consecrating them. She saw they were what satisfied men, and seizing them, engrafting them into her system: through them she leads us to God. If we may say it, before she was a system, they had arrested those feelings in us, and she, by taking them, has made herself the master of the deepest things of nature. Standing in this position, she draws on the philosopher to see to what final point his own systems and principles lead: how much he agrees with her; and she argues that he should do so totally, while with the schismatic she argues on the imperfection and inability of his objective system—the perfection of her own.

But, again, take Shame. No moral system professing to lead men to God can leave out objects for this feeling. It is evidently trongly in us for something, it has evidently a strong moral tendency -other systems pass it by—the Church lays hold of it, and uses it for od. She has her Confessional: she bids the sinner open his heart

and humble himself by confession,—she bids him, or rather lets him, be ashamed. She finds a vent, a proper use for Shame; other systems, many of them, find no acknowledged place for it, and the consequence is, that it dwindles away in the moral constitution of their children; and the character, it being one of its essential parts, becomes imperfect; other parts assume an undue importance, and the whole is deformed. So we see so many who are formed by such systems especially wanting in humility. Shame has not been developed. It is lost to the character for want of an object. The loss of one principle is directly succeeded by the too great predominance of another,—one keeps the other in its place. So of Reverence. If we lose and repress the feeling of Reverence, the whole character has lost an essential part of itself, and the effect is seen and felt in the most palpable manner.

But to return to the feeling of Shame. Systems which offer no objects for it, form in their children a character of presumption, and want of humility, which is manifest to all. But, more than this, they do, against their will, find objects for feelings which will have their way—will find their vent. And "the experience meeting" of many systems of dissent seems a substitute, however imperfect, for the confesssional of the Church;—imperfect to the very highest degree; for presumption is rather excited, than Shame promoted. Nor do we mean that such is a device at all intended by them, as an object for Shame; it is rather the forced substitute for an object which no system, which pretends to work upon our moral nature, can do without.

The Church, in her system, is co-extensive with our moral nature. That which the "experience meeting" of the schismatic is instituted to gratify, is the feeling of Shame (and one other added to it) for which the confessional of the Church is alone a fit object. It is because she has hushed the voice of her confessional, that substitutes have sprung up, to remedy—how imperfectly!—her neglect.

Every distinctive mark of schism is a substitute for parts of the Church's objective system, which are not worked out and presented to men. They are in her theory, but not worked out. Each sect, in their day, has been formed on some want created by the silence and seclusion of the Church. Our moral nature must have some objective system: it yearns after it; and the more real any system of schism seems, the more it will be found to be a substitute for some part of the system of the Church. Their copy of her is their life. We do not say their copy is good—it is often most defective; often leading to results directly contrary to what she would have done. But they are copies. They exist, because, in some point of her practical working, she does not appear to do so. Let her again come forward in all the majesty and vastness of her objective system and deep working, and they will shrink into all the feebleness and poverty of copies by the side of a perfect original. She will arrest our soul with all the power of God; and schismati-

will be compelled to feel that in her they will much more abundantly find the object they valued in their own imperfect systems.

No one system of schism embodies more than one part, perhaps, of her objects. But we must return.

We said "the Confessional" led another feeling, together with Shame, in the road to God: the natural desire for sympathy implanted in our nature—a feeling which is irresistible.

Under the head of the desire for sympathy, we include all that longing, after the knowledge of the fact that other men go through the same that we do, the support we derive in the advice of others, and the satisfaction derived from the mere fact of being felt for. This is a natural feeling: we all have it: the Church gives it an object in her Confessional. Here men learn the truth, that "no temptation has taken them but such as is common to man;" here they find support in authoritative counsel; and here they find one who stands, as the Church, lending her ear of compassion, so she receives and engrosses the feelings of desire for sympathy. But more: she not only gives due objects to natural feelings, but also keeps them within bounds, restraining them from excess and extravagance. The yearning after sympathy would lead men sometimes to make their feelings too public,—to infringe the delicacy of the inmost thoughts, and thereby to injure the whole character. The secrecy of the Confessional obviates this, disciplines and checks, while it keeps within due bounds, the feeling of desire for sympathy. Other systems have substituted many modes to fill the place of the lack of the Church's working in this particular. It seems the most real of the distinctive marks of sects of schism, and of Low schools within the Church. It is that which men have most felt the want of, and which systems of dissent have especially been formed upon. Perhaps the kind of meeting referred to above was struck out more as an object to this feeling than to that of shame. But contrast the system of the Church in this respect with theirs.

The Church calls her children, with the voice of authority, to open their hearts to her appointed Priest, who has power to pronounce Absolution, to admit to or exclude from the Holy Sacrament of grace. This power invests her office of confessor with all the influence of power and authority. It is no longer left entirely a matter of choice to the penitent; and he is more than recommended to open his soul as to a faithful and loving parent. He is boldly, strongly, decidedly rebuked for sin. He is made ashamed of the very sins he longs to reveal and fears to conceal. He receives all the indescribable support, which an all but compulsory-system places on him. The schismatic among us tells his virtues rather than his sins. His confessor fears to rebuke, lest he deter and offend the penitent. He is supported by no power to exclude or admit; and the sinner who has longed for the support of confession of some kind—of laying open his heart—begins the work, but at once, falling under the influence of annoyance, rebuke, or a shame which deters him from being open,

loses the whole effect of the system, because it has not been compulsory on him.

The Church system enables a man to throw himself, by choice, under control which shall be compulsory; and he, having once chosen, may not draw back. He has chosen not to choose for himself in some things any more. Its strength is self-compulsion. The two systems spring from the same origin, are ends of the same tendencies; viz. the longing for sympathy and guidance, and the true effect of shame. But how differently! Men yearn after sympathy and guidance: they long to be taken out of their own hands. The Church does this. Existing systems of dissent, the contrary. Of course, acts of penitence, well worked, would also become an end, in the moral system of the Church, to Shame.

But again, take Ambition. The feeling which this word expresses exactly, is the excess of a feeling; the direction of it towards false objects, or towards true objects, unduly. But it is a feeling which has its own proper end, which end is one short of the final one. It is the province of the Church to find this, and she does so. It is the work of any system which professes to be a moral one, under which man is to be guided and disciplined, to find an end for the feeling, the excess of which is called Ambition, and to direct it towards God. Men yearn after superiority; after strong manifestations to the world of their devotion towards some one favourite object. There is a satisfaction in manifesting devotion to the world: it convinces ourselves that we have it. It is natural to long to burst from the unreality of the views and course of action of the many, to long to break from the cold and formal manner in which multitudes assent to principles they do not practise, or practise them as if they were utterly indifferent and unreal: while we watch this we love to burst the shackle. To be real, earnest, true, devoted, we convince ourselves that we are so by showing ourselves so to the world.

Again, we love to make sacrifices for what we love; we yearn after it. The multitude do not make sacrifices for the principles they hold. We feel, while we only act like them, that we are untrue as they. It is a right feeling: it is in us by nature. It must have its end somewhere: its Final end is God. Yearning after a fuller devotion to Him than the mass show. The feeling has been placed in us to guide us to God; to exhaust itself on Him. It is generally perverted, and then it is called Ambition. The Church supplies the true end in her system. Schismatics have imitated her; in some cases, have invented substitutes for her.

It is the history, the true cause, of many very strong movements in religion; the desire to burst from the multitude and to be singly real. It is one of those feelings which is the truest, surest enemy to systematic tyranny and continued oppression. The Church (we speak of the Church developed in her system, independently of any particular existing development) provides in her system monastic establishments, where strong, earnest, devoted spirits may go and

find the end they yearn after in vain in the cold routine of daily life. It is the home provided for those spirits among us which are solitary, earnest, stern, desirous of severity. They find all that: in the cell, the discipline, and the brotherhood, each desire after severity is satisfied. They feel they are devoting themselves more to others. They feel they are real. It need arise from no wrong desire, we conceive, of superiority. It is a spirit which yearns after reality: one to which common things are more unsatisfactory than they are to most. They were made so, and the Church finds them a rest, a home: erects a tent in the wilderness for their repose, provides for them suitably on their journey homewards. They do their work for her: she employs them well. They are themselves brought nearer God by working out their end thus. They lift up their hands in the silence and solitude of their lonely resting-place, and intercede for the Church which struggles in the world around them. They are her secret, unseen strength: her friends raising prayers during the time in which she is held and imprisoned by the kings of the earth. Who shall tell the work they do for her? Who shall say the power she would act with, did she provide objects for such spirits more than she does, did they teach her children and aid her Priests? What must be, what is, the consequence of such objects not being provided? such spirits will find their line,—they will not, cannot, should not, go on in the cold formality of the world around them, or in the same degree of devotedness with which less ardent spirits are satisfied. They leave her bosom; they find reality and devotion in a new sphere. They follow some sort of leader. They empty their zeal in attacking the mother they have deserted. She cast them out, and their efforts are against herself. They find no food for their energies within her; they find no reality of system; so they declare her unreal, formal, and false.

So, in late ages, have sects been multiplied, according to the different objects which are, from time to time, held up for the devoted search of aspiring and severe spirits. They take the line which St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis would have taken, had not the Church in their day found them a home; a sphere of labour, a compulsory rule within her own limits. She showed them she had exactly the ground to occupy which they were suited to fill, and they filled it. How well, how devotedly, how usefully to her, the age of the Reformation may best tell. In every age there are the same men ready waiting, and solitary devotees, yearning to be thrown under compulsory rule, fearing, not trusting themselves; waiting to hear and obey the voice of one that they own as their mother. If the Church had thus called forth the devoted of her children, the strength of Wesleyanism would not have been arrayed against her, and she would not have suffered or needed the existence of associations of individuals to carry on by solicited trifles the work of evangelizing the heathen. The same spirit which strengthened Methodism as hostility to the Church, would have swelled in the bosoms of

her devoted and obedient sons, and sent them forth to distant lands, her zealous Apostles, her devoted Martyrs. Give fit objects to ardent spirits, or they will break away and find them for themselves. They are to be kept, not thrown away. No other system supplies the same objects which the Church can, in her legitimately-developed system, for these feelings.

Other systems supply opportunities for working and calling them forth; but they are unsystematic, changeable, do not assert authority. Such spirits need compulsory control. Schismatics have none. They need a voice to obey which they feel has a right to demand obedience from them. Schismatics do not even pretend to assert it. It is a permanent, continuous authority they need, more than frequent and sudden impulses. The Church gives one, existing systems of schism the other. Such spirits need an authority, which takes for granted it is right, and does not admit of dispute as to the direction it shall order. Schism reasons with the spirit it should control, and wavers where it should be firm; leaves it to individual judgment just at the very point where the individual requires the judgment of another. The greatest of all blessings which such spirits have, is their being taken out of their own control, and told where to go. Of course, it is not likely other systems should have fit objects for spirits like theirs. They have not experience. They are of yesterday. They are not divine. They are not Catholic. Earnest spirits want adequate objects; but they must be commanded to follow them; and having begun to do so, they have no choice left to give them up. It must no longer be at their own disposal. The Church only can speak with that right and authority to them. How many an ardent spirit would find a shelter and adequate object and home in the daily discipline of the monastic life! How many of the weaker sex would find an object for strong, yearning spirits, in the devotion and security of the veil! We do not speak of the working of any existing system; we speak of what might be in the legitimate development of the Church. She leads them, through herself, to God.

Then, too, such objects, drawing out men's feelings and yearnings, such as we have described, actually become a protection to the man himself who uses them: he might be lost without them: strength of feeling, finding nothing adequate to vent itself on, and being received with coldness and indifference by others who cannot understand, because they do not possess its reality, will often drive its possessor into despair, or worse. Who shall say how many a secession from our own Branch of the Church might have been saved by a more perfect working of her objective system? Without this, such spirits are lost to themselves, and lost to the Church of which they are members. Surely they were not made for nothing; they were not simply created for the same work on earth as the rest of mankind; they had their own solitary, distinct path to move in; they had a work to do which they only could do. No system which professes to be one whi· will regulate and supply the moral nature of man, can leave th

out. Who can say how many a strong mind, which has wandered after some created object of its own, might have been saved from wreck, if it had found an appreciation of itself in the Church? Might not Byron and Shelley have found a rest, and colder schools of days before them have received a more vigorous spirit from that system which they, as it then was, never thoroughly understood? But these are instances which come, perhaps, more strictly under another principle of man's moral nature.

Again, her system takes within her grasp and finds room for Compassion. She sees it is a feeling in man which has been implanted for some purpose; she discovers that; she sees its abuse; she avoids and prevents it; she includes the whole of it within her system, and whatever appears like it which she does not find due place for, we may know, is fictitious. She arranges together a perfect, full set of objects, to answer to the feeling in all its details. It is an essential part of her system; it is one on which other parts necessarily hang. Take her, as she was, working in different ages past, and even now, in nearly every branch of her existence, providing a system to answer these ends. The widow and the orphan were her especial care, and their wants have, in every age of her existence, been the ground-work of many of her laws and rites. She connects the exercise of the natural feeling of Compassion with the most sacred acts of Devotion.

Compassion is recognised as an element in our moral being; it is considered; it is sanctified. No system which does not supply objects for it can be a satisfactory one for man, morally considered. The feeling is, by the Church's assertion, a holy feeling, and she supplies for its exhaustion, holy objects, through which she leads it up to God.

And to see more plainly the aptness of her system, contrast her with other existing systems which pretend to occupy her place; they, many of them, do not recognise the feeling at all; where they do, they supply no objects for it, but leave it to strike out its own channel and its own objects. The consequence is, that none of the abuses to which Compassion is liable are avoided, all are fallen into.

One natural abuse is, the working it under the influence of false motives, or, more strictly, mistaking other principles for it, or allowing it to be overwhelmed and misdirected by inferior motives. Compassion is a feeling whose object is the relief of the distressed: it is that which distress calls out of necessity: it is the advocate of the unhappy in our hearts. When it is directed simply to those objects, it is truly used: namely, when it finds a relief for itself in the relief of distress—when it is exercised for the sake of calling out commendation as much, or more, than to relieve sorrow—when it is used to subserve our own advantage, which it often is, (that is, the feeling does exist, and it is exerted towards the true object; but the desire of self-advantage through the commendation of others, is allowed to outweigh the desire of relieving sorrow,) then it is abused: it not only is abused, it leads men away from God.

The Church exercises the feeling, but in secret: the solemn stillness of her temple; the eye fixed upon her altar; the thoughts drawn up to Heaven in holy contemplation; the ear arrested by the Words of the Law of Charity: all tend to serve as a covert to throw a veil over the acts of Compassion, and to enable the sacred gifts to be laid on God's altar, unobserved, unexamined, and unreckoned. "The right hand does not know what the left hand doeth." The rich may have poured forth his treasure, and poverty its mite, but they lay side by side in one holy offering, the gift of the united members of Christ's one Body. So the Church uses, draws out, and exhausts Compassion: so she prevents or corrects its abuse. Other systems encourage display, encourage the abuse, find no especial part of their system to prevent, what in the course of things, must be the abuse.

Is it not the case? In proportion as men deviate from the Church system, in proportion as they draw towards low principles, they fall into all the abuses of subscription-lists, and fancy bazaars; almsgiving becomes venal, the gift becomes a loan or a purchase. We said, too, the Church leads the feeling to God, offers it to Him; ostentation in its exercise, of course, leads from Him: it leads to "the world, the enemy of God." The Church connects the exercise of Compassion with God's Law. She reads it in the ear of her children while they give. She tells them, Compassion is a consecrated feeling: that God's Word has its especial rules for its exercise. No other systems do this; they allow the mere exercise of the feeling to be enough; and the gift is therefore proportioned to the degree in which the feeling is excited; they do not make it, or recognise it as a duty. It is one of the distinctive marks of the low schools of the day, that Almsgiving is not recognised as a duty; it is left to the result of mere pity, undirected and untaught, and, what is worse still, undisciplined.

Besides, another abuse of Compassion consists in the many hindrances raised in the application of its gifts to objects apparently worthy of it. A man is not the best bestower of his own compassion. He allows feeling to be strongly drawn out towards objects by the counterfeit of sorrow. He is often deceived in his objects; he is imposed upon; a slight circumstance prevents his exerting it as much as he should in particular cases; the fact of having been often imposed upon before, or unfairly treated: all these come in as hindrances. The Church obviates these. She takes the immediate bestowal of relief out of her children's hand, and places it out of the reach of counter-influences in the exercise of Compassion. She administers it through those ordained and set apart for the express purposes of discovering the fit mode of administration, her Deacons. Her children give as to God, as to Christ, through His people. Compassion is exercised and satisfied, but through the medium of duty, and saved from abuse and hindrance. Without her system, the truly distressed are often deprived of their advocate in the breast of the selfish and prejudiced, because they vent on them the indignati they have had excited by the false appearance of others.

Without her system, the feeling of Compassion flows like a mighty stream over soil which does not need, or wastes its gift, and leaves barren spots unfertilized which thirst for nurture. The indigent are not relieved, the false and pretending are encouraged, the compassionate are deceived, and resentment (our safe-guard against injury) excited, where no injury was given or intended; the exercise of that feeling, under the discipline of her system, calms the mind, relieving the λύπη, of the compassionate, and leaves it nearer to God in humble obedience and denial, than it found him.

Other systems must, of course, excite pride, vanity, and raising the acts of others as a standard by which to try ourselves; attempt to call into play feelings, which miss their aim, and which are allowed to foster abuse, to leave true objects unsatisfied, or to flow back without having found an end in the moral world; to overwhelm and disorganize the general character of its possessor.

The consequence is, that, taking the view of the general exercise of Compassion, we see it is not exercised in any degree as we should expect; although men imagine that the systematic exercise of it will curtail its influence and extent of application: it is not so; the age we live in is a boastful one; a falsely pretending one. Men talk of its benevolence and compassion; the truth is, it is one in which the feeling of Compassion has been, and is, less exercised than in any age since the first advent of our Lord: we grant it is one in which the exercise of Compassion meets our eye on every side. But that is all. We grant, subscription-lists are abundant, fancy bazaars and "charitable balls" meet our eye often enough. We grant the rich man of 5,000*l.* a-year, takes unwonted pains to let his parish know that he bestows 10*l.* of it annually for the good of Christ's poor, and with all the pomp of charitable dignity stalks into his ancestorial pew, or attempts to curb the church-ward tendency of the parish priest in his education of the baptized children of God. If this is a sign of the exercise of Compassion, ours is a charitable age. We must beg to differ. We should prefer a Compassion less known and more felt: where the principal marks consisted in the rich giving up their creature comforts, setting down luxuries one by one, taking the lead in lowering the standard of expense in society, and laying their thousands in secret on God's altar. We would prefer judging for ourselves of the exercise of compassion, and not be told by the giver how much he gives; and when men talk less of the "true kindness of employing servants, and promoting trade, and keeping up station," mere excuses, pardon us for saying it, for the vilest selfishness and love of ease. When men do talk less of this, and deny themselves more, we will be more willing to grant the name of benevolent to the age we live in; not till then. Allow us now to term it the least charitable of days, when men expect more in return than ever was before expected; when giving to the poor is looked upon rather as a placing out money to interest, expecting the return of general praise and commendation. Interference in the arrangement of the Church

in her parochial system, is not the legitimate expectation to be encouraged in the Church's offerers. But our object was not so much to state a fact, as to assign a reason. The low state of the exercise of Compassion in this day, is easily accounted for in the depression of the Church's practical system.

Compassion will deteriorate under the influence of low schools and the treatment of low men. We should expect it, and our expectation is realized. In an age when the Church's voice has been nearly hushed, Compassion has shrunk into the back-ground, and violent, clamorous counterfeits have protruded themselves into her place. What do we see at this moment? An increased spirit of true, secret, unobtrusive benevolence; and why? Because the spirit of the Church is reviving.

Then, too, the Church prevents Compassion being excited without having always ends and objects on which to work practically. It rather checks the inclination to indulge the feeling without an application practically to some object. Her very principle throughout, in her mode of teaching and discipline, is to avoid the working of feelings alone, for the mere sake of working them. She is truly practical as far as her influence over man goes. We shall surely be correct, when we say, that low schools and systems of schism generally tend towards exciting and indulging feelings, without any reference to their proper practice.

View, too, the Church's dealing and provision with regard to those earnest desires after self-denial which exist more or less in all, but very strongly in some,—a fear, an awe of going on too much in indulgence; a quiet and calm in the consciousness of thwarting self; surely this is a natural feeling to all, and, in proportion as the mind and character are refined and perfected, we find it more strongly. Whatever it be, it is a feeling which is always satisfied by the consciousness of being in a state of denial; and self-denial seems its own object.

The Church sees and provides for this. She is constantly throwing her children under restraint. She is always giving them opportunities of self-discipline, and where they are unwilling, or from natural infirmity almost unable, to use it, she compels them to adopt it. Her years are marked with days of sorrow; her feasts are interchanged with fasts; her months never fly away without having humbled her obedient children, and subdued their nature a degree more.

All men yearn after denial; all men feel they cannot be safe or real without it. Systems which exclude it on principle, and do not acknowledge or recognise it, by finding and providing opportunities for the gratification of the feeling, still are compelled, in spite of themselves, to find objects for it; still increase in reality only as they do admit the feeling, however unconsciously, or they send out their most devoted children to form themselves on a system of denial which they could not provide for them. Every body of schism has been marked at some time or other in its history, by strong features of self

thwarting, and sometimes even of asceticism, which the principles of the system did not acknowledge. Men of low schools within the Church now, belie their statement by their lives; they must have their day of denial and seclusion from pleasure, and because they are determined to strike out their own way, and to desert the Church's pathway, they make Sunday their fast-day instead of the day of our Blessed Lord's Passion. They imagine they are supported by Holy Scripture in this use of it; of course, they are not; it is the natural yearning after some one season of fixed denial set apart from the rest; it is the voice of nature calls them to it; they have mistaken a feast-day for a fast. The feeling which many devoted men, in this day, have about Sunday is simply created by this natural impulse; and the real reason why they are so indignant at any effort being made to uproot it, is, that they are jealous of the deep feeling within them being disturbed, which demands a season of stated denial: it is not that they have any deep reason for attaching this feeling to Sunday: had they been accustomed to attach the same feeling to Friday by the holy prejudice of education, they could have seen, still more strongly, the beauty and force of the rule. That feeling is not wrong: it is right; it is the voice of our moral nature, which will be heard. It is their object only which is wrong; we respect the feeling, we love it, and cherish it: only substitute the true object and means of gratifying it. Nay more, we could scarcely expect men to be different from what they are, considering the force and prevalence of the schools in which they have been brought up; and we can only desire the same devotedness of feeling and will in the sons of the Church towards herself.

Man is formed with a moral nature; with moral instincts within him, and it is a sign of the Church's divine origin that she alone is the system which takes them all in, and finds them safe vents. But denial needs indulgence, and fasting needs the holy Feast: the Church considers that, and provides her objects here, too: she takes hold of man altogether, and makes herself mistress of his every want and gratification. How beautifully is her year chequered with joy and sorrow. Feast and fast, gloom and glow. Lent succeeds the joy of Christmas. The triumph of Easter succeeds the deep abasement of the Passion. The calmness of practical life succeeds the season of the out-pouring of the Spirit, and precedes the contemplation of the second Advent. Here and there, throughout each season, the sorrow of denial is cheered by the day of her Lord's resurrection (no fast-day with her), and the days of her times of triumph are relieved by the days of Rogation, or the seasons of Ordination. Her very Festivals are solemnized by a Vigil. Her Vigils are suspended in the days of especial joy.

What other systems attempt so to answer and meet these wants inclinations—so to suit man's moral nature? Systems which fear iculcate systematic denial, which shrink from it in principle, immeely and without exception refuse their children joy too. The Fast

is unrecognised, and the Feast forbidden. The most social meetings are denounced as unlawful, and the most prominent part of their system is, the affixing a stigma to two or three amusements, in the use of which all are bad, and the refraining from which, is made the distinctive mark of holiness. The appetite may be indulged to excess, so as only certain marked pleasures are avoided. We are not passing a judgment on the nature of such amusements; we believe they are right in condemning them; but we blame the confined mode of viewing the whole condition of man, the utter unreality and insufficiency of the system. All man's wants must be acknowledged and guided in a system professing to be a moral one. "Nature has made nothing in vain."

It is the path of denial which leads the children of the Church to become the examples which she holds up to her succeeding generations, and is it not so that systems hostile to her do the same thing, though against their principles? They do venerate and elevate those among them who have been most marked by discipline and self-denial; they do not profess to canonize, but they do it without professing it.

They have their commemorative days of holy acts, though, in spite of themselves, they have their days of especial self-abasement and prayer, though the suggestion comes from individuals, and is not acknowledged a part, essentially, of their system: we are reminded forcibly of an exhortation yearly sent out from an individual, in the ranks of the low school in this day, to assemble for self-denial and general prayer on a given day in the year, which he seems to have forgotten to be already provided for by the Church. We venerate, as all must, the high and holy piety of the individual, in his exemplary devotion to the cause of his Master, but must use his yearly exhortation as an instrument to show the unreality of the objections of his own school to the Church system; when condemning her, they do the same.

And what is the consequence of the individual effort at denial? It produces self-sufficiency and pride: it must. A system hides the man: men acting in spite of systems must become prominent; too prominent for humility; so that the moral effect of the Church system, in her discipline of these desires in men, is manifest. She leads them to ends, and through these to God, by producing Humility. Hostile systems lead away from God, by leaving men to strike out solitary, unrecognised paths. In the one case, the individual is lost in the system for awhile, and comes out in the discovery of God; in the other, he walks alone, and consciously, prominently, in spite of his system.

It is manifest which must produce the better tone, morally.

Again. There is a contradiction of feelings in men in respect to love of sameness and restlessness: the one deeper than the other and constantly arresting the other. There is a love of restlessness men; they seek exciting things, and being roused by constant incit

ments; but they soon tire of it: it is an unreal state, and men find it so: they fall back on sameness and quiet, and continuing in "old paths." All may not; but it is, generally, circumstances, not the character of the individual, which prevents his reaching the conviction of the true beauty of a settled state. We hear men who have gone through a course of excitement, express their longing after quiet—their value of it when they have gained it: the old express it constantly; the young inwardly, and occasionally feel its truth, when they do not act upon it. The Church sees and provides for this; she continually arouses her children and answers the want; they are stirred up by her Festivals and days of especial Contemplation, by her use of Preaching; but she sees and knows this is not the deep longing in man, which is to be most attended to and answered: she bids them fall back on the calm monotony of her Daily Prayer. There is a soothing influence in this; a freedom from excitement which all who know it love. It seems to expect and soothe the awe which the objects of religion must wear to the soul; it prepares men for the solemn and terrible in the things of God. Excitement in religion raises the awful without allaying it.

Men are not conscious of it at the moment frequently: we often do not know the real effect of excitement till it is past. If men consider it, they will see that excitement in religion has always left an indefinite awe behind; a sense that the feeling of excitement has been unduly exerted; that the object of it was beyond it; that it was a feeling unworthy of its object;—the latter was too great, too vast to bear such a mode of approach. It is one which is met by the calm monotony of Daily Prayer, where the truth of the object is taken for granted, and no farther search into it allowed; where it is made the ground-work of devotional exercise, the unquestioned and uninvestigated subject of constant Prayer. It seems to enable us to meet the solemnities of God without undue terror; it allays the feverish excitement, and consequent terror and suspense of frequent search, and forms in men a humble, devout habit of mind. It strengthens Faith, for it takes for granted; and nothing so strengthens Faith as taking its object for granted. We appeal to men who have tried it, to answer to the truth of what we have said. That men do fall back on it, as the more real of the two states, we appeal to the fact, that while the services, attendance at which is made to depend on the excitement of Preaching, are awhile attended with eagerness, and services which are divested of everything save the act of "monotonous" devotion are little used or valued at first. On the other hand, the attendance on the former gradually dwindles away, and that on the other, by degrees, becomes more settled, more frequent, and more devoted. Men do really love and yearn after sameness. It is tedious and irksome in the end, though at the time pleasing, to undergo excitement. How truly the Church has seen and answered this part of man's constitution! She becomes the calm home of her children in all their troubles going through this scene of strife;

she is the same, though they change; she alters not, however altered they may be; she recalls her children, by the oft-heard voice of Daily Prayer, to leave the world and come to God. Who can say the tranquil peace created by returning, day after day, at the same hour, to the same house, to say and hear the same words? We return there and find the Spirit we have too often lost in intercourse with the world. It becomes the home and centre of association: it recalls us to our better self. We go there when friends are cold, and are led to One who never changes; we go there in sorrow, and her sentences fall into accents of sympathy and comfort; we go there in prosperity, and the echo of sorrow has not left her walls; we are reminded to rejoice with trembling; her sorrow is sweet, her joy softened; we go there when our hearts are cold, and tinged with the world's spirit, and we find the power of our warmer feelings, our closer communion, still clinging to her prayers and exhortations, still bound up, as it were, to her very stones, and we are melted into tenderness again. When we have grown worldly, the Prayer we used in sorrow brings us back, for it is the same Prayer, the same Power still, though we have changed; the words we sent up with fervour, in our days of deeper devotion, again arouse the feeling when it has fled from our mind. She is in every tone, form, and detail, the sweet and kind remembrancer of better things. On the ear of Death, the same voice falls which claimed us at Baptism, and cheered us ever since. She is one voice with many tones; but whether the tone sink on the room of sickness or death, whether it fall on the unconscious sense of infancy, or the opening mind of youth at Confirmation, or whether it consecrate the changes of life, or call us to oft Communion, it is the same sweet Mother's voice, recognised through the medium of its thousand tones.

But this view emerges into another point in connexion with the Church's objective system: her power of Association. There is a feeling and tendency within us which is met by the objects of association. The Church gives them and arranges them: she has a strange power to do this; her home is the home of ages; her children the offspring of successive generations. Every object which usually calls out our feeling of Association, she has to a large degree, and these are real feelings within us, and will find their objects somewhere. Tones of music carry us back to times, feelings, and men, with whom we first heard them; and the Church's music is bound up with Liturgies of almost Apostolic days—with the last hours of Martyrs, and the sameness of her children's destiny through many a hundred years. Words and forms of speech strangely wind themselves around men who used them; Martyrs, Confessors, and Bishops of long past days, in some cases, even Apostles, have consecrated her forms by their usage. The sorrows of her children, in other days, were comforted by the same words which comfort us, and their doubts were guided, their joys softened by the same voice which speaks to men of to-da Her very architecture has become a frame-work by which she en

bodies the doctrines of her Creed, and her Creeds are still continuing echoes of her Œcumenic Councils. We use the forms which the blood of holy men has given down to us unimpaired; and while we love the form, we think of the hand which gave it us, sealed with its blood.

Nor is its Associative Power confined to the days before us. It is also bound up with the scenes and days gone by of our own existence. It speaks to us, not only as members of one Body, but as individuals made up of successive periods of existence. She is our Mother. She had our first love, and heard it often repeated at her altar, and will speak to us with an accustomed love at our last hours. The words of the covenant of Baptism. Her daily prayers are the links of the chain which links the first with the last day of our life, reminding us of the sameness of our being, and that the highest view of sameness is our connexion with God. When we are worldly, she calls us back to love. When we are friendless, she calls us back to friends who are still in her bosom, or tells us she is the home and friend of the lonely. When we are changeable, we see her the same; she calms us when we are excited and troubled. When the world has touched us with its icy hand, she melts its grasp with the recollection of the simplicity of childhood, of the trusted truth of her Catechising, of the fresh energy of her Confirmation. She remains simple: she reminds us we were simple once, when we, perhaps, have almost forgotten simplicity. The feelings we had at the dying hours of those we loved, and the changes in us they made, which the world has perhaps chilled; but we go back to her and she re-opens the fountain of tears which had dried up, and places us again by the side of those whom the world would have us forget. Their spirits are still with her, and we find them there. Her oft Communion is Communion with them. Her Creeds are a word about them; the world would have us forget them when we left them; but she continues on through the dying hour: with her it was but a change from one state to another. All this belongs to her Associative Power; these and a thousand more are the objects she offers to our feelings, which yearn after Association: feelings which will, which must, have a home; other systems do not attempt to find one. She does. In doing so, does she not consecrate a natural desire to God? Does she not, in the mean time, refine and chasten the whole character, intellectual and moral?

We might pursue this subject much further; it spreads itself into the development of every feeling, intellectual and moral. The Church is the objective system, which answers to, and receives, the imagination and the intellectual powers generally. It refines and draws out the innate elements of what we call taste, which is a combination of the development of a moral and an intellectual principle. It satisfies and offers objects to our love of arts, receives and disciplines, as in the bosom of a mother, every talent her children possess, and helps them to improve them. She is the system which does this, which was meant to do this; she makes the "five talents" ten, and the "two" two other beside them.

We might see how she offers objects to other moral affections beyond what we have referred to; but we forbear.

Our object has been to show that there being feelings, affections, and tendencies within us which will find objects to which they are suited in the external world, it is the work of any system professing to be one, which governs our moral nature, to provide fit objects. The Church should do this: it is her office; and more, she does this, *i. e.* we find as matter of fact, that her system does find a place for every such innate affection. Men do not recognise this, because her system is not worked out. In the lack of her practice, other systems have crept in and usurped her place; have offered themselves to different parts of man, some to one, some to another—systems of schism; but they, being unauthorized and weak, have misdirected and injured man's moral powers. Their perfection consists not only in their use, but in their right use.

Low schools in the Church have done much the same as these systems; have supplied the want of the Church's practical system by inventions of their own. The point we reach is this; that those feelings which impel sectarians and "Low Church" men in the pursuit of their distinctive ends, are right feelings, their objects only are wrong: they exist at all, only because the Church has so little practically existed. We cannot drive them out otherwise than indirectly; the Church must answer to what man wants, and then there will be no room for rival systems. As she rises in her strength, other systems will sink from view. They are, many of them, and in many respects, subjectively right, and objectively wrong; we say "many," because, of course, some are essentially, inherently wrong, in intention and subject. But, so far as each one has been built on the deficiency of the Church's practical system, she may remedy the difficulty in the way just alluded to.

Let parish priests open the Confessional, and Wesleyanism will lose its power; let our Churches be open for Daily Prayer, and "prayer-meetings" will cease to be; let her Ministers live and die for her flock, and dissenting teachers will either enter her bosom, or fall back into the position of mere political agitators. Let her but put forth the energies which are in her; let her make her priests feel, as Rome did, and does, that one soul is worth a life's devotion, that they are but members of a mighty Body, that they are not to estimate their "professional" success by "getting preferment," but by bringing, if it be but one soul, well tended, to the bar of judgment. Let her do this, and the "Evangelicals" will give the zeal they now give to a rival, to the Church.

Would that men would see this! would that the Church, through her teachers, would always see, love, and cherish warmth and ardour wherever they exist, and make them her own! Would that they were never passed by, and allowed to swell the ranks of dissent! Would that she would consecrate every power to herself; would gather together all that is beautiful in nature, and send it forth, hallowed, to her holy work! Would that every line of disposition, whether tendi

to reserve or openness, to warmth or caution; whatever is strong, whatever is ardent, "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely" in man, might be taken by her as her own, and we might again see triumphs as mighty, though in a more truly Catholic cause, as India once witnessed under the teaching of St. Francis, or Europe under the devoted perseverance of St. Ignatius Loyola, or St. Charles Borromeo.

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1. "*The Way which some call Heresy;*" *or Reasons for a Separation from the Established Church. A Letter to the Christians of Hull. By* ANDREW JUKES, *formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge, and late Assistant Curate of St. John's, Hull.* London: Whittaker and Co.; Jackson and Walford. 1844.
2. *An Examination of a Pamphlet, entitled "The Tendency of Church Principles, so called, to Romanism, &c." By the* REV. F. CLOSE, A.M. *Incumbent of Cheltenham.* London: Rivingtons. 1844.

WHEN the Eternal City was struggling into infant greatness, her inward contentions afforded a singular example of what has often been exhibited in the history of mankind. The tribune might press his veto upon the senate, might withstand the consul, even menace the dictator, while crowds of ignorant plebeians cheered on the Licinius or Icilius of the day. But no sooner awoke the cry—"The Volsci are at the gates," than all was changed. The sullen tribune withdrew his complaint, organic changes of constitution were suspended, the chiefs strode forth in the paludamentum, the youth threw down the toga to grasp their arms; the temple of Janus was thrown open;

> "Ipse, Quirinali trabeâ cinctuque Gabino
> Insignis, reserat stridentia limina consul;"

and any obstinate reformer, who refused to sacrifice his scruples to the general voice, was in danger of being surrendered by his own friends to the incensed lictors, and of bleeding, if not under their axes, at least under their rods. In this unfortunate condition do we find the Rev. Andrew Jukes, formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge, and late assistant curate of St. John's, Hull; and not merely from the curiosity of the spectacle, but to secure him fairer play than he seems to meet with from his old associates, we must beg a few minutes' attention from our readers.

It is now exactly ten years since the Clergy of Hull came abroad as Church reformers. They might, perhaps, have done so without observation, but for the unpleasant notoriety of a cutting article in the Quarterly, generally attributed to the pen of the redoubted Croker. It is infinitely amusing to see the *naïveté* with which (in a phlet, descriptive, if we rightly remember, of the warfare between) they express their deep regret at the contemptuous manner in

which this gentleman described their proceedings,—" that let him collect the Asini together, and they would batter one another to pieces with their own heels."

But it was not even the sarcastic pen of Croker which suspended their proceedings. For no sooner had they published their proposals for an alteration of the Liturgy, containing, if we rightly remember, changes in the Daily Service and Athanasian Creed, in the services for Marriage, Burial, Confirmation, Visitation of the Sick, and especially in that for Baptism, than at that very moment was heard a blast as fatal to Puritan innovations as that of Coriolanus himself to the different intruders upon the tranquillity of the republic. For then awoke those ancient principles of Anglican Churchmanship, which, sounding forth from the venerable walls of Oxford, have rung through the utmost limits of our land; then arose the memorable question, " If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?" Not Thames alone, or Medway, but " Humber loud that keeps the Scythian's name," re-echoed to the inquiry. At its sound the reforming tendencies of the Hull Clergy were suspended. In the awful cry of " Puseyism at the gates," every other died away: probably they have themselves almost forgotten that ten years back they wished to re-model the constitution and services of the Church. They perceive that there are two sides to the question of Church reform; they perceive that alterations must be measured, not by a show of hands, but by their accordance with the Scriptures of truth. As, in every period, the popular errors are to be especially avoided, they must see that at the Reformation the prevalent dangers of superstition were to be peculiarly counteracted: against them, therefore, our reformers made their chief protest. The same principles would now dictate a corresponding fear of irreverence and unbelief. These are notoriously the evils of our own day. Did men believe in Transubstantiation under Elizabeth? under Victoria they openly deny the Divinity of Christ. Did our fathers kneel at the precincts of a church?—their sons enter it without uncovering. Was their day without knowledge?—ours is without faith. If we make changes, therefore, let them be adapted to the times. Let us guard against the predominant errors; it were as wise to give stimulants in a fever, as to bleed the patient who sinks from inanition.

These considerations have induced the Puritan party among us to let well enough alone. " Let us get rid," they say, " of the Puseyites, and be contented, in the meantime, with the standards of our Reformation. Till then we must be satisfied with eulogizing the Prayer Book: happy if we can be allowed to go on, as we have hitherto done, without obeying it. True, the Reformers bade us use its prayers daily; they established a complete system of observances, against which our common habits are a permanent revolt; they ordered us to fast on Friday and in Lent; they joined certain Church Festivals; but to yield them such deference

would be too troublesome a service: it is easier to pay them by commendations and neglect: if we do not regard their words, we subscribe to the Parker Society."

In this manner has the cry of Church Reform subsided in the Puritan camp. From the distant shores of the Humber not a note of it has reached us for years; the cry of defection is turned altogether in a different direction; and small, therefore, is the favour afforded to the inconvenient adherent who comes forth to recall their ancient war-cry, and prove that the *Hull heresy* is still as dangerous as the heresy of Oxford. This seems to be keenly felt by Mr. Jukes:— "With regard to the errors in doctrine, which have so liberally been ascribed to me, I will only say that I hold all the errors, if errors they be, which I have preached and taught among you during the year that is past;" *i. e.* while he was curate of St. John's. (Page 102.) Of the steps which led to his apostasy, little is said in his pamphlet; but he implies in page 6, that it was in consequence of "communications which passed between the Archbishop (of York) and myself." Not having seen this correspondence, we are unable to pronounce upon its exact tendency, but we cannot refrain from congratulating the Northern Province on the rule of a prelate whom his advanced years do not render unmindful of the vows of his consecration, to drive away all doctrine contrary to God's word. That such was Mr. Jukes's unhappy situation, is but too apparent; he states that, while ministering at Hull, he was "assisted by the hands of others into that very position of separation from the Establishment, which, under God, I had determined to take for myself."

We do not wish to attribute dishonesty to Mr. Jukes; we conclude that his mind was not made up at once on the grave question which decided him; we suppose he hesitated till his resolutions were complete; but we wish he had told us whether many of his brethren are in the same predicament; whether they have "determined to take for themselves a position of separation from the Establishment," and are only awaiting time and tide. Now, we really do not believe that such an imputation against them would be well founded: our conviction is, that while things go on as they are, no defection is meditated by this party as a body; but we ask the question, because it may be put with exactly the same fairness as it has been in a different quarter, because Mr. Jukes is as good a specimen of a Puritan, as Mr. Seager of a Tractarian divine. Did Mr. Seager teach Hebrew at Oxford? Mr. Jukes was Hulsean prizeman at Cambridge. And really Mr. Seager is the only person of note whose defection can be alleged against the Tractarian party; what Mr. Sibthorp is none seems to know but himself: and, strangely enough, he belongs to both members in this contrast; for, though a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, he commenced his ministry under Mr. Scott, of Hull. Now, belonging ourselves to neither party, we have no wish to raise suspicions against either which may realize themselves, but we maintain that the balance of danger is by no means on the "Tractarian" side. The

changes which the Hull Clergy proposed in our Liturgy are far more sweeping and deadly than any which have been suggested by Dr. Pusey. He asks only a return to the rules of the Reformers, they claim their abandonment; he asks to reduce our practice to our laws—a settled, and therefore determinable standard; they wish to mould our laws by the capricious and indefinite rule of individual practice. For our part, we think that if either demand is to be heard, that of the "Tractarians" is a thousand times the least dangerous. It alters no standard; it unfixes no established test; it does not commit us to a course of interminable mutability; it does not shake the ancient affection by which long generations have been bound in one happy consent to our Book of Common Prayer. Let the Puritan party, then, remember the movement of ten years ago; let them be more cautious in their imputations; let them perceive that men may continue members of a Church without asserting the infallibility of its founders; and, above all, let them listen to Mr. Jukes's comments on the ultimate nature of those opinions, of which some of them, at all events, are in danger.

Mr. Jukes's reasons for his separation from the Church may be classed under two heads; one grounded on the evils which attend, or are alleged to attend, its connexion with the State—the other, his repugnance to admit the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. When he refers to the neglect of Church Discipline, which he classes under the former, we admit that he touches a sore, which, if we thought as his friends do, that the Church was a mere voluntary association, might raise a question whether we should not follow his example. But he forgets, apparently, that the same evil applies in some measure to all the dissenting bodies, which are lamentably wanting in, though not altogether destitute of, any Discipline: and that, moreover, the Clergy of his own party have been as negligent as their neighbours in enforcing that measure of Church Discipline which we still possess. Our great remaining weapons of Church Discipline are the Commination Service and the exaction of legal notice "at least some time the day before" from such as intend to be communicants. Were these things brought permamently forward; were the Bishops petitioned to allow the use of the Commination Service on additional occasions; were our people shown that no persons openly immoral would be received at the altar; they would be prepared for an increased measure of Church Discipline, and the means which we possess would be efficiently employed. Till existing means are used, it is idle to ask for additional. Till the Puritan party use the Commination Service, and demand due notice from communicants, let them cease to murmur at the neglected discipline of the Church. How far this may be done at Hull we know not, but the ordinary practice of the low Church party does not warrant any very favourable expectations. Mr. Jukes's other complaint is, that the Queen is recognised as head of the Church He asks with great justice, "How is it that what is so evil in the

Pope, is right in the supreme governor of the realm of England?" (Page 71.) But why does he not do the Church that justice which he asks for himself. "Let me be judged," he exclaims, "by what I say for myself, and not by what others say for me." Now, where does the Church call the temporal Sovereign her head? Henry the Eighth, no doubt, claimed this title; but it was solemnly renounced at the settlement of the Church of England in the time of Elizabeth. We can hardly doubt that Mr. Jukes must know this, since, looking around for an authority for his assertion, he can find none but the work of a foreigner, De Lolme, on the British Constitution. We could have helped him to another: Blackstone says the same thing. But is the Church responsible for a lawyer's errors? Where do the obnoxious words occur in the Prayer Book? In what canon are they included? What council of our Bishops has accepted them? What formulary of our Church have they defaced?

But Mr. Jukes will say, perhaps, that though the Queen is not called the head of the Church, yet she is supreme ruler in all causes; and is she not in all causes which affect the Dissenters?

Where was the question decided respecting Lady Hewley's trustees? Who secures their meeting-houses to the Wesleyan Conference? Who guards the conventicles of the Plymouth brethren? The regal power is the representative of that brute-force which is the "*ultima ratio*" among the sons of men: it is a sort of algebraic expression, in which club-law conceals its nakedness, and when it is said that the Queen is supreme in all causes, no greater headship is claimed over the Church than over any body of sectaries: questions really spiritual, though the Queen sees that attention is paid to them, are not decided in her Majesty's courts, or by laws of her enactment. Who shall receive Holy Orders; who shall have commission to minister Sacraments; these are points which spiritual persons alone decide. True, the Queen appoints to bishoprics, as the representative of those who endowed them. This, but for the persecuting Præmunire acts, some among the best of us would not object to more than to any other case of lay-patronage. And as it is, what is there which interferes with Episcopal succession so much as the intrusion of Asmonæan or Roman power did with the appointment of the High Priest?

But we leave this subject to touch on one which Mr. Jukes handles with more relish and greater ability—the Baptismal Service. His main topic is an attack upon his brethren of the low Church party for using language which they disbelieve. This he expresses with a force and pungency not unnatural for a mind to which the festering sore of conscious dishonesty had at length become intolerable. What he especially exposes is that monstrous quibble of a hypothetical sense, by which he says that the majority of his party bring themselves to *assert* the regeneration of those whom they do not believe to be regenerate.

"'Charity hopeth all things,' and may you not defend the service under this shield? I say, No: This scripture will not shelter you here. If you

'*hope*' the regeneration of the child, say you *hope* it: charity may defend you in this; but charity will never justify you in saying what is not the case. In truth, to a simple mind the matter is very simple: the only question is, do we, when we *say* these words, *believe* that the child is then and there 'regenerate,' or do we not? If not, why do we say it? I cannot but feel that to have the least feeling of insincerity on such an occasion,—to have the least approach to professing what we doubt in such connexion as this,—to tell God what we do not believe, this is nothing less than to carry the works of darkness into the very presence of the God of light, and thrillingly brings to mind the solemn charge that was laid against Ananias,—'Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.' And now, to exchange all this cloud of hypothesis and assumption for the simple daylight of fact and truth, let me put one single question to the advocates of this method of interpreting the Prayer Book. It is this: Do you, or do you not, *say* of every child you baptize, that it is then and there 'regenerate with the Holy Ghost?' Yes, or no? Your answer must be, Yes. Do you then *believe* of every child that you baptize, that it is then and there 'regenerate with the Holy Ghost?' Yes, or no? Your answer must be, No. You cannot, and, by your own confession, you do not, believe that every baptized infant is so regenerate. Then, can any explanation, hypothetical or otherwise, justify you in telling God what you do not believe? One would have thought not; and yet in a solemn religious ordinance you *say* more than once of every child you baptize, that it is 'regenerate,' and all the while you do not believe the fact which you assert so positively."

Singularly enough, while this subject is before us, we see in one of the newspapers a very able letter, written to the Rev. A. T. Carr, who still advocates, it seems, this very error, which Mr. Jukes has exposed in the adjoining town of Beverley. But what Mr. Jukes's conscience will not allow him to utter in St. John's Church, Hull, is still uttered by Mr. Carr in St. John's Chapel, Beverley.

"I am most anxious," says Mr. Hildyard,* "not to misrepresent you, but I cannot be mistaken in what I now say; for I have heard you, on many occasions, explain yourself to this effect. I have heard you declare from the pulpit, that 'infants might be taken to the font and baptized, and brought away again, and yet remain exactly in the same spiritual condition they were at first.' I am quoting your very words. I have heard you repeatedly affix the hypothetic sense to the Baptismal Service, and represent that infants *may* be regenerated in Baptism, but that it by no means follows that they *are* so; even though the ceremony be performed by a minister legally appointed and duly qualified. I pledge myself to the accuracy of these statements, though they may be denied by your friends, who did not, which I did, hear the words uttered."

We cannot help wishing that these gentlemen would settle the matter together; the plain honesty of our Yorkshire brethren must, we think, be outraged when that is practised at Beverley which at Hull is admitted not to be consistent with the rule of honesty. Other persons besides Mr. Jukes will be ready to say, "I can never be certain that I am in the right way between Beverley and Hull."—(Page 82.)

But our object in adducing these arguments from Mr. Jukes, is not to expose the dishonesty of those who adopt his views but not his example, but our hope that there are men to be found with

* A Letter to the Rev. A. T. Carr, M.A., respecting a Sermon preached by him in St. John's Chapel, Beverley, by the Rev. W. Hildyard, M.A.

whom the authority of the Reformers, if not of the whole Catholic Church, is of some weight, who will inquire, therefore, with more fairness than Mr. Jukes has done, whether a modern tradition is entitled to throw overboard at once all the formularies of antiquity. This question Mr. Jukes has never asked; it evidently has never occurred to him whether, after all, the Church may not be right, and he himself in error. Mr. Jukes is one of those gentlemen who make one exception in their protest against the doctrine of infallibility. Fathers, Councils, Apostles, Martyrs,—all these, he is convinced, are liable to error. He observes, in rather a flippant manner, that the low Church "defenders of the Baptismal Service are clearly guilty of saying what is not the case, and the only way they have to justify this is, by proving that Apostles have done the like."—(Page 37.) But to all uncertainty there is one exception; there is one person who need look no further a-field in search of his opinions; one man in the world, as the saying is, has swallowed a Pope, and has all his infallibility quick within him.

For the sake, however, of less presumptuous reasoners, over whom modern traditions have not gained undisputed control, we will say a few words on the real difference between the assertions of our Church and Puritanism; for it is on this question of Baptismal Regeneration that the contest between the Socinian and Catholic belief—between Neology and the Scriptures—must ultimately be waged. The fault of the ministers of St. John's, Hull, and St. John's, Beverley, is, in reality, nothing less than this—they want Faith. To whatsoever is unseen, they refuse credence. They judge only by sight and sense; and to this rule they submit the ordinances of God. Our Lord has long ago declared that this was the great difficulty by which the question of Regeneration would ever be embarrassed. "Marvel not that I said unto you, Ye must be born again." Yet a periodical writer, who calls himself a "Christian Observer," can express in the following words the swelling of his heart against the humbling declarations of Scripture. "The absurdity—the irrational fanaticism—the intellectual drivelling, under the abused name of Faith, which dictates such sentiments, must disgust every intelligent man, and make him an infidel, if he is really led to believe that Christianity is a system so utterly opposed to common sense." We know not to what particular opinions these words refer, but they are adduced by Mr. Jukes as justifying his own general line of argument. To what then do they amount, but to the denial, on the part of this unhappy man, of that present influence of God's grace, which, independently of our cooperation, corrects the malignant influence of the Fall, and reinstates men in that position of privilege and communion of which Adam's guilt deprived him? "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all Christians are made alive." The loss of our first parents was evidently the deprivation of a miraculous principle dwelling within, which is called in Scripture, God's image. Now, till this is restored, what appeal can be made to men

as being possessors of that divine nature which enables them to live to God? True, there is a measure of grace even among the heathen, else were their sins excusable; but the Son of Man "lighteth every one." But an especial grace rests upon Christians, whose very children are holy, (1 Cor. vii. 14,) and who must be dealt with, therefore, as hallowed even from their youngest years. This is so obviously the system of the Church, that no partial alteration could get rid of its declarations. The Hull clergy, ten years ago, thought that they could swallow the Catechism better if they might be allowed to leave out the assertion made by every child, that the Holy Ghost sanctifieth *me*. Omit, they said, the word *me*. But Mr. Jukes truly observes, that the statement that children are in any way members of the Church, is equally incompatible with the tenets of Puritanism; and had he been consistent, he would have seen, also, how idle were his cavils respecting the interrogations addressed to infants at their baptism. Allow them to be baptized at all, and the questions to the sponsors are a natural consequence. For does not the act of bringing children to be baptized, imply an intention to devote them to God's service? Does it not show that they are accepted as members of the Church on the authority of others? The answers of the sponsors, therefore, are but an interpretation of their actions. They do but endow with speech the acted dedication. They are the expression of the otherwise mute language of symbolical representation. And so they are explained in the latter part of the Catechism, added forty years after the customs of the Church had been finally settled; to object, therefore, to them, is to object to the theory of Infant Baptism. This is consistent in Mr. Jukes, who appears to have become an Anabaptist; but it is no new and independent objection, and is altogether idle, therefore, when adduced as a substantial difficulty.

We come back, then, to the main principle of the Church; that men are born in sin, and under God's wrath, and that, till a new principle be introduced into their moral nature, all exhortations to live christian lives are a mockery. Now, as we know not when evil begins to diffuse itself through the infant mind, so neither can we tell when Baptismal grace begins to operate; so much only we are assured, "that as we have borne the image of the earthy, we must also bear the image of the heavenly." And further, this grace comes to us, as we are told, "by the washing of regeneration;" we must be born "of water and the Spirit." "Baptism doth now save us;" like the apostle, we must "be baptized and wash away our sins." Now, since Christ is the second Father and new Adam of the human race, it is by being engrafted into Him, that all this takes its beginning. "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body." By this mysterious act the image of God is renewed; a re-creation takes place, a re-formation in Him. Why men should refuse to admit this in the case of a child, since it is a process altogether above reason, it seems difficult to discern. Was

not John Baptist filled with the Holy Ghost from the womb? Is a bud harder to engraft than a bough? The truth is, that the real question is not whether children can be regenerate, but whether there be such a thing as regeneration at all in the Scripture sense of it. The Socinian party in the Church have never admitted that, in Christians, is implanted a new nature, superior to that general help of God's Spirit, by which all good men, in any dispensation, are possessed. They do not believe that, great as are many Old Testament saints, "he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than" they. They estimate men by actual height, and not by situation. They esteem nothing of privilege, place, opportunity, favour. They are ignorant of the great mystery of the election of God. And with this heresy, what is called by courtesy the Evangelical party (strange as it may seem) is largely infected. Take this proof, that though predestination and election are so frequently dwelt upon in holy writ, they either say nothing on these momentous subjects, or explain them in such a manner as to be inconsistent with the responsibility of men. Now, all this issues in their representing God's grace as nothing but an auxiliary to the moral powers, by which their proper efficacy is strengthened. Regeneration is as though a light which would burn faintly in common air, was transfused into oxygen. They take it not as the renewing of God's image, as the implanting a Divine seed, as a positive gift of superhuman nature, which may be lost, indeed, as it was by the first man, but for which every baptized Christian is accountable. To enter fully into this subject would require a volume; enough that we enter our protest against the Socinianism of the day.

And so fully has the Church of England entered her protest against it, so completely does the doctrine of grace pervade her formularies, that it is impossible that anything can be more complete than Mr. Jukes's demolition of those who would call themselves Churchmen, and deny it. None of his brethren, as far as we see, have ventured upon the slightest vindication of their position; they feel, probably, how hopeless would be the attempt. Indeed, the only kind of justification which was alleged by the Hull Clergy, if we remember right, ten years ago, was, that the twenty-seventh Article taught that Baptism and Regeneration did not always go together. To this Mr. Jukes refers, observing, that none are regenerated but those who are *rightly* baptized, and that the effect of Baptism is, that "faith is confirmed, not given; grace is increased, not bestowed."

Let us see what this objection amounts to. It is at most but an argument against the Church's consistency—an attempt to destroy their assailants with themselves. If the Baptismal Service, they say, condemns us, so do the Articles condemn you. Now that the Twenty-seventh Article does not expressly assert Baptismal Regeneration, we fully admit; it was formed as a guard against errors, when this doctrine was not denied; any one who observes the casual manner in which ptismal Regeneration is asserted in the Homilies, as well as the Ninth

Article, where *renatis* is translated "baptized," will perceive that it was not as yet a point of controversy. But what says the Twenty-seventh Article itself? Does it deny the doctrine? On the contrary, it rather implies it. It states the abstract advantages of Baptism to be increased grace, confirmed faith, and adoption among God's children. These are admitted to attend the baptism of adults when rightly received. But in the case of children arises a difficulty. It is impossible, after the example of John the Baptist, to deny them the possibility of grace of adoption; but with Faith, *i. e.* in the sense which the term bears in the Article, we see not what they have to do. But lest this peculiarity should lead men to suppose that they are not *right* receivers, the Article concludes with a positive assertion that they ought to be admitted. What possible reason is there here for denying the presence of those gifts which in the Baptismal Service are asserted? There is no reference to the manner how, or time when, these gifts are bestowed. If the Church had enjoined that grace before meat should be said aloud, and added that, unless men publicly returned thanks, they could not expect to be benefited by God's blessings, and a caution had been added, that, notwithstanding, men who were dumb might partake of food, would it be reasonable to conclude that the general assertion that men who were silent could not be benefited by what they eat, was still applicable? If the objection were valid, it would exclude them, not from nourishment only, but from table; and such an use of the Article is, in like manner, an argument not against infant regeneration, but against infant baptism.

The mistake seems to be, that men do not distinguish between what is not affirmed, and what is positively denied. When Baxter lived at Acton, during the five mile act, a person who asserted that he was five miles distant from London would have said the truth, and he who denied it would have been guilty of falsehood; and yet the first party would have said less than he might, for Acton was then six miles from the Metropolis; even so the assertor of Baptismal Regeneration is not discrepant from the Twenty-seventh Article, though he implies something beyond its assertions, whereas the denier of that doctrine is at variance with the Baptismal Service, in which such additional truth is plainly maintained.

Now, if such be the peculiar blessings of the Christian covenant, it is manifest enough that to be a member of the Church is the greatest of earthly advantages. And here we see the reason why such men as Mr. Jukes are led so readily into schism. They have not so much as heard whether there be such a thing as the Church of God; the blessed company of the redeemed—the earthly fellowship of their Saviour—the exalted band, gathered out of the whole world, for whose sake the universe is spared, with whom dwells God's Spirit;—they look upon it but as an union bank, or a railroad company, or, at best, but as a charitable association formed by human agents, and gauge it only by the test of a worldly expediency. Duty—

obligation—filial love—godly submission—these enter not into their list of duties to the Bride of Christ. They have been trained to think disobedience a virtue: they know not that against this, just as much as against any other institution of God, rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Mr. Jukes gives the five reasons by which his friends at Hull have endeavoured to prevent his apostasy. These reasons are—1st, That other good men have managed to reconcile their consciences to the objectionable language of the Church; 2dly, That all arguments are fallible; 3dly, That those who have left the Church have often done worse; 4thly, That every system has its faults; and 5thly, That he might do more good by remaining where he was.

And is this the kind of language which is fitting towards the disobedient son who is lifting his hand against his parent, and casting off the privileges of his Father's mansion? Either the Church is God's household, or it is not. If not, then every portion of her formularies is erroneous; if she is, this is not the language which should be employed towards her rebels. If she is not Jerusalem which is from above, then why does she excommunicate those who reject her doctrines, and recognise no Christian fold in the country save her own? If she is, why palliate the sin of apostasy?

We are well satisfied that many a man besides Mr. Jukes has forfeited the Church's blessings from this timorous, unfaithful, dishonest poltroonery on the part of her children. How can they possibly defend her, save on her own terms? To what profit is it to disguise her in the tinsel dress of a voluntary society? The lofty language and majestic port of the Mother of Israel will of necessity appear, and put those to shame, who, for a present interest, would conceal her character. There is something in a good man's nature, which asks for the presence among us of a divine system; there is much in Scripture which positively affirms it; and when men will not claim her due place for the Church of Christ, what wonder if they leave the throne open to any chance pretender. If the true Queen will not assume her place, can we marvel that the Titaness Mutability steps forth to challenge the empire.

> "Boldly she bid the goddess down descend,
> And let herself into that ivory throne;
> For she herself more worthy thereof wend,
> And better able it to guide alone;
> Whether to men, whose fall she did bemoan,
> Or unto gods, whose state she did malign."

Alas! how many have been the worshippers of this uncertain idol; how has the world been agitated by doubt, debate, change, and division, since the fair unity and majestic glories of the Bride of Christ have been obscured among us! What deep evils have arisen from Romish usurpation and Puritan insubordination! How do they corrupt the very sources of truth, and block up the path of restoration!

That Mr. Jukes is among those who have suffered from this

neglect, we cannot question. There is something in his work which we recognise as an evident homage to truth, as a yearning after those realities of Christ's kingdom, which he has failed to discern.

"O that the Lord's people may be led to understand more of this, and so learn to feel for the Church, as a Church, as well as for themselves as isolated individuals! How soon would this set them free from the union-destroying and spirit-dividing systems of men! But how few do this! It seems sufficient for the majority of Christians to have communion with God for themselves, to seek their own separation from the world, and to desire their own holiness, while the separateness and communion of the Church, as a Church, is wholly forgotten."—P. 73.

Surely the man who thus writes is not far from the kingdom of God. If we may hazard a conjecture, we should say that he had mistaken the true manner of cure; he has forgotten that "he that will do of His will, shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." Now, while he was a member of the Church, he plainly owed her obedience; but did he act on this principle? We do not presume to speak positively respecting his private life, but, so far as this pamphlet leads us, we are compelled to doubt it. We would remind Mr. Jukes, that the Church, to which he owed obedience, as a minister, and of which, while yet a layman, he ought to have been the submissive son, imposes certain duties on its members. It implies the duty of fasting and prayer. On its ministers are these things still more incumbent. A voluntary promise of submission makes their neglect inexcusable. We repeat it, that we do not speak from knowledge; but the list lately published in the papers does not include St. John's, Hull, as a place where this promise of the clergy to obey the Church is fulfilled. We read there of no daily prayers. Nor does Mr. Jukes speak of any attempt to cast out the demon of unbelief by that method which our Lord suggested.

Now, can we wonder that a youth of disobedience should issue in an age of rebellion? Suppose a child to question the legality of some command of its parents, should we not, in the first place, inquire, whether in common he had been docile, child-like, and dutiful? If we found, on the contrary, that he had neglected simple and obvious obligations,—had refused submission in things clearly lawful,—had indicated a contemptuous and ungovernable spirit,—should we not put down his conduct less to the strength of his conscience than the violence of his will, and hint, perhaps, at that weapon with which the law of God has armed parental authority?

We are far from wishing that the Church should have recourse to the same remedy; we wish her to "come not with a rod, but in the spirit of meekness." We have no desire to see persecution revived. We leave the Church's rebellious children to the ultimate judgment of her King. But we would that persons like Mr. Jukes would try the remedy of obedience, rather than cast themselves on that mere exercise of the intellectual faculties, which is often their greatest danger. A young man of decent parts, and Mr. Jukes is really not wanting in cleverness, living in a contracted circle, where

he gives harder blows than he receives, the oracle, probably, of a few simple admirers, is in peculiar danger from the temptations of vanity. Tell him that he is to make out a system for himself by sheer argument, that with such a slight knowledge of our divines as he obviously possesses, he is to set himself down as the test and scale of truth, to allow nothing which he has not fully ascertained, and practise nothing till he understands its value, and unless God's grace especially interferes, you ensure his ruin. But let such a man be contented to practise for a time what he is commanded; let him live in obedience to the Church's rule; let him pray, fast, and study, and we may hope to see the refining influences of her holy system, in the patience, humility, and wisdom, of his advancing years. This is, after all, the only course on which we can count with any confidence. Holiness is the real path to truth. Let us hear the words of the greatest writer of the day, who yet is less distinguished by his profound learning and exalted genius, than by that humility which has enabled him to set one of the highest examples which our memory affords of canonical obedience. His powers and acquirements may be beyond Mr. Jukes's rivalry, but the graces of the greatest Saints are open to the imitation of us all.

"Let us turn from shadows of all kinds—shadows of sense, or shadows of argument and disputation, or shadows addressed to our imagination and tastes. Let us attempt, through God's grace, to advance and sanctify the inward man. We cannot be wrong here; whatever is right, whatever is wrong in this perplexing world, we must be right 'in doing justly, in loving mercy, and walking humbly with our God,' in denying our wills; in ruling our tongues, in softening and sweetening our tempers, in mortifying our lusts; in learning patience, meekness, purity, forgiveness of injuries, and continuance in well-doing."*

Our reason for connecting with Mr. Jukes the able, though anonymous† pamphlet, "Examination of Mr. Close's 'Tendency,'" &c. &c. is to bring out, by way of contrast, the honesty of the Curate of Hull, as compared with the dishonesty of the Incumbent of Cheltenham. Mr. Jukes quits the Church because he cannot accept her teaching: Mr. Close remains in it, only to falsify and contradict her declared principles: what Mr. Jukes could not help seeing, though he hoped not to find, Mr. Close says he is unable to see, because he shuts his eyes: Mr. Close wants couching, where Mr. Jukes asks for blinkers: Mr. Jukes dislikes the conclusion, and therefore rejects the premises; Mr. Close denies that the conclusion follows at all. If Mr. Close is illogical, Mr. Jukes is inflexible: and with the characteristics of either place, at Hull we find our goods thrown in our

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* Newman's Sermons.

† The initials, however, are sufficient, we presume, to affix this "Examination" to Mr. Heathcote, of Hackney.

face with a roughness anything but courteous, while, at Cheltenham, we are politely swindled out of our property by flash notes, and bill-discounters. Among the whalers of the Humber we have more homespun, and fewer fine words: in the metropolis of Pump-rooms and Parades, we have the swagger and emptiness which would not discredit the Copper Captain himself.

Indeed, the position of the *extrême gauche** of the Low Church party is daily becoming more critical, because more developed. Both sections of the existing Church of England commenced their opposite reforms with good intentions on either side we frankly own, but without any very decided object, further than the amiable one of improving a debased and corrupted state of the Church, and certainly without much of recognised principle. They snatched fork or goad to repel the instant enemy, if sword and spear were not attainable; their lines of defence were like those Athenian walls which were hastily run up by Themistocles—*καὶ δήλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο.* Time develops tendencies, and it is now evident that the school of Romaine and Newton adopted principles which their successors, in our own days, find will compel them either to quit the Church of England, or to have its formularies altered to suit their views. We have already indicated some signs of a partial move in one direction or other. An Evangelical Free Church is on the anvil. Mr. Bird, Mr. Jukes, Mr. Rees, are among the more consistent Evangelicals who find that their principles, if fairly carried out, must land them in dissent; and whether the secession be large or small, will depend much upon the sincerity and earnestness of those who have adopted Calvinism. Honesty cannot retain Mr. Close and Mr. Noel; their preferments may. It has too long been a favourite argument in certain quarters as to the tendency of Catholic views: just now this weapon is employed with irresistible force on the other side; and the evident soreness which is felt by producing counter lists of apostasy from our communion, tells very significantly.

For ourselves, we have never been slow to admit the fact of a very great and widely-diffused tendency Romewards: but we have been hitherto almost singular in accounting for the fact. But of this we are certain, that no stronger weapon can be lent to the partisans of Rome than the existence of the present state of things. We should be wanting in duty to the Church of our baptism, in loyalty to which we yield to none, were we not to express our certainty that the defection of such men as Mr. Seager, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Digby, and Mr. Ambrose Phillipps, is attributable, not to the rise of the Oxford Divines, but—to the uncensured teaching of heresy in the other division in our communion. When associations are formed to circulate tracts, and to procure subscriptions, on the basis of a solemn League

* This is no mere Gallicism: it is becoming quite an European idiom. In Germany there are *left-hand* Hegelians, and *right-hand* Hegelians: *i. e.* Low-Church rationalists, so to say, and High-Church rationalists.

and Covenant which denies the Articles of the Catholic Faith, and which denounces as heresies such fundamental doctrines as Baptismal Regeneration and the Apostolic Succession—when our Priests are permitted to preach in conventicles, and to make speeches for the last section and schism of a debased Presbyterianism—when Acts of Parliament are passed, at the bidding of our chief Bishops, rather to suppress than to restore discipline—when every effort to impart warmth and energy to our system is met in high quarters, either with cold suspicion, or with open condemnation—these are the things which make the warm-hearted to doubt and the feeble to stumble. Men will not believe that we are what our best divines have always claimed us to be in books, if in intelligible deeds they see us committing ourselves, without a protest, to a debased and debasing system. For one convert which Rome has gained from No. 90, if there be one, we can anticipate hundreds who will be unable to struggle against Protestant Associations, and Calvin Societies, and Free-Kirk Meetings, and Mr. Herbert Marsh undeprived, and Mr. Baptist Noel uncensured. If we desire to retain the obedience of the laity, and the respect and sympathy of Foreign Churches, either across the Tweed, or across the Atlantic—if we desire to be true to the Church of England, it will be by just weights and just measures—it will not prevent, it will rather increase, secession to Rome to encourage Evangelicalism, and to repress Catholicism.

What is now coming to pass has been foreseen by those whom holiness and retirement in past days gifted with a prescience almost intuitive: the distant results of Evangelicalism have been portrayed thirty years ago, long before the present disputes, that is, in their present form, were heard of. In the Correspondence of those gifted brethren—ζεῦγος φίλιον—Knox and Jebb, occurs the following remarkable passage, (vol. ii. p. 196, *et seq.*:)—

"When I see a spurious liberality, ready to view as merely subordinate and almost indifferent, the goodly order of the hierarchical institution, I cannot help apprehending that the light is turning into darkness, and the salt is losing its savour. Among Church-of-England men, the diffusion of Evangelical indifferentism is of too late a growth to give us a complete result; but *the tendencies are, in my judgment, by no means equivocal.* There is much, of course, to which I strongly object in the Eclectic Review. Yet when I compare the moral tone of the best articles in that publication with the moral tone which pervades the Christian Observer, I am obliged to say that I could far more cordially mingle minds with the avowed dissenter than with the *soi-disant* Churchman. In the Church of England, strictly so called, religion cultivated in the sectarian manner, the forms of the Church retained, but its spirit neglected; the doctrines of the Church (*as they explain them*) strongly asserted, and its orders lightly regarded; constituted authorities moved aside, and self-elected bodies usurping their jurisdiction; the ancient distribution of parishes repealed, and the Clergymen of those parishes bearded by the miscellaneous committee of some newly-apportioned district; swarms of dissenters intruded, and intruded by laymen and Clergymen, and nobility and bishops of the Church of England: all this is a new thing upon earth, and *its consequences who can venture to foretell?* One thing is certain—*that the result cannot be trivial.* In one way or other it must produce some great change; and the nature of that CHANGE, though sagacity

may shrewdly conjecture, *time alone can thoroughly disclose.* Perhaps *a little of persecution,* or of somewhat resembling a persecution, may be providentially permitted, to train up men with an attachment towards the Church as a hierarchy; as distinct from the State; and as dignified only by its intrinsic excellence, by its venerable antiquity, and by its apostolic institution."

Thus wrote Bishop Jebb, in 1814, with respect to one party in our present unhappy divisions, long before either they had developed themselves, or before the cloud which has since burst in "somewhat resembling a persecution" had risen above the horizon. And so, two years later, Alexander Knox, in his golden letter, (Remains, vol. i. p. 53,) "on the situation and prospects of the Established Church," thus wonderfully fixes, as our greatest need, upon that very doctrine and the use of those very books which are now looked upon with the most jealous, and we must add most senseless, suspicion.

"Hitherto the Church of England, though more temperate in her measures than any other portion of the reformed body, has manifested no sentiment with such unremitting intensity as dread of whatever could be deemed Popery. I deny not the expediency, perhaps necessity, of this feeling, in such circumstances as have hitherto existed. But it has given safety to the Church of England, *at the expense of perfection;* which last can only be attained by proving all things, and holding fast what is good: and this discrimination can be practised only in the absence of prejudice. As matters are, dread of transubstantiation has made the sacrament a ceremony; and to ward off infallibility, every man has been encouraged to shape a creed for himself. The most certain cure for this extreme will be to experience its fruits. If Popery can be a Charybdis, there is a Scylla on the other side, not less dangerous. It will be still more useful to learn that in the mixed mass of the Roman-Catholic religion, there is gold and silver, and precious stones, as well as wood, hay, and stubble; and that everything of the former nature is to be as carefully preserved as everything of the latter nature is to be wisely rejected. This was the principle on which our Reformation commenced; but, as Dryden remarks, in his preface to the Religio Laici, 'it was continued by Edward VI. on other principles than those on which it was begun.' . . . Church-of-England men would reject as much as ever the bondage of the Roman-Catholic Church. But this very firmness would qualify them for an *unprejudiced view* of the system .... I would name AURICULAR CONFESSION. Whatever evil consequences may be charged upon this practice, *one undeniable good end has resulted from it;* namely, a more exact and experimental acquaintance with the movements of the human mind in religious matters, than we see attained by any who have wholly abandoned this species of discipline .... Here, therefore, we are perhaps more aided and instructed by *judicious Roman Catholic writers,* and those ancient authors to which they introduce us, than by any other means of information. In these we find the interior piety, at which sectaries aim, not only elucidated and exemplified, but learnedly examined and judiciously guarded. What, in too many amongst us, becomes fanaticism, in their more excellent writers, employs, and makes alliance with, philosophy; and at the same time, what ensures sobriety, promotes elevation. The whole mind is provided for and occupied by an adequate extent and depth of principles; and a solid breadth of foundation admits of a lofty superstructure. *The want of this interior learning amongst us has produced lamentable consequences.*"

But on this and kindred subjects, the needs of the Church, we trust to enlarge on some future occasion, accompanied by Mr. Gresley's excellent little book, just published, "Anglo-Catholicism:" and lest it might seem that we are exaggerating the danger which, as a Church, we are incurring from permitting, without censure

protest, the most flagrant violations of Church order, and this under the permission, if not with the consent, of the very highest rulers of the Church, we will illustrate our position by the present relations of the Church Missionary Society. First, be it premised that some two years ago the Archbishop of Canterbury and Boshop of London consented to become patrons of this Society, *because* its managers had consented to adopt, and to enforce, sound principles of ecclesiastical rule. The first occasion upon which the Society was called upon to act out its new professions, was that very significant case of Mr. Humphrey, upon which we have spoken at large: the result of which, to use intelligible words, was a complete victory on the part of the Society; Mr. Humphrey was dismissed; the Bishop's protest and remonstrance went for nothing; the appeal to the Archbishop was hushed up; Mr. Humphrey was smuggled away without redress; the Society went on as before; a few remonstrances here; a few murmurs there; a few more "stragglers Romewards" confirmed, *we speak from personal knowledge*, in their meditated defection from the Church; but this was all. The *Church* Missionary Society still continued, under the vice-presidency of the Primate of all England, to be an object of the most painful distrust to the sound portion of the Church, and to defy all rule and order, even while it hypocritically and dishonestly claimed to have abandoned for ever all its former laxity. Indeed, we say it without hesitation, that the sole result of the adherence of the excellent prelates just named was to give license to the Church Missionary Society to be irregular upon precedent, and under protection, to assault the Church by the authority of the Bishops themselves, and to defend their own surreptititious tyranny and usurpation, by pleading the connivance, if not the sanction, of those before whom most would be silent, and all respectful, with whatever misgivings and sorrow.

Last year came the Drummond and Dunbar schism; and with a wonderful and almost judicial proclivity to display their real principles, the governing body of the Church Missionary Society have at length outdone themselves. It is not ours to rebuke—God forbid—the Bishops of the Church; nay, it is not ours to say that they may not have reasons for their present line, which must, from their very nature, ever remain unknown to the world. But we may, or rather we are bound to, say, how the continued adherence of the Bishops to this Society without a fundamental change in its management will affect sensitive minds. We are not pleading for, we are not justifying even, certain scruples which we are not called upon to detail; but when so much is yielded to the noisy vulgar pretenders to the character of "weak brethren" on the other side, we have a right to claim some immunity to, at least some gentle and paternal recognition of, the fears and difficulties which beset many tender souls among ourselves. But we suppose that *we* have no right to a conscience; *we* are not to be allowed the luxury of a doubt: having adopted obedience as our watchward, *we* are to obey, not only to the spoiling of our goods, but

to the robbery of our birthrights, and to the forfeiture of our heritage in the Church, to the stifling of our conscience and duty, as well as to the suppression of our feelings. Protest—remonstrance—boldness for what they think to be the truth—all these rights are to be cheerfully conceded to the sticklers for private judgment, but the obedient sons of the Church alone are to be silenced just because they are obedient; their feelings and sore trials are never to be recognised, far less to be yielded to, only because the Bishops know that they will submit to almost anything to avoid the faintest show of resistance to authority as such. However, as somebody bitterly said, we forget where, "a willing horse may be over-driven:" and it seems that the perilous experiment is now trying how far and how long the galling harness is to be on our shoulders. At any rate, we cannot but express our deep fears that those who least apprehend the results of their tampering, and compromise, and indifference, are ruining the Church of England, under the specious pretence of moderation. It will be of little use to complain of disloyalty to the Church in some quarters, while to be loyal to her true principles is to be proscribed and suspected: when we have repelled and silenced our best and warmest hearted by our icy indifference to zeal; so long as we encourage fanaticism, if it has but a popular and noisy show, reserving the averted look and suspicious jealousy only for those who want but encouragement to spend and to be spent for the Church's sake; it is vain to ask for more than sullen submission even to episcopal requirements. We shall, it may be, drive out from among us, as we have already reduced to dull indifference, the best spirits of the Church of England, if we are to act henceforth upon a desire to please all parties; we shall fall unpitied if our principle is to be the negation of all principle.

We have some difficulty in presenting a sketch, within moderate limits, of the connexion of the Church Missionary Society with the Scotch schismatics. At the time of their separation from the Church, Mr. Drummond and Sir William Dunbar were secretaries of two branch associations; this office they still retain. The latter was formally, the former virtually, excommunicated by his Bishop; and each becomes the head of a schism. How was the Church Missionary Society to treat them? Mr. Dandeson Coates, the Secretary, a person, we are bound to remark, of singular and serpentine astuteness, tells us,

"These gentlemen, being Clergymen of the Church of England, united themselves with the Scottish Episcopal Church, but have since withdrawn from that union, to minister to their respective congregations upon their English orders; a question has since arisen, in consequence of such withdrawal, respecting their ecclesiastical position in Scotland. Upon this question the Committee conceive that they are neither competent, nor called upon, as a committee, to form ANY judgment. In conformity with the views above stated, a deputation from the parent committee visiting Scotland will communicate with Mr. Drummond and Sir W. Dunbar in common with the other local officers of associations, and cooperate with them in the business of the Society. But in order to preser the NEUTRALITY of the Society upon the ecclesiastical question at issue appears necessary that the deputation should not preach as representatives the Society in Scotland during the present year."

or the very questionable propriety of the formation of a new one by Bishop Terrot, which he has thought proper, without consulting his brethren, to designate as the "Episcopal Church of Scotland's Church Missionary Society,"

On Sunday, April 21, Mr. Bickersteth, of Watton, preached twice in Sir W. Dunbar's conventicle to overflowing congregations of "free kirk" people and others, declaring "that it was impossible for him to estimate the honour and privilege which he felt in *supporting* Sir W. Dunbar *under his present circumstances.*" Need we say what confidence this proceeding has given the adherents of this unhappy man? especially as for the last month he had been preparing his people for the coming of the *eminent* Mr. Bickersteth, who would tell them upon "what footing he was still regarded in England." Nor was this all.

The Church Missionary Society held its anniversary at Aberdeen, about the same time: large bills were circulated, bearing the *Archbishop of Canterbury's* name, as vice-patron of the Church Missionary Society, *in immediate connexion with Sir W. Dunbar's as local secretary;* and among all classes, except the insignificant minority of churchmen, this most wicked fraud has succeeded; and the impression has gone forth among the whole society of the north of Scotland, that the Bishop of Aberdeen's excommunication is good for nothing; and that the Archbishop of Canterbury has sent down Mr. Bickersteth, to show the state of feeling in the Church of England in this matter. So much for the *neutrality* of the Church Missionary Society! Indeed, we do not see that the consequence drawn at Aberdeen is quite so absurd as we shall be told; the Archbishop is in full communion with the Church Missionary Society, and the Church Missionary Society *retains, as one of its secretaries,* Sir W. Dunbar, and, therefore, is in full communion with him.

This certainly brings Sir William and his Grace into a connexion rather too close to be summarily disposed of. His Grace is the patron of those who employ an excommunicated man as secretary; and, before these pages are published, the Bishop of London will *preach the anniversary sermon* for this same Church Missionary Society, on April 29th, at St. Bride's, London. Certainly we regret this step, more than we care to say;—its results we are afraid to anticipate, in the way of unsettling men's minds; but if anything *can,* which seems doubtful, excuse us in England, it is the conduct of *some* portion of the Scottish Church. Had Bishop Terrot indignantly disavowed the Church Missionary Society, till it had disavowed Drummond and Dunbar,—had he refrained from tying himself to it by another link, for the same reason,—had he not only "not thanked" the Society for the "neutrality" (which he acknowledged, nevertheless), but had he shown its hollowness and folly, then no Christian bishop could have remained in connexion with the Society. But English responsibility is much lessened, though not destroyed while the Scotch prelates—certainly the parties most concerned—ar

thus temporizing and trimming; until *they* are *at least* at one, it may be hoped, rather than expected, that our Bishops should take a decided stand. If the collective Scottish college of Bishops had openly renounced the whole Church Missionary Society, and resolutley closed every pulpit in Scotland to every English Clergyman acting on its behalf, till the connexion between its executive and Drummond and Dunbar was at an end, then the English Bishops must have moved, or the Church Missionary Society must have yielded. *We* cannot understand how, as matters now stand, *any* churchman can remain a member of the Church Missionary Society. But we can quite believe that the irresolute conduct of the Scottish Church has not been without its influence on those who are not sorry for any apology for not interfering. Until Scotland understands its own affairs, and acts accordingly, it is premature to call *us* inactive, and other than affectionate towards her. While the Bishop of Edinburgh, by such practical approval, avows his aatisfaction with the Society; while the Primus of Aberdeen does not openly and solemnly cut off the Society from communion with his Church,—especially Mr. Bickersteth,—it is too much to expect us to move, as vindicators of the Scottish Church. When she is true to herself, we will be true to her: but we hold it very unreasonable, *as matters stand*, to expect that the English Bishops can, or, without appeal and remonstrance, ought to, fight their battle, which, in truth, is Scotland's rather than our own at present.

Though, after all, the main matter is with ourselves in another way; we have introduced this subject only as an illustration of our old argument, that, if defection in one, or in one hundred instances, is to occur from us, we have only ourselves to blame. We will not so much justify, as point to, the fact of the existence of fears, whether well or ill-founded, in the breasts of those who are neither ignorant, nor idle, nor wanting in the sense of personal responsibility, that, as a Church, we cannot afford, *salvâ essentiâ*, to move one hair's breadth further in a more Protestant direction; we purposely abstain from alluding to retrograde steps; and yet more, that we are committed to and by the actions and sentiments of our Bishops. If, then, his Diocesan is to exhibit "neutrality" towards Mr. Bickersteth, or if the Church Missionary Society is to be permitted to continue its present standing towards the Scottish Church, we can rather anticipate than describe how this recognised state of things will tell upon the Church of England. Were we, which we are not, friends of Rome, we could desire nothing more heartily than its continuance. Let the new institution of Scripture Readers for London, under the highest auspices, be viewed in the same light.

The Natural History of Man; comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the different Tribes of the Human Family. *By* J. C. Pritchard, M.D. &c. London: Bailliere. 1843. 1 vol. pp. 556.

The design of this elegant and able work is to furnish the general reader with a clear and comprehensive, though brief view, of all the physical characteristics of the human race. Its learned and industrious author has here drawn up a sufficiently popular account of the chief varieties in colour, figure, and bodily structure, which distinguish the several classes of men from each other; together with illustrative notices of their moral and intellectual peculiarities. The science of Ethnography is still in its infancy; but, as far as the present state of our knowledge extends, Dr. Pritchard has ably investigated the nature, and traced the causes, of the different phenomena which his subject embraces. Hence he has been carried into historical researches, and has followed the different tribes of people scattered over the world, from their origin, along their several lines of descent. The work is profusely illustrated with coloured engravings and wood cuts; which render it a very handsome volume, suited for the drawing-room table no less than the shelf of the library.

The varieties of the human race are truly astonishing; and indicate extraordinary powers of adaptation to almost every diversity of climate and situation. While man exerts a powerful command over the powers and resources of the material world, that world hardly less powerfully re-acts upon him; moulding his physical organization, and adapting it to even opposite modes of life. "Hence it comes to pass," observes Dr. Pritchard, "that man is a cosmopolite; that while, among the wild inhabitants of the forest, each tribe can exist only on a comparatively small tract of the earth's surface, man, together with those creatures which he has chosen for his immemorial companions, and has led with him in all his wanderings, is capable of living under every clime, from the shores of the Icy Sea, where the frozen soil never softens under his feet, to the burning sands of equatorial plains, where even reptiles perish from heat and drought .... How different a being is the Esquimaux, who, in his burrow amid northern ices, gorges himself with the blubber of whales, from the lean and hungry Numidian, who pursues the lion under a vertical sun! And how different, whether compared with the skin-clad and oily fisher of the icebergs, or with the naked hunter of the Sahára, are the luxurious inmates of Eastern harems, or the energetic and intellectual inhabitants of the cities of Europe!"

So numerous are these changes, so strongly marked are

diversities which prevail among the families of men—as we shall abundantly show in the course of our present article—that many, whose faith has not been simply fixed upon the sure records of Revelation, have hastily concluded "that the collective body of mankind is made up of different races, which have differed from each other, in their physical and moral nature, from the beginning of their existence." The Churchman has no doubt on this point. He knows from an Authority which cannot err, that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth;" nor can he allow this question to be regarded as one still *sub judice*. But while he steadily resists the treatment of this question as a subject of doubtful inquiry, he is ready to listen to, and to appreciate, whatever verified concurrent testimony the infant science of Ethnography may be able to bear to the great truth of our common descent from Adam.

It is due to the eminent author of the work before us, to state that he himself holds fast the right belief on this very vital subject. "The Sacred Scriptures," he observes, "whose testimony is received by all men of unclouded minds with implicit and reverential assent, declare that it pleased the Almighty Creator to make of one blood all nations of the earth, and that all mankind are the offspring of common parents." But we must express our dissatisfaction with the tone of the following passage, and our entire dissent from the canon of philosophical inquiry which is implied in it: "I shall not pretend," says Dr. Pritchard, "that in my own mind I regard the question now to be discussed, as one of which the decision is a matter of indifference, either to religion or humanity. But the strict rule of scientific scrutiny enacts, according to modern philosophers, in matters of inductive reasoning, an exclusive homage. It requires that we should close our eyes against all presumptive and intrinsic evidence, and abstract our minds from all considerations not derived from the matters of fact which bear immediately on the question. The maxim we have to follow in such controversies is '*fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.*' In fact, what is actually true, it is always most desirable to know; whatever consequences may arise from its admission."

Now if the science in question—the science of Ethnography—were in such a state of maturity as to be able to grapple effectually with its proposed problem, we might, perhaps, be more willing to await the solution which it undertakes to give, with regard to the origin of the different sorts of men, and the cause or causes of their so strongly-marked varieties. But we cannot consent to abandon, or to hold in abeyance, any truth we already ɔssess; in order that a science, which, in its present state, is nfessedly feeble and inadequate, may try its immature powers an endeavour to extract it from a large miscellaneous mass of ɔry imperfectly-digested observations and experiments. We

deny the right of ethnographical science to usurp the place of a teacher of truths, of the reality of which it confesses itself to be at present but imperfectly assured. Even in the mechanical sciences, the inquirer must have some starting-point for his researches; and in the absence of a theory, must have recourse, and that of necessity, to an hypothesis only. Nor does the adoption of this hypothetical method vitiate his conclusions in the least, provided he duly verifies them by adequate observation and experiment. But if even the mechanical philosopher requires a ποῦ στω, much more is this required by the palæontological student. Specific experience is almost entirely excluded by the nature of the case, and the inquirer must trust considerably to general reasoning. But in the case before us we have no mere unverified hypothesis. We are put into possession of an historical proposition, which is armed with the highest degree of authenticity conceivable: and in addition to the venerable statements of the book of Genesis, we have the whole economy of human redemption, essentially presupposing the original and actual unity of the human race.*

We will now follow Dr. Pritchard into the details of his fascinating researches. In order to clear up the subject to the general reader, it will be necessary to define one or two technical terms of frequent occurrence. The first of these is the word *species*. After commenting on the principal ancient and modern acceptations of this term, Dr. Pritchard expresses his regret that we are compelled, through long-established usage, to retain a word which is partly of hypothetical meaning. For εἶδος, *species*, he would substitute τὸ συγγενὲς, *kind* or *kindred*, were it possible to make so great a change in our scientific vocabulary. But since the term must be retained, he is careful to define it. "*Species*, then, are simply tribes of plants or of animals which are certainly known, or may be inferred on satisfactory grounds, to have descended from the same stock, or from precisely similar parentage, and in no way distinguished from each other." And he thus distinguishes it from the expression "permanent varieties," which approaches very near to it in meaning. "*Permanent varieties* are races now displaying characteristic peculiarities, which are constantly and permanently transmitted. They differ from species in this circumstance, that the peculiarities in question are not coeval with the tribe, but sprang up in it since the commencement of its existence, and constitute a derivation from its original character."

The object which Dr. Pritchard has principally proposed to himself in the work now under review, is "to point out the most important diversities, by which mankind, or the genus *man*, is distinguished and separated into different races; and to deter-

* See Christian Remembrancer for January, 1844, vol. vii. p. 15.

mine whether these races constitute separate species, or are merely varieties of one species."

In the Divine account of the Creation, contained in the opening chapters of the book of Genesis, we read that the several tribes or species of both the vegetable and animal worlds were to propagate themselves and multiply, each after its own kind. "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit *after his kind*, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth .... And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, *after their kind*, and every winged fowl *after his kind* ... And God made the beast of the earth *after his kind*, and cattle *after their kind*, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth *after his kind:* and God saw that it was good." This great physical law remains unbroken. Both in the vegetable and animal worlds, the several tribes are reproduced and perpetuated,—with a few exceptions, which are apparent rather than real,—without becoming intermingled. The law of propagation according to kinds is universal. Were it otherwise, the organized world would long ago have sunk into a state of universal and inextricable confusion. This is a subject of so much importance and interest, that, instead of travelling on immediately with Dr. Pritchard, we shall tarry and dwell upon the fundamental principles which enter into the philosophy of the sciences of classification.

The idea which underlies these sciences is popularly expressed by the word *likeness*. We shall endeavour to trace the successive meanings of this word and its correlatives, from their inexact use in ordinary life, to the precision which they acquire ere they become established in the rigorous vocabulary of science. Now before we can regard things as like and unlike, we must be able to apprehend each thing by itself as *one*. This apprehension is the result, not, as we might hastily conclude, of a sensation only; but requires also, for its formation, a mental operation; an act of thought conferring unity, not, indeed, by any arbitrary process, but by one that is subject to objective as well as to subjective conditions. What, then, is the condition of unity? This is defined by Mr. Whewell, in his "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," to be that *assertions concerning the object which we apprehend as one, shall be possible;* or, in stricter terms, that *the acts of belief which such assertions enunciate shall be possible.*

By this mental synthesis we obtain our knowledge of *individual* things; and thus we obtain the necessary pre-requisite for our owledge of *kinds;* of such classes as are indicated by common nes. Now individual objects are distributed and grouped o kinds by means of our idea of likeness. Here, then, arises question,—Under what conditions does our idea of likeness

operate, so as to classify individuals and distribute them into kinds? Definitions are here of no avail. Important as they are in their right place, they have no power or influence in regulating the use of common language. The condition which regulates the use of language is that general assertions, expressed in that language, shall be possible. "A word," observes Mr. Whewell, "which expressed a mere wanton collection of unconnected attributes could hardly be called a word; for of such a collection of properties no truth could be asserted, and the word would disappear, for want of some occasion on which it could be used. Though much of the fabric of language appears, not unnaturally, fantastical and purely conventional, it is, in fact, otherwise. The associations and distinctions of phraseology are not more fanciful than is requisite to make them correspond to the apparent caprices of nature or of thought; and though much in language may be called conventional, the conventions exist for the sake of expressing some truth or opinion, and not for their own sake. The principle, that *the condition of the use of terms is the possibility of general, intelligible, consistent assertions*, is true in the most complete and extensive sense."

These observations on the apparent conventionality of language appear to us to be peculiarly just and valuable. Arbitrary and capricious as language is, these qualities do not, strictly, belong to language itself, but to the conceptions and feelings of which language is the faithful mirror; so that we may read a nation's character in its current forms of speech, and trace its mental progress or decline in its successive literature.

Although the classificatory sciences proceed ostensibly upon the idea of resemblance as their main foundation, they necessarily take for granted, in the course of their progress, a further idea of natural affinity. The nature of this idea may be thus shown: Classify, say, animals, by means of one of their functions; then classify them by means of another of their functions: and if these two independent classifications coincide, or are consistent, they are natural; in other words, they are constructed upon the general idea of natural affinity. It would, perhaps, be too much to require the rigorous fulfilment of this condition, before we allowed a proposed classification to be a "natural" one; but what we have said will, at least, serve to show what the idea of natural affinity is. "Our idea of affinity," says Mr. Whewell, "involves the conviction of the *coincidence of natural arrangements formed on different functions*; and this, rather than the principle of the subordination of some characters to others, is the true ground of the natural method of classification." This was the doctrine of Cuvier. "The *correspondence* of the general forms," he observes, speaking of the principle of classificatio for animals, "which results from the arrangement of the mot organs, from the distribution of the nervous masses, and fr

the energy of the circulatory system, must form the grounds of the first great sections by which we divide the animal kingdom." Decandolle lays down the same principle for vegetables. "There must be an *equilibrium* of the different functions . . . The natural classes founded on one of the great functions of the vegetable *are necessarily the same* as those which are founded upon the other function; and I find here a very useful *criterion* to ascertain whether a class is natural: namely, in order to announce that it is so, it must be arrived at by the two roads which vegetable organization presents." In short, the test of all systems that profess to be *natural*, is that the arrangement obtained from one set of characters coincides with the arrangement obtained from another set.

We are now in a condition to proceed with Dr. Pritchard along the line of his argument and history. After a brief consideration of the subject of hybrids, he arrives at the conclusion, that all inquiries into the various tribes of organized beings show that the perpetuation of hybrids, whether of plants or animals, so as to produce new and intermediate tribes, is impossible. "When individual hybrids are produced, it is found impossible to perpetuate from them a new breed. It is only by returning towards one of the parent tribes, that the offspring of these animals is capable of being continued in successive generations." This is the law of nature for animals in their wild state: and the same law holds good for plants: hybrid plants are produced, but there are no hybrid races. Dr. Pritchard applies these facts, and brings them to bear upon his main argument. "Unless all these observations are erroneous, or capable of some explanation that has not yet been pointed out, they lead, with the strongest force of analogical reasoning, to the conclusion that a number of different tribes, such as the various races of men, must either be incapable of intermixing their stock, and thus always fated to remain separate from each other; or, if the contrary should be the fact, that all the races to whom the remark applies are proved by it to belong to the same species."

Mankind, of all races and varieties, are capable of propagating their offspring by means of intermarriages. Of this fact, the rapid increase of the so-called Mulattoes, who result from the intermixture of Negroes and Europeans, and of the mixed race which springs from the Negroes and the Creoles, are striking examples. Further examples are adduced by Dr. Pritchard, more in detail, in evidence of the fact that entirely new and intermediate stocks have been produced by the intermixture of fferent races of men, and, so far from becoming extinct, have ely multiplied. This has been the case with regard to the riquas or Griqua Hottentots, who are a tribe of mixed origin, scended from the Dutch colonists of South Africa on one side,

and from the aboriginal Hottentots on the other. So, also, the very remarkable race of the Cafresos—as they have been termed by the Portuguese in the Brazils—who sprang originally from a mixture of native Americans with imported African negroes. An additional example is furnished by the Papuas; a race of people spread along the northern coast of New Guinea and the adjacent islands. "It is not improbable," observes Dr. Pritchard, "that these tribes of the sea-coast may have come to the shore of New Guinea and the adjoining islands, from some distant part of the Indian Archipelago; but, whatever was the quarter whence they spread, they appear to afford an example of a mixed breed of men who retain certain characters derived from their double ancestry. These traits have, however, been transmitted as permanent characteristics through many generations; since, in the time of Dampier, they seem to have been fully developed."

From these facts it would appear that no impediment whatever exists to the perpetuation of mankind, even when the most dissimilar varieties are blended together. "Hence we derive," says Dr. Pritchard, "a conclusive proof,—unless there be in the instance of human races an exception to the universally-prevalent law of organized nature,—that all the tribes of men are of one family." To confirm this conclusion, he has traced the phenomena of variation through several tribes of animals and of plants. We have not room to allow of our following him into the very interesting facts which he has collected for the purpose of illustrating and confirming his position; and must be content to give his general results.

"From the preceding survey of the phenomena of variation in the tribes of animals, and of the circumstances under which these appearances are displayed, we may venture to draw the following general inferences:

"1. That tribes of animals which have been domesticated by man, and carried into regions where the climates are different from those of their native abode, undergo—partly from the agency of climate, and in part from the change of external circumstances connected with the state of domesticity,—great variations.

"2. That these variations extend to considerable modifications in external properties, colour, the nature of the integument, and its covering, whether hair or wool; the structure of limbs, and the proportional size of parts: that they likewise involve certain physiological changes or variations as to the laws of the animal economy; and, lastly, certain psychological alterations or changes in the instincts, habits, and powers of perception and intellect.*

* "Blumenbach, who first observed the tendency to these variations, gave it t term of 'Bildungstrieb,' or 'Nisus Formativus;' the latter designation has be

"3. That these last changes are in some cases brought about by training, and that the progeny acquires an aptitude to certain habits which the parents have been taught; their psychical characters, such as new instincts, are developed in breeds by cultivation.

"4. That these varieties are sometimes permanently fixed in the breed so long as it remains unmixed.

"5. That all such variations are possible only to a limited extent, and always with the preservation of a particular type, which is that of the species. Each species has a definite or a definable character, comprising certain undeviating phenomena of external structure, and likewise constant and unchangeable characteristics in the laws of its animal economy and in its psychological nature. It is only within these limits that deviations are produced by external circumstances."

These circumstances possess a far stronger influence and a far wider range, in mankind, than in any other race of earthly being. Civilization is vastly more potent than domestication. Mind, of course, operates infinitely more powerfully upon man, as a modifying agent, than upon brutes. This grand and characteristic difference has been well drawn out by Hooker. "A difference we must observe between those natural agents that work altogether unwittingly, and those which have, though weak, yet some understanding what they do, as fishes, fowls, and beasts have. Beasts are in sensible capacity as ripe even as men themselves, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in dignity of nature inferior unto animals, yet exceed them in firmness of strength or durability of being; and plants, though beneath the excellency of creatures endued with sense, yet exceed them in the faculty of vegetation, and of fertility; so beasts, though otherwise behind men, may, notwithstanding, in actions of sense or fancy go beyond them; because the endeavours of nature, when it hath a higher perfection to seek, are in lower the more remiss, not esteeming thereof so much as those things do, which have no better proposed unto them. The soul of man, therefore, being capable of a more divine perfection, hath (besides the faculties of growing unto sensible knowledge, which is common unto us with beasts) a further ability, whereof in them there is no show at all—the ability of reaching higher than

adopted by M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire, and other writers on natural history. It is a vital power, or the result of vital arrangements in living bodies, in virtue of which organization receives a peculiar direction from external circumstances, and sometimes exhibits very remarkable deviations from its general uniformity." Both acclimatisation and domestication have great influence in promoting this tendency; especially the latter. "Domestication is not a casual and temporary change effected in an individual, but the modification of a race, by which it becomes fitted to exist under new circumstances . . . It has been well remarked by Dr. Hancock, in his Treatise on Instinct, that dogs appear to have acquired, through long association with man, some 's of character which can be considered in no other light than as imitations, or *aps as feeble* gleams or scintillations of reason."

unto sensible things." Our profound philosophical theologian, Bishop Butler, has treated the general principles of this subject at greater length. "Every species of creatures is, we see, designed for a particular way of life; to which, the nature, the capacities, temper, and qualifications of each species, are as necessary as their external circumstances .... The constitution of human creatures, and indeed of all creatures which come under our notice, is such, as that they are capable of naturally becoming qualified for states of life, for which they were once wholly unqualified .... We are capable, not only of acting, and of having different momentary impressions made upon us; but of getting a new facility in any kind of action, and of settled alterations in our temper or character .... And thus a new character, in several respects, may be formed; and also many habitudes of life, not given by nature, but which nature directs us to acquire .... Nature does in nowise qualify us, wholly, much less at once, for this mature state of life. Even maturity of understanding, and bodily strength, are not only arrived to gradually, but are also very much owing to the continued exercise of our powers of body and mind from infancy... In these respects, and probably in many more of which we have no particular notion, mankind is left, by nature, an unformed, unfinished creature; utterly deficient and unqualified, before the acquirement of knowledge, experience, and habits, for that mature state of life, which was the end of his creation, considering him as related only to this world."

We are now to apply the above theory of variation to the human race, in order to ascertain whether there is a common specific type preserved amid all the varieties which display themselves; "whether the differences which are found when remote and diversified human races are compared with each other, are such as fall within the limits of the principle of variation."

Differences of structure are those to be first examined: and the first class of facts falling under this head, are those which relate to varieties in the colour and texture of the superficial covering of the body. These differences have generally been regarded as of minor importance in the discrimination of races; but M. Flourens—"a French writer of the present time, well known for the extent and accuracy of his researches in various subjects connected with anatomy and physiology,"—regards the difference of colour as more characteristic than any other. The texture of the body in which all these varieties have their seat is that which is external to the true skin; a structure displaying infinite diversities in colour, constitution and organization; being, indeed, the most variable tissue on the whole body.

The ancient anatomists were acquainted with only two parts of the common integument: the true skin, called the cutis or dermis, and the outer or scarf-skin, called the cuticle o

epidermis. Malpighi was the first to discover a third layer or membrane, interposed between these two. Successive researches, partly extending, partly correcting, these earlier discoveries, were made by Albinus, Cruikshank, Gaultier, and others: but still more minute researches have recently been prosecuted by M. Flourens, who has thought that he has detected four distinct layers interposed between the outer cuticle and the cutis.

"Of these four layers, the second, which is the mucous membrane, underlying the pigment, deserves the most particular attention; more especially as it constitutes," according to M. Flourens, "a distinct organized body, which exists only in men of dark colour, and is entirely wanting in the white races;" or, at least, as M. Flourens says, "could not be detected in them by the ordinary method of maceration." Hence he concludes that the discolorations which take place from various causes, in the skin of white men, are totally different in kind from the blackness of the Negro, and have their seat in a different structure. In the case of the white man, the discolorations are merely temporary changes in the cuticle or scarf-skin; but the colour of the black man arises from a particular membrane which is, in his judgment, entirely wanting in the white races. And he further concludes that this diversity constitutes a really specific distinction; a distinction marking out the Negro and European as separate species of beings.

Dr. Pritchard dissents from this conclusion. "It appears," he says, from many facts, "that a substance giving occasion to various degrees of blackness is sometimes produced in the skins of persons born white: and that, on the other hand, the colouring substance in black persons is capable of disappearing. Such phenomena appear insusceptible of explanation on that view of the structure of the skin which is adopted by M. Flourens; and they are calculated to direct our thoughts to the alternative which seems to be admitted by him; viz., that maceration, and the ordinary methods of examination by the naked eye, afford *insufficient* means of ascertaining the intimate structure of the skin." Microscopical observation must be resorted to; and, accordingly, this more searching and exact method has been pursued, chiefly by German anatomists; among whom Heule, Purkinje, and Schwaun, are named by Dr. Pritchard as the most distinguished.

"By these writers, it has been proved, that the outer integument does not consist at all of continuous membranes, but is of a cellular structure, and is composed of several layers of cells; and that its different parts are not distinguished from each other

> such definite lines of separation as they have been supposed
> e . . . . It thus appears that the idea of a given number of
> inctly-organized membranes, continuous, and independent of
> contiguous structures, must be abandoned: it was formed

from an erroneous and defective view of the nature of the integumentary apparatus." Subsequent researches have been prosecuted by Dr. Gustav Simon, of Berlin; from which we may venture to conclude, that there is no such organic difference between the skin of Europeans and the skins of other races of men, as to warrant the notion of a diversity of species in mankind. On the contrary, that the conditions of structure which characterize one race pass over, to a certain extent, to another race; and that, independently of the agency of climate and other external causes of variation. "It will be worth while," remarks Dr. Pritchard, "before we take leave of this subject, to observe that the epidermis, or horny tissue, corresponding in many tribes of animals to the extra-cutaneous texture which is the seat of variations in the colour and in the hair of human beings, is precisely that part of their organic system which undergoes the most striking and even surprising alterations. It is this tissue which displays the variety of horns, in tribes possessed of such appendages: some races of the same species having a great profusion of frontal antlers, while others are entirely destitute of them; and these variations are known actually to arise within the limits of one stock. The hoofs of animals undergo similar changes: they are parts of the same structure. Perhaps of all instances of such deviation, that of the solid-hoofed swine is most remarkable, as there appears to be, in this case, an imitation of the really specific structure of other tribes of animals. Such a breed is well known; and nobody ever suspected it to constitute a distinct species." The general conclusion from this part of the investigation is, that the different complexions of mankind are not permanent varieties. The instances of changes of complexion,—from white to black, from black to white,—in the undoubted progeny of the same stock, are so numerous and so well authenticated, as to leave no doubt that no argument can be drawn from the varieties of complexion against the unity of the human species.

Dr. Pritchard arrives at a like conclusion, from a consideration of the national differences of the human hair:—its scarcity among the Mongoles and other Northern Asiatics, and all the American nations; its exuberance among the Kurilian race; the lank hair of the Americans and Northern Asiatics; the straight and flowing hair of the Europeans; the so-called "wool" of the Negroes. Dr. Pritchard has an interesting section on the nature of Negro hair; and states, as the result of a comparative examination of it by means of the microscope, that it is "hair properly so termed, and not wool." One chief difference between Negro and European hair consists in the degree of crispation; besides which, there is a greater quantity of pigment in the hair of the Negro: and these two differenc are probably in some way connected.

While the more recent ethnographers regard the above differences as among the most characteristic, the older writers attached the principal importance to the differences in the structure of the bony fabric generally, and more especially of the skull. "Accordingly, since the time of Camper and Blumenbach, various attempts have been made by anatomists to divide mankind into groups, by taking the shape of the skull as the chief ground of distinction . . . In one particular, most have erred. It has been generally laid down, as a fundamental principle, that all those nations who are found to resemble each other in the shape of their heads, must needs be more nearly related to each other than they are to tribes of men who differ from them in this particular; and they are accordingly set down as constituting so many different races or families." But since it cannot be proved that all organic differences are absolutely permanent, a mere resemblance in some particular anatomical characters affords no conclusive proof of near relationship.

"If, however, any method of subdividing the human family into groups is likely to be of any particular advantage in elucidating the natural history of the species, it must be one founded on some relation between the physical characteristics of different tribes, and the leading circumstances of their external condition. We shall clearly perceive, in tracing the following outline of ethnography, that the varieties of colour refer themselves, in part to climates, elevations of land, proximity to the sea-coast, or distance from it. It can hardly be doubted that these conditions have, likewise, an effect on the configuration of the human body."

"But there is, perhaps, some truth in the remark, though frequently made on little better foundation than conjecture, that the prevailing form or configuration of the body is more liable to be influenced by the habits of different races and their manner of living, than by the simple agencies of climate. It would be an interesting discovery, could it be shown that there is any apparent connexion between the display of particular forms, or the leading physical characters of human races and their habits of existence. If I may venture to point out any such relation, it would be by remarking, in a very general manner, and without pretending to make the observation as one which holds without many exceptions, that there are in mankind three principal varieties in the form of the head and other physical characters; which are most prevalent respectively in the savage or hunting tribes, in the nomadic or wandering pastoral races, and in the civilized and intellectually-cultivated divisions of the human family."

"Among the rudest tribes of men, hunters and savage in-
'ants of forests, dependent for their supply of food on the
ental produce of the soil or on the chase,—among whom

are the most degraded of the African nations and Australian savages,—a form of head is prevalent which is most aptly distinguished by the term *prognathous*, indicating a prolongation or extension forward of the jaws; and with this characteristic, other traits are connected which will be described in the following pages."

"A second shape of the head, very different from that last mentioned, belongs principally to the nomadic races, who wander with their herds and flocks over vast plains, and to the tribes who creep along the shores of the Icy Sea, and live partly by fishing, and in part on the flesh of their rein-deer. These nations have broad and lozenge-formed faces, and what I have termed pyramidical skulls. The Esquimaux, the Laplanders, Samoiedes, and Kamtschatkans, belong to this department; as well as the Tartar nations, meaning the Mongolians, Tungusians, and nomadic races of Turks. In South Africa, the Hottentots, formerly a nomadic people, who wandered about with herds of cattle over the extensive plains of Kafirland, resembling in their manner of life the Tungusians and the Mongols, have also broad-faced, pyramidical skulls, and in many particulars of their organization resemble the Northern Asiatics. Other tribes in South Africa approximate to the same character, as do many of the native races of the New World."

"The most civilized races, those who live by agriculture and the arts of cultivated life, all the most intellectually-improved nations of Europe and Asia, have a shape of the head which differs from both the forms above mentioned. The characteristic form of the skull among these nations may be termed oval or elliptical."

In a former article, to which we have already referred, we have described the two methods of measuring the skull which have been employed and recommended by Camper and Blumenbach respectively. Professor Owen has pointed out the importance of comparing the figures given by the basis of the skull, or the under surface of the cranium, the lower jaw being removed. In order to obtain a complete knowledge of the character of the head, for the purpose of comparing human races, we must have recourse to all three views;—the lateral view of the skull taken by Camper, the vertical configuration according to the method of Blumenbach, and the view of the basis of the skull prescribed by Professor Owen.

The theory of Camper is that most popularly known; according to which, "nature has availed herself," says that physiologist, "of the facial angle, to mark out the diversities of the animal kingdom, and to establish a sort of scale from the inferior tribes up to the most beautiful forms which are found in the human species." Thus in one of the simiæ approaching most nearly in figure to mankind, the facial angle contain

exactly fifty degrees: while "that high character of sublime beauty," continues Camper, "which is so striking in some works of ancient statuary, as in the head of Apollo, and in the Medusa of Sisocles, is given by an angle of two hundred degrees. The theory raised by Camper on these facts, of a gradation of animals in which the Negro forms an intermediate step between the European and the orang, has been entirely overthrown, as far as regards the human skull, by the curious discoveries of Professor Owen. Camper and the earlier anatomists who have investigated the structure of the simiæ, made all their observations on *young* orangs. Now, during the immaturity of these animals, when the cranial portion preponderates over the facial and maxillary part, the head of the orang undoubtedly approximates to the human form; so that the skull of the young chimpantzi bears a remarkably close resemblance to the cranium of man: but as the brain of the ape soon attains its full development, the cranium ceases to increase, whereas the facial and maxillary portions continue to expand; thus the relation of the several parts is materially changed, and the cranium becomes merely a small rounded case, altogether posterior to the face. The facial angle of the adult troglodyte* is only thirty-five degrees, and that of the orang, or satyr, thirty degrees. But the facial angle of the Negro skull is at least seventy degrees, according to Camper's own admeasurements. "Such being the extent of difference manifested between the skulls of those simiæ which most approach the human form,—a difference so great that the utmost diversity between human races is quite inconsiderable when compared with it,—it becomes," as Dr. Pritchard justly observes, "rather a matter of curiosity than importance to the solution of any great question, to know whether the cranium of any human tribe actually makes a slight advance towards the type of the troglodyte or the orang."

Dr. Pritchard briefly notices and dismisses Blumenbach's method, which consists in ascertaining the vertical configuration of the skull. He dwells at considerable length on professor Owen's measurement of the basis of the skull; but here we must refer our readers to the treatise itself; this part of the subject being involved in so many technical details, that we could hardly make the terms we should be obliged to use, intelligible to the general reader. For the same reason, we pass over the very interesting section on the variety in structure, and the proportions of the bones, discovered in different races; the parts of the frame which Dr. Pritchard is more particularly led to notice, being the pelvis and the arm; together with the position of the foramen magnum, which determine the position of the head relatively

* The chimpantzi has been called by Blumenbach, *Simia troglodytes.*

to the vertebral column. Throughout this section, Dr. Pritchard has availed himself of the admirable researches of Professor Owen; and has thus drawn out his general conclusion:

"On surveying the facts which relate to difference in the shape of the body, and the proportions of parts in human races, we may conclude that none of these deviations amount to specific distinctions. We may rest this conclusion on two arguments: first, that none of the differences in question exceed the limits of individual variety, or are greater than the diversities found within the circle of one nation or family; secondly, the varieties of form in human races are by no means so considerable, in many points of view, as the instances of variation which are known to occur in different tribes of animals belonging to the same stock; there being scarcely one domesticated species which does not display much more considerable deviations from the typical character of the tribe."

Thus far, then, we have learnt that none of the physical peculiarities, separately considered, whether complexion, or hair, or skull, or pelvis, or limb, or any other which distinguish the several families of mankind, from each other, exceed the limit of natural variety. The differences which distinguish the several families of men, however wide, however strongly marked, however strikingly developed, are not greater than those which exist between other animals, which are perfectly well known to belong to the same species or kind; and therefore no conclusion can be drawn from these differences, repugnant to the doctrine we have here undertaken to defend, namely, the doctrine of the original unity of the human race. It now remains for us to contemplate the natural groups into which mankind is distributed.

One great guide to a sound acquaintance with these groups is language. The languages of nations and tribes, observes Dr. Pritchard, are among the most authentic records of our race. These, "of all peculiar endowments, seem to be the most permanently retained, and can be shown, in many cases, to have survived even very considerable changes in physical and moral characters. Glottology, or the history of languages, founded on an accurate analysis of their relations, is almost a new field of inquiry. It has been explored with great success of late, and new discoveries are every day made in it. Our contemporaries are becoming more and more convinced that the history of nations, termed ethnology, must be mainly founded on the relations of their languages. The ultimate object of this investigation is not to trace the history of languages, but of the tribes of men whose affinity they tend to illustrate." We have already treated briefly of this subject in our number for August, 1843, vol. vi. pp. 167—183, and to that article we refer our readers for further information on this very interesting palæological science.

Dr. Pritchard now enters upon the consideration of the groups.

into which the human family is distributed by physical differences, more especially by the three-fold divisions of the forms of the human skull. The passages in which he has considered, generally, the division of nations are so rich in matter, often so appropriate in expression, and, without departing from the main object, furnish so agreeable a variety to dry scientific details, that we must beg to be permitted to make a much longer extract than is our wont: here and there, however, venturing upon an abridgment or an omission.

"The most generally-received distribution of human races in the present day, is that of Baron Cuvier. This system refers different races of men to certain lofty mountain-chains, as the seats of their original existence. The birth-place or primitive station of the race of men who peopled Europe and Western Asia is supposed to have been Mount Caucasus. From this conjecture, Europeans, and many Asiatic nations, and even some Africans, have received the new designation of Caucasians. The nations of Eastern Asia are imagined, in like manner, to originate in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas; and they are named after the Mongolians, who inhabit the highest region in that vast chain of hills. The African negroes are derived from the southern face of the chain of Mount Atlas. They are, however, named simply the Ethiopian race, from the Ethiopians, who were the only black people known to the ancients in very remote times.

"A mixture of somewhat vague notions, partly connected with physical theories, and in part derived from history, or rather from mythology, has formed the ground-work of this scheme, which refers the origin of human races to high mountainous tracts. The tops of mountains first emerged above the surface of the primeval ocean, and, in the language of some philosophical theorists, first became the scene of the organizing life of nature. From different mountain tops, Wildenow, and other writers on the history of plants, derive the vegetable tribes, which they suppose to have descended from high places into the plains, and to have spread their colonies along the margin of mountain streams. High mountains thus came to be regarded as the birth-places of living races. Geological theories contributed to render these notions popular: not only the late speculations of the Count de Buffon and the learned Bailly, but the opinions of ancient philosophers, who maintained, before the time of Justin and of Pliny, that the mountains of high Asia must have been the part of the world first inhabited by men, inasmuch as that region must have been first refrigerated in the gradual ing of the surface of our planet, and first raised sufficiently e the level of the ocean."

Moreover, the poetical traditions of the ancient world de- e high mountains as the scenes of the first mythical adven-

tures of gods and men—as the resting-places on which celestial or aerial beings alighted from their cloudy habitations to take up their abode with men, and to become the patriarchs of the human race. Lofty mountains are the points in the geography of our globe, on which the first dawn of historic light casts its early beams: hence the legends of the first ages begin their thread. In the cosmogony of the Hindoos, it was on the summit of the sacred mountain Maha-meru, which rises in the midst of the seven dwipas, or great peninsulas, like the stalk between the expanded petals of a lotus, that Brahma, the creator, sits enthroned on a pillar of gold and gems, adored by Rishis and Gandharbhas; while the regents of the four quarters of the universe hold their stations on the four faces of the mountain. Equally famed in the ancient mythology of Iran and of Zoroaster, is the sacred mountain Albordj; based upon the earth, but raising, through all the spheres of heaven to the region of supernal light, its lofty top, the seat of Ormuzd; whence the bridge Tshinevad conducts the blessed spirits of pious men to Gorodman, the solid vault of heaven, the abode of Feroners and Amshaspands. Even the prosing disciples of Confucius had their sacred mountain of Kuen-lun, where, according to the legends of their forefathers, was the abode of the early patriarchs of their race. The Arabs and the Persian Moslemin had their poetical Kâf. The lofty hills of Phrygia, and of Hellas, Ida, Olympus, Pindus, were, as every one knows, famous in Grecian story. Caucasus came in for a share of the reverence paid to the high places of the earth. Caucasus, however, was not the cradle of the human race, but the dwelling-place of Prometheus, the maker of men, and teacher of astronomy."

"But all these notions are the poetical but wild dreams of men whose imaginations were excited by the splendid and unexplained meteoric phenomena of mountainous regions. It cannot be proved, nor is the supposition at all probable, that mankind began to exist till long after those physical changes had been completed, which prepared our planet for the present order of creation, and which raised a great part of the earth's surface above the level of the ocean. If we were at liberty to form a conjecture on the subject, it would be that the human race had its beginning in a comparatively late period, in a region abounding with vegetable and animal productions. There is one ancient tradition," continues Dr. Pritchard, who has here permitted himself, while his meaning is sound, to use language somewhat ambiguous; "there is one ancient tradition which fixes the birth-place of mankind, not on the sides or tops of snow-clad mountains, but on the banks of great rivers, which fertilize one of the most luxuriant regions of the earth. This is the tradition delivered in the sacred Hebrew Scriptures . . . I shall not attempt to trace the history of nations from the early period to which the docu

ments of patriarchal archæology, contained in the earliest portion of the Pentateuch, refer . . . Those who wish to tread on safe ground, in approaching ancient times, must . . . trace *backwards* the ever more and more evanescent vestiges of events. If in this method we endeavour to gain a distinct glimpse of the state, and even of the local position, of human races in the earliest periods of society, we find men collected in great numbers, not on the high and barren tracts of the earth, but on the banks and estuaries of rivers affording secure havens on the sea and the means of communication with inland countries. The cradles or nurseries of the first nations, of those at least who became populous, and have left a name celebrated in later times, appear to have been extensive plains or valleys traversed by navigable channels, and irrigated by perennial and fertilizing streams.

"Three such regions were the scenes of the earliest civilization of the human race, of the first foundations of cities, of the earliest political institutions, and of the inventions of the arts which embellish human life. In one of these, the Semitic or Syro-Arabian nations exchanged the simple habits of wandering shepherds for the splendour and luxury of Nineveh and Babylon. In a second, the Indo-European or Japhetic people brought to perfection the most elaborate of human dialects, destined to become, in after times and under different modifications, the mother-tongue of the nations of Europe. In a third, the land of Ham, watered by the Nile, were invented hieroglyphical literature, and the arts in which Egypt far surpassed all the rest of the world in the earlier ages of history."

Here it should be observed, that these three divisions of the ancient civilized world do not correspond to those three divisions which are distinguished by the form of the skull; so that neither of these systems of classification can be regarded as a natural one, and we must, therefore, be content, in the present state of ethnography, with a merely approximate classification or arrangement. The arrangement adopted by Dr. Pritchard is this:—he considers first the Syro-Arabian nation, (regarded by the French anatomist, Baron Larrey, as the prototype of the human family,) then the Egyptians, and thirdly the Indo-Europeans. "After the Egyptians, we proceed to describe the great body of the nations of Africa; and after the Indo-Europeans, the people of High Asia. Among the former are many tribes in the lowest stages of savage life, supporting their existence on the natural fruits of the earth, or on the casual produce of the chase, and dwelling, almost without houses and clothing, amid the forests. The latter were chiefly nomades. The nature
" he climate and of the countries which they inhabit, cold and
, and consisting of vast steppes, and affording no spon-
us contribution to the support of human life, precludes the
nce, in those regions, of people reduced below the condition

of wandering shepherds, possessed of some wealth, and exercising some of the simplest arts,—acquainted with the use of clothing, tents, and wagons. Men deprived by indolence or misfortune of such possessions would perish in the wilds of Tartary: on the banks of the Senegal, or Quorra, they would degenerate into the state of savages. After describing the nations of Africa and Northern Asia, we shall proceed to the native tribes of America, and to those of the Austral Seas and the great Southern Ocean."

The great bond of union between the nations which compose the Syro-Arabian or Semitic race,—nations differing widely in their habits, some being nomadic, others agricultural, and a third class devoted to foreign commerce and domestic manufactures,—is their remarkable language, which is widely different from all other human idioms. It probably consists of four departments: the Aramæan or Syrian, of which the Syriac of the versions, and the Chaldee of the later Scriptures of the Old Testament and of the Targums, are early specimens; the Hebrew, or Canaanitish, or Phœnician, adopted by the Israelites on their entrance into Palestine, and retained until the captivity in Babylon; the Arabic, properly so called, including the Moggrebyn or Western Arabian language; and a fourth, which has lately been discovered in the southern parts of Arabia, and termed by M. Fresnel, who has investigated its forms, Ekhkili, which is, he contends, "the proper national designation of the noble race who inhabit the mountains of Hhacik, Mirbât, and Zhafar, on the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula."

We have now arrived at the main body of Dr. Pritchard's delightful treatise. This consists of somewhat unconnected notices of the more remarkable races of men, and is copiously illustrated with wood-cuts and coloured engravings, representing different specimens of the human family, from the Grecian type, idealized in the Apollo Belvedere, to a most melancholy representative of degraded humanity, in an Australian of King George's Sound. We can indulge ourselves and our readers with only two or three independent extracts from this portion of Dr. Pritchard's work.

Baron Larrey regards the Syro-Arabian race as the model of perfection. The skull, he says, is the most perfect type of the human head. "Independently of the elevation of the vault of the cranium, and its almost spherical form, the surface of the jaws is of great extent, and on a straight, perpendicular line; the orbits, likewise, are wider than are usually seen in the crania of Europeans, and they are somewhat less inclined backwards; the alveolar arches are of moderate size, and they are well supplied with very white and regular teeth. The convolutions of the brain, whose mass is in proportion to the cavity of the cranium, are more numerous, and the furrows which separate them are deeper, and the matter which forms the organ is

more dense than in other races. The nervous system, proceeding from the *medulla oblongata* and the spinal chord, appears to be composed of nerves more dense in structure than are those of Europeans in general. The heart and the arterial system display the most remarkable regularity, and a very perfect development. The external senses of the Arabs are exquisitely acute and remarkably perfect; their sight is most extensive in its range; they hear at very great distances, and can, through a very extensive region, perceive the most subtle odour. The muscular or locomotive system is strongly marked; the fibres are of a deep red colour, firm, and very elastic; hence the great agility of this people. Upon the whole," concludes Baron Larrey, "I am convinced that the cradle of the human family is to be found in the country of this race."

The Egyptian race is, in many respects, one of the most interesting in the whole family of man. The contrast between this and the Syro-Arabian race is remarkable. They have lived in juxta-position from time immemorial; but while the Syro-Arabian has ever been full of energy, even to an almost morbid extent of restless activity, capable of adapting itself, with apparently equal facility, to a nomadic and to a settled life: at one time feeding its flocks and herds in the oases of the desert, and then wandering on to other spots where the genius of plenty had touched the barren wilderness with her fertilizing wand, and caused it to "rejoice and blossom;" at another, neglecting pasturage for the culture of arable land, constructing villages, building up towns, developing the resources of mural art in the rise and growth of cities, and thence expanding into peaceful colonies, or extending its immediate territories by the stern sword of invasion. While the Syro-Arabian has thus displayed the aggressive element of human nature, the Egyptian has been the type and mould of all that is conservative, "reposing ever in luxurious ease and wealth, on the rich soil watered by their slimy river, never quitting it for a foreign clime, or displaying, unless forced, the least change in their position or habits of life."

"The intellectual character," observes Dr. Pritchard, "the metaphysical belief, and the religious sentiments and practices of the two nations, were equally diverse: one adoring an invisible and eternal Spirit, at whose almighty word the universe started into existence, and 'the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy;' the other adorning splendid temples with costly magnificence in which, with mysterious and grotesque rites, they paid a strange and portentous worship to some foul and grovelling object—a snake, a tortoise, a crocodile, or an ape.

"The destiny of the two races has been equally different; both may be said still to exist, one in their living representa-

tives, their ever-roving, energetic descendants, the other reposing in their own land, — a vast sepulchre, where the successive generations of thirty centuries, all embalmed, men, women, and children, with their domestic animals, lie beneath their dry, preserving soil, expecting vainly the summons to judgment—the fated time for which is to some of them long past—before the tribunal of Sarapis, or in the hall of Asymandyas."

"The physical characters of these nations are likewise different; instead of the sharp features, the keen, animated, and restless visages, and the lean and active figures of the Arabian, there were to be seen in the land of the Pharaohs (to borrow the words of Dénon,) 'full, but delicate and voluptuous forms; countenances sedate and placid; round and soft features; with eyes long, almond-shaped, half shut and languishing, and turned up at the outer angles, as if habitually fatigued by the light and heat of the sun; cheeks round; thick lips, full and prominent; mouths large, but cheerful and smiling; complexions dark, ruddy, and coppery; and the whole aspect displaying *the genuine African character*, of which the negro is the exaggerated and extreme representation.'"

Dr. Pritchard has devoted his eighteenth and nineteenth sections to a consideration of the Arian race; the present Asiatic branch of which includes the Hindoos, the Persians, the Afghans, the Kúrds, the Armenians, and one or two other less-known Oriental tribes; while the occidental colonies have grown into the collective body of the European nations. That these nations are of Arian or Indo-European origin is chiefly proved by a comparison of languages, with regard both to their vocabulary and their grammatical structure. By what path the Eastern colonists originally entered Europe can only be matter of conjecture. It is an interesting but obscure question, whether the Arian settlers found the European soil pre-occupied. Dr. Pritchard is inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. "The Euskaldunes," he observes, "appear to have possessed Spain before the arrival of the Celtic tribes in that country." And again, "In the north of Europe, the German nations, or rather the Northmen, found the countries on the Baltic coast already occupied by Jotuns, nations of the Finnish or Ugrian race; a people, like themselves, of Eastern origin, but emigrants of an earlier age, and from a different part of Asia." These pre-occupying races are termed by Dr. Pritchard, "Allophylian" nations; a name which does not appear to us to be well chosen, being merely relative and negational. He traces the principal points of difference and contrast between them and the subsequent Indo-European or Arian immigrants.

"The Allophylian nations appear to have been spread in the earliest times through all the most remote regions of the old continent,—to the northward, eastward, and westward of the Indo-

European tribes, whom they seem everywhere to have preceded; so that they appear, in comparison with these Indo-European colonies, in the light of aboriginal or native inhabitants, vanquished by these more powerful invading tribes, and often banished into remote and inaccessible tracts. The Indo-European nations seem to have been everywhere superior in mental endowments. Some tribes, indeed, had retained or acquired many characteristics of barbarism and ferocity; but with all these they joined undoubted marks of an earlier intellectual development; particularly a higher culture of language, as an instrument of thought as well as of human intercourse . . . They had national poetry, and a culture of language altogether surprising when compared with their ignorance of the useful arts of life, and their general external condition and habits. They had bards or scalds, *vates*, ἀοιδοὶ, who were supposed to celebrate, under a divine impulse, the history of ancient times, and to connect them with the future, and with a refined metaphysical system of dogmas, handed down from age to age, from one tribe to another, as the primeval creed and possession of the enlightened race. Among them, in the west as well as in the remote east, the doctrine of metempsychosis held a conspicuous place, implying belief in an after-state of rewards and punishments, and a moral government of the world. With it was connected the notion that the material universe had undergone, and was destined to undergo, a repetition of catastrophes by fire and water; and after each destruction to be renewed in fresh beauty, when a golden age was again to commence, destined in a fated time to corruption and decay . . . Among most of the Indo-European nations the conservation of religious dogmas, patriarchal tradition, and national poetry, was confided not to accidental reminiscences and popular recitations, but to a distinct order of persons, who were venerated as mediators between the invisible powers and their fellow-mortals, as the depositaries of sacred lore, and the interpreters of the will of the gods, expressed of old to the first men, and handed down either orally, in divine poems, or preserved in a sacred literature known only to the initiated. In most instances they were an hereditary caste—Druids, Brahmins, or Magi.

"Among the Allophylian nations, on the other hand, a rude and sensual superstition prevailed, which ascribed life and mysterious powers to inanimate objects. The religion of fetisses, of charms and spells, and talismans, was in the hands, not of a learned caste, the twice-born sons of Brahma, but of shamans, or sorcerers, who, by feigning swoons and convulsions, by horrible cries and yells, by cutting themselves with knives, by whirling and contortions, assumed the appearance of something preternatural and portentous, and impressed the multitude with the belief that they were possessed by demons. Of this latter

description were the wizards of the Finns and Lappes, the Angekoks of the Esquimaux; and even the shamans of all the countries in Northern Asia, where neither Buddhism nor Islàm has yet penetrated."

We now reluctantly pass abruptly from the introductory to the concluding sections of the interesting book before us. In the forty-eighth section, our author proceeds to draw some of the more obvious inferences from the great and various body of facts which he has collected. The grand inference is this: that the different races of men are not distinguished from each other by any strongly-marked, uniform, and permanent distinctions; but that all the diversities which exist are variable, and pass into each other by insensible gradations. The pyramidical head of the Mongol has passed into the oval head of the European: from one identical stock—the Arian—have sprung races exhibiting every variety of colour, "the xanthous Siah-Pôsh of Kaffristan, the yellow-haired and blue-eyed villagers of Jumnotri and Gangotri, and the black Hindoos of Anu-gangam: even as regards the hair, which is, perhaps, one of the most permanent characteristics of different races, no real difference exists; and if we take the African nations, their 'wool' is not wool, but hair; and we may see among them every possible gradation in its texture, from the short close curls of the Kafir to the crisp but bushy locks of the Berberine, and, again, to the flowing hair of the black Tuaryk, or Tibbo."

From a very brief physiological comparison of human races, Dr. Pritchard passes on to a comparison of them with respect to mental endowments. "If it should appear, on inquiry, that one common mind, or physical nature, belongs to the whole human family, a very strong argument would thence arise, on the ground of analogy, for their community of species and origin." The first appearance presented by mankind, in this respect, is certainly one of much contrariety. "Let us imagine, for a moment, a stranger from another planet to visit our globe, and to contemplate and compare the manners of its inhabitants: and let him first witness some brilliant spectacle in one of the highly-civilized countries of Europe,—the coronation of a monarch, the installation of St. Louis on the throne of his ancestors, surrounded by an august assembly of peers, and barons, and mitred abbots, anointed from the cruze of sacred oil brought by an angel to ratify the divine privilege of kings. Let the same person be carried into a hamlet in Negro-land, in the hour when the sable race recreate themselves with dancing and barbarous music;—let him then be transported to the saline plains over which bald and tawny Mongoles roam, differing but little in hue from the yellow soil of their steppes, brightened by the saffron flowers of the iris and tulip;—let him be placed near the solitary den of the Bushman, where the lean and hungr

savage crouches in silence like a beast of prey, watching with fixed eyes the birds which enter his pitfall, or the insects and reptiles which chance brings within his grasp;—let the traveller be carried into the midst of an Australian forest, where the squalid companions of Kangaroos may be seen crawling in procession, in imitation of quadrupeds:—and can it be supposed that such a person would conclude the various groups of beings whom he had surveyed to be of one nation, one tribe, or the offspring of the same original stock?"

This inquiry, continues Dr. Pritchard, leads us to notice one great distinction between the nature of mankind and that of animals. "The Numidian lion and the satyr of the desert, the monarchies of bees, and the republics of African termites, are precisely to-day what they were in the age of Æsop and in the kingdom of Juba; while the descendants of the tribe who are described by Tacitus as living in squalid misery in solitary dens, amid the morasses of the Vistula, have built St. Petersburgh and Moscow; and the posterity of cannibals and phthirophagi now feed on pillaus and wheaten bread." Animal nature is stationary, but that of man is capable of continual growth and expansion. "The law of being for the brute creation is one of stationary perfection; but the law of manhood is one of continual enlargement of capacity—a law whose action commences with our earliest infancy, and goes on with sure progression, unless checked by adverse external forces, to the end of life. Look at a child of a year old. The little creature scarcely ventures on its first tottering steps; it brokenly lisps out its first few imperfect words, half-conscious utterances of dawning affection and indefinite desire; its every winning gesture betokens helplessness and dependence; and yet that child has already begun to exercise many of the characteristic prerogatives of human nature, among which its tendency to expand is one of the most remarkable. His young life, no longer concentrated in himself, diffuses itself around; his mind already begins to form those extended relations which will, at no very distant period, place the material world under his dominion; and to throw lines of thought which extend even into the region of the infinite."*

Passing lightly over certain distinctions between the creatures of instinct and the creatures of reason which are sometimes insisted upon in this great argument, Dr. Pritchard affirms, that the most important distinction of all, is to be found in the very different scope towards which the active energies of instinct and of reason are respectively directed. Instinct regards only things material and temporal: reason pierces the veil that overhangs

* Hopwood's "Principles of National Education," p. 86.

the unseen, and, rising above the restless and narrow interests of time,

"Rests and expatiates in a life to come."

"The rites everywhere performed for the dead, the various ceremonies of sepulture, of embalming, of cremation, funeral processions, and pomps following the deceased, in every age and nation throughout countless ages,—tombs raised over their remains, innumerable tumuli scattered over all the regions of the world, the only memorials of races long extinct—the morais, or houses of the dead, and the gigantic monuments of the Polynesians, the magnificent pyramids of Egypt and of Anahuac—the prayers and litanies set up in behalf of the living and the dead, in the churches of Christendom, in the mosques and pagodas of the East, as heretofore in the temples of the pagan world—the power of sacerdotal and consecrated orders, who have caused themselves to be revered as the interpreters of destiny, and as mediators between gods and men,—pontiffs, vicegerents of the Deity, on the banks of the Tiber, of the Brahmaputra, and the Arabian gulf,—sacred wars, desolating empires through zeal for some metaphysical dogma, which the mass of those who fought and perished never understood,—toilsome pilgrimages performed every year during long successive centuries through every region of the earth, by thousands of black and of white men, seeking atonement for guilt at the tombs of prophets and of saints,—immolations of the old and the young, voluntary deaths of the aged, and sacrifices of children by their parents,—the slaughter of animals for the typical or piacular averting of contracted guilt: all these, and other similar phenomena in the history of the barbarous and civilized nations of the world, which lead us to believe that all mankind sympathize in deeply-impressed feelings and sentiments which are as mysterious in their nature as in their origin. These are certainly among the most remarkable of the psychological phenomena which are peculiar to human beings, and which serve to distinguish the habits of men, not in their external aspect, but in their inward nature and originating principles of action, from the whole life and agency of the lower orders of creation." From these facts Dr. Pritchard draws a conclusion in favour of the common origin of mankind.

Before we enter, with our author, upon an investigation of these phenomena, we must make one or two preliminary observations on the relation of superstition to true religion, its external resemblances, its internal and real contrariety and oppugnance. We observe, with regret, in the above passage, a certain forgetfulness of the Divine origin of true religion; a certain disposition to regard priesthood, sacrifices, prayers, as merely human origin: whereas the truths bearing upon the under review, are these: that true religion, while it is of pu

Divine origin—the gift of God through the medium of an express revelation—is so perfectly adapted to the nature and necessities of fallen man, that when any of our race have more or less constructed religions for themselves, they have fashioned superstitious systems which sustain the same relation to the truth that a distorted shadow bears to the object, or a counterfeit to a genuine medal. "No religion," says Hooker, in a very pregnant sentence in the commencement of the Fifth Book of his Ecclesiastical Polity, "no religion can wholly and only consist of untruths." "Certain sparks of the light of truth are intermingled with the darkness of error." "Superstition," he further observes, "neither knoweth the right *kind*, nor observeth the due *measure*, of actions belonging to the service of God, but is always joined with a wrong opinion touching things divine. Superstition is when things are either abhorred or observed with a jealous, or fearful, but erroneous, relation to God. By means whereof the superstitious do sometimes serve, though the true God, yet with needless offices, and defraud Him of duties necessary; sometimes load others than Him with such honours as are properly His. The one, their oversight who miss in the choice of that wherewith they are affected; the other, theirs who fail in the election of him towards whom they show their devotion: this, the crime of idolatry; that, the fault of voluntary niceness or superfluity in religion." And once more: "of that which is good, even in evil things, God is author."

Guided by these principles, we may safely review the various religions of the heathen world; and while our abhorrence of superstition increases, as we examine more closely its nature and effects, we shall yet be able to recognise amid its errors and corruptions much that is good, much that retains the divine impress of the religion of patriarchal times, much that answers to the nature and necessities of our common humanity.

We now proceed, with Dr. Pritchard, to consider, first, the psychological character of the aborigines of the New World. "The indigenous race of the New World," observes Von Martius—a writer who has devoted much time and thought to the study of American ethnography—"is distinguished from all other nations of the earth, externally, by peculiarities of make, but still more, internally, by their state of mind and intellect. The aboriginal American is at once in the incapacity of infancy and unpliancy of old age,—he unites the opposite poles of intellectual life. . . . The men of red race, it must be confessed, do not appear to feel the blessing of a divine descent, but to have been led, by merely animal instinct and tardy steps, through a dark past, to actual cheerless present." To these and some further asser- by this imaginative writer, unfavourable to the original of the human race, Dr. Pritchard replies, by showing that ligious dogmas and sentiments of the old nations of America

harmonize with what we discover in other departments of mankind; and he supports his position by citations from Loskiel—an old writer, who resided for many years among the Delaware Indians. A survey of the condition and capacities of the Esquimaux leads to the same conclusion. "The mind of the Esquimaux has the same moral and intellectual constitution as that of other human beings. They have the same elements of moral feeling, the same sympathies and susceptibilities of affection, the same conscience, or internal conviction of accountableness, the same sentiments of guilt and self-condemnation, the same desires of expiation, which are common to so many other nations in almost every degree of mental culture. The most elevated of these principles are only recognised, in the natural or pagan state of these men, as mere rudiments of higher and better understanding, or as scintillations now and then shooting forth. When these doctrines and misrepresentations are opened to them, which have been found, in so many other parts of the world, to be congenial to the human mind, and as such, have been received by the most polished as well as by the most barbarous nations, they have produced their wonted effects upon the Esquimaux. The minds of these people appear to be, as to all essential principles of feeling and understanding, in harmony, and in strict analogy with those of other men. Such a mind can hardly be supposed common to *different* species of organized beings."

If from America we pass to Africa, we there are met by similar facts, all pointing to the same conclusion. The degraded Bushman,—who has been described, by an infidel and heartless physiologist, as the link between the genus *homo* and the genera of orangs and gibbons,—has vindicated and established his claim to a place in the ascending scale of humanity. So has the Negro of Western Africa. In like manner, the barbarous tribes of Northern Asia and the savage islanders of the great Southern Ocean are further evidence that God "hath made of *one* blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

And now we have arrived at the end of Dr. Pritchard's valuable treatise; which he concludes in these terms: "We contemplate among all the diversified tribes, who are endowed with reason and speech, the same internal feelings, appetencies, aversions; the same inward convictions, the same sentiments of subjection to invisible powers, and, more or less developed, of responsibility to unseen avengers of wrong, and agents of retributive justice, from whose tribunal men cannot even by death escape. We find everywhere the same susceptibility—though not always in the same degree of forwardness or ripeness of improvement—of admitting the cultivation of these universal endowments, of opening the eyes of the mind to the more clear and luminous view which Christianity unfolds, of becoming moulded to the institutions of religion and of civilized life: in a

word, the same inward and mental nature is to be recognised in all the races of men.

"When we compare this fact with the observations which have already been fully established, as to the specific instincts and separate psychical endowments of all the distinct tribes of sentient beings in the universe, we are entitled to draw, confidently, the conclusion, that *all human races are of one species and one family.*"

For our own parts, we freely admit that we are not prepared to draw so positive a conclusion from the facts which mere Ethnography has amassed. Long before the very name of this science was invented, the Church was certified that all mankind are the offspring of Adam. If ever she gloried in her catholicity, as understood in its simplest and most obvious meaning—as expressing (not by construction) either her unity or her maintenance of the Truth, but her universality, and nothing more—it was when she beheld, in the prophetic mirror of the Apocalypse, the redeemed out of "*every* kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation,"—the "great multitude, which no man could number, of *all* nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues,"—"them that dwell on the earth, *every* nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people." She read, in the pure light of heaven, with the clear eye of faith, while her heart of love grew warm, and the elastic pinions of anticipating hope expanded for a heaven-ward flight, she read those simple words of the great Apostle of the Gentiles,—"As in Adam *all* die, even so in Christ shall *all* be made alive." By these she was absolutely assured that all mankind are one:—one in origin, one in nature, one in destiny; although disunited for a while by sin, which has assimilated one portion of our race,—the Australian and the Bushman-Hottentot, to the orang and the chimpantzi; while even those who have been most exalted, betray that fierce independence, and that scornful glance, which stamp the Grecian face with the earthly mark of Paganism.

Then she felt the secret inward stirring of her vast regenerating powers: and while she is well content that a mere inductive philosophy shall refute its own objections, and, like certain of the inferior animals, shelter its offspring, in the hour of danger, by swallowing them; she acknowledges in every human being a "neighbour," and stands prepared to receive him as a "brother." While she leaves feeble science to retrace her steps, or—if science is wise,—to bend them, with the Eastern Magi, towards the cradle of the Son of Man; she herself labours on in the divine work of re-uniting and re-constituting mankind in that Image in which "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but CHRIST is all and in all."

Family Secrets; or, Hints to those who would make Home happy. *By* Mrs. Ellis. 3 vols. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

It is an old saying, that one-half of the world are ignorant what is done by the other half. The delicate beauty knows nothing (but for Mr. Paget) of the half-starved sempstress who labours in her service. The customers of Sheffield, or Manchester, know nothing of the amount of human misery which fills those gloomy ergastula. We ourselves are ignorant respecting the manner of life of those ingenious cooperators, through whose assistance our present thoughts are to find their way to the minds of our readers. As we sit at the window of our lonely study, looking forth upon the freshness of reopening Spring,—on the lofty mountain ridge, which closes our solitary valley,—on the streamlet, which, issuing from its highest gorge, shows itself in occasional glimpses, till it subsides at last into the ample lake which lies before us,—we are as ignorant of the close and stifling receptacles where our words will be transferred from our own careless autograph to the dignity of a printed memorial, as we are of the possible corruptions which the waters of our favourite stream may have to encounter, before they get quit of the town which lies beneath us, and attain their final resting-place in the boundless deep.

These circumstances impress value upon any work, however trivial, which reveals to us the secret life of our companions in this world of sorrow. Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto. But much more is this applicable to revelations respecting what touches us most nearly, and most closely borders upon our own path. On this ground it is, then, that Mrs. Ellis's volumes have excited our attention. Though possessing little interest as narratives, they exhibit a phase of human society with which we are but slightly acquainted. An advertisement at the conclusion of the first volume, included within the limit of the gilded leaves, which we owe either to Mrs. Ellis's taste, or to that of her publishers, assures us that "the scenes and characters are, it is believed, portraits." The Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister, with all its strong internal marks of credibility, is of disputed authenticity; but in these volumes, we have a disclosure of "Family Secrets" by a lady, who openly avows her situation and origin, and whose discrimination and fidelity are attested by the circle in which she moves.

Mrs. Ellis, formerly Miss Stickney, the daughter of a Quaker, and wife of a Dissenting teacher, cannot be unacquainted with the life and manners of a large and important portion of the community Though not possessing the wit of Hannah More, nor the truthfulness of Sarah Austin, she is the accredited authoress of her party. The exhortations to wives and widows, to daughters and mothers, chase one another, in rapid succession, through the advertising pages o every Dissenting magazine. Though she is likely to know little

therefore, of that larger and more liberal portion of Society, to which her connexions would not introduce her, yet for "Life among the Dissenters," she must be considered as the standard authority.

The tale she unfolds, we regret to say, is singularly painful. Such an amount of gross coarseness, and unredeemed brutality, such total want of refinement, such lack of control over the lower portions of our animal nature, we were altogether unprepared to expect. That this should be the mode of life among those whose alienation from Christ's Church we were wont, indeed, to deplore, but to whom we gave credit for a certain average decency of conduct, is a most painful surprise to us. Yet how can we meet the evidence of a witness whose opportunity of judging has been so abundant? As new ourselves to the circle in which Mrs. Ellis has moved, as she is to the mode of life among Church-people, surprise and commiseration are the only arguments which we can oppose to her positive testimony to the "Family Secrets" of her associates. The matter comes upon us as much by surprise as the confession of the Thuggs upon those who had been living for years in unconscious proximity with this band of murderers; but as it was justly asked from whom but a Thugg could you derive such disclosures, so we must fairly confess that Mrs. Ellis is a better witness than any Churchman can pretend to be, of what passes in the domicile of a Quaker, or round the fireside of a teacher of Dissent.

The painful confessions, then, to which we proceed to introduce our readers, and which our authoress, somewhat in the manner of the celebrated Genevese, states herself to make "as a duty," reveal the humiliating fact of an universal prevalence of the crime of drunkenness throughout the families of which Mrs. Ellis can speak from personal knowledge. Nor is the vice confined to one age or sex. Young and old, wives and virgins, farmers and apothecaries, all are tainted with this damning sin. The only cure for the Dissenting world lies in Total Abstinence; we had vainly fancied that it was only for the brutalized and ignorant Paddy that such a remedy was needed, but it seems that the Dissenting circles in our borough towns, and the respectable families of what Mrs. Ellis calls "Ministers of the Gospel," would afford as large a field for the exertions of Father Mathew. The opinion which this lady entertains of those among whom she moves, our limited acquaintance with the parties does not enable us to controvert. We observe, indeed, that she occasionally assigns her characters to other classes, and that her language is applicable to a wider sphere. This may result from her natural unacquaintance with those ranks which are removed from her own observation, or it may be designed to render her advice more palatable to her immediate connexions. In the first case, it l be a real gratification to a person of her benevolent mind, to be ıred that, though faithfully derived, no doubt, from her own ɔciates, the pictures she has drawn are as inapplicable to any

other class of the community, as the advice which she has derived from them is superfluous. But we rather incline to give our authoress credit for greater penetration. We believe her to be fully aware of what must strike every one else, that her historical pieces, like those of other painters, must be peopled with such characters as she meets in the intercourse of life. The poor madman who maintained that his table was furnished with a variety of sumptuous dishes, could not help whispering that, some how or another, they all had a villainous twang of water-gruel; and though Mrs. Ellis occasionally travesties her friends in the costume of Knights and Ladies, of Curates and Rectors; yet since we are assured that all are portraits, we know well enough that everything must at bottom be of home composition,—that we must in reality be conversant only with the expectants of the silent meeting, or the frequenters of the Tabernacle. And no doubt it is considerate in this lady, while revealing their "Family Secrets," to disguise a little the parties she exposes; for though she tells us, in her preface, that she does it for their good; yet, like an experienced instructress, she wields the rod in a manner which those whom she undertakes to instruct will find more salutary than agreeable. It is only the extent of the evil which can justify her proceedings. And wherever such manners are to be found as she sets before us, their exposure is no doubt a duty. That our readers then may understand in detail the notions of life, which this lady has gained from her accurate observation of one portion of mankind, we will cite a description of a scene, illustrative of the dangers of dining out, adding only, that a grave sort of female Mentor, a Ulysses in petticoats, by whom Mrs. Ellis manifestly means to describe herself, tells us, that the occurrence was "not worthy of a thought, still less of a tear; that such things were perpetually occurring, and that when gentlemen dined together, they must of necessity occur."—Vol. i. p. 18.

Mr. Bond, a respectable person of the middle class, gives a party to some friends of his own sex. His young wife waits long in the drawing-room. At length the gentlemen begin to appear. The first is a philosopher, of whom nothing special is related.

"The next outlet from the dining-room was of a very different description. It was a complete explosion. Amongst the screams of the maid-servants, the laughter of the footmen, and the derangement of all the furniture in the hall, in shot the little gentleman, the terror of all nervous ladies, the delight of all stable-boys and grooms.

"The sister of Mrs. Bond was a sweet-looking girl of sixteen; gentle and timid as a young dove, she was exactly the kind of subject the little gentleman was wont to choose for his boisterous and absurd attentions.

"Eleanor [Mrs. Bond] looked on with astonishment equalled only by her indignation. The maternal feelings of an elder sister rose in her heart, and glowed upon her cheeks, as she saw the poor girl struggling, almost in tears, beneath his familiar and insulting treatment. One of her attempts to escape had rent her white muslin frock from the top to the bottom, and her hair, which she usually wore arranged around her brow with classic order, was torn from its bandage, and lay loose and flowing upon her neck."

Mrs. Bond, to whom, like ourselves, this was a new view of life, remonstrates; but

"The little gentleman, not in the slightest degree daunted by her authoritative manner, let go his former prize, and, seizing both her hands, compelled her to perform various rapid evolutions round the drawing-room; during which, notwithstanding the giddiness of her brain, and the agony of her vexation, Eleanor retained the power of perceiving that, through the partial opening of the door, the footmen and servant-maids were peeping and giggling," &c.—P. 17.

All this, we repeat it, seems as strange to us as it could do to Mrs. Bond; as unlike anything which passes among persons with whom Church-people of any rank in life are accustomed to associate. We sometimes hear it imputed to those of our religious creed that they are too exclusive; but if this be the average manners to which a more enlarged view of life would introduce us, we can only assert our ignorance to be bliss. However, we cannot dispute Mrs. Ellis's veracity: she draws portraits, as she assures us, from the life: "every man," as Gibbon reminds us, "expresses himself in the dialect the most congenial to his temper and inclination, the most familiar to the company in which he has lived, and to the authors with whom he is conversant." And when we find this lady exhibiting the same truth in a dozen different stories, producing as many respectable men and accomplished women whose health is destroyed, and their character blasted, by their excess in drink; when she sets forth this as a just picture of that portion of English life with which she is acquainted, we cannot deny, remembering that fiction is more philosophical than history, that it exhibits the results of a more ample induction, and a more comprehensive outline of the state of manners, than others could give, and that the circle which gave birth to Miss Stickney, and is illustrated by the pen of Mrs. Ellis,—the Quaker-Methodistical intercourse of England,—is in grievous want of social reform.

But we must not be so unfair to our valued guide as to overlook her account of that which no one probably of our readers has witnessed, the fire-side of "the Minister." But here we must take leave to find fault with Mrs. Ellis for some sly strokes of literary quackery. The volumes before us are manifestly *got up* with the hope of their being foisted into a circle very different from that from which they were drawn. If any books ever thoroughly eschewed the simple drab of Miss Stickney's ancestors it is the ones before us. The sides flowered, carved, and ornamented, the backs and leaves "besmeared with gold," are so overdone as to make us think at once of the overdressiness of a wet-Quaker. No doubt it was hoped that these volumes might be smuggled into the circulating library or the boudoir with "Pelham," or the "Recollections of a Chaperone." Now, it would have been fatal to this hope, if the Rev. Joseph Middleton had been set forth as the mere oracle of a Meeting-house. There are [illegible] elderly ladies enough who stick to the Church notwithstanding the terror of Dr. Pusey; and "Family Secrets" might have run chance of being excluded as a downright dissenting publication.

Besides, had the Rev. Joseph Middleton been depicted with any explicitness, while one band of sectaries would have been pleased, fifty would have been dissatisfied; the Independent would not have cared for what befel the Anabaptist, nor would the Methodist have mourned over the fortunes of the Presbyterian. This danger Mrs. Ellis has evaded with characteristic, we were going to say with hereditary, address. "The Rev. Joseph Middleton" was "the respected and worthy minister of a religion whose principles of order, peace, and harmony, were exemplified by his whole household." Truly our authoress is not deficient in the adroitness of her race. We might as well solve the old question, "given the height of the mast, and the length of the Captain's nose, to find his name." The description is true of the religion of Smith the Mormonite, whose principles are as discordant as his household; and to most systems, from that of Nauvoo to that of Anabaptism, would it equally adapt itself.

This is but a specimen of that spirit of puffing which is grievously apparent in the writings of our authoress. Her volumes are prefaced by an advertisement of Mrs. Ellis's "Juvenile Scrap-book, *the only annual for young people;*" and we cannot help supposing that the unusual omission of any date on the title-page is intended to keep *Family Secrets* fresh for two or three years, that it may be a sort of exaggerated annual for more than a single season. We have heard great disappointment expressed by an agricultural friend who had been led by a flattering advertisement to make trial of a "gigantic Stickney clover," and we anticipate as much dissatisfaction if the gay outside of these volumes should induce any persons, except the student of Dissenting life, to open them either for instruction or amusement.

But our present object is with the family of "the Minister." We are not going to weary our readers with the tale; but the picture which accompanies it is sufficiently instructive. The family circle is gathered round a gentleman to the clerical neatness of whose attire the artist does full justice. To judge by their portraits, nothing can be more punctilious in this respect than our "dear Dissenting Brethren;" the elegance of their neckcloths, the propriety and glossiness of their black clothes, are perfectly bewitching. But we must draw attention to the table which stands at the "Minister's" right hand. It supports a large book, probably a family Bible, flanked by such a set of cruets as our readers may have seen employed at any small inn which is resorted to for the purchase of brandy and water. From this "the Minister" has replenished his glass, which a little boy who stands before him is watching with deep interest; while the residuum of a formidable tumbler, which is in his wife's hands, is to be enjoyed by another child who is seated on her lap. This, then, it seems, is Dissenting life! Sure we are that it was in no Parsonage-house that this domestic group was depicted. Nor can we wonder if this family grew up such determined topers as Mrs. Ellis's experience of life informs her that all persons will be, sooner or later, who are not Teetotallers.

We really have not patience to argue seriously, as we had at one time designed to do, with the authoress of these absurd volumes. But, like other unscriptural delusions, her extravagant notions are fraught with mischief to society. Though we can give her credit for having lived in a low and coarse school, yet no doubt the faults of her associates must be exaggerated by her pen. She seems totally ignorant that there is such a thing as the Christian duty of temperance;—she forgets that any other creature of God may be as much abused as strong drink;—she falls into the Gnostic heresy, of denying the abstract lawfulness of what God has created;—she forgets the example of our Lord, and mistakes that of the Apostles. S. Paul's willingness to abstain from meat respected a particular superstition which he wished to cure, and did not deny the lawfulness of God's creatures. Yet were Total Abstinence a duty now, why was it not the same in the days of the Apostles? The early Christians might be, indeed, and no doubt were, superior in all points to the associates of Mrs. Ellis; but even at that day there were low and dissipated classes in the heathen world, whom she can hardly think so much better than the friends whose "family secrets" she has published. Why did not S. Paul reclaim them by taking the pledge? Why does he expressly charge Timothy to act in a contrary manner? Was his inspired wisdom inferior to the attainments of modern experience? Had he looked less closely into the nature of men in this state? Was he less conversant with the secrets of the world to come?

We heartily hope that none of our fair readers will be beguiled by the taking title of any works of this authoress into giving her a moment's attention. She may, for aught we know, give a fair estimate of Dissenting nature, and guard her sister sectaries against their besetting sins; but for the daughters of the Church, who are conscious that their temptations are not to drunkenness, to whom the sipping of brandy and water is no usual employment when their children assemble before the evening fire, whose homes are not outraged by such scenes as we have quoted,—let them not defile their minds, nor lower their tastes, by the admission of any such humiliating associations.

Sermons on the Duties of Daily Life. By FRANCIS E. PAGET, M.A. *Rector of Elford.* Rugeley: Walters. London: Burns. 1844.

Sermons preached to the British Congregation at Florence. By their late Chaplain, the Rev. R. J. TENNANT, M.A. Trin. Coll. London: Fellowes. 1844.

a late article we opened the question of English Preaching, he question which, strange to say, is by no means a settled

one amongst us, how best to preach? We treated it as one to which the English Priesthood is far, as a body, from affording that practical reply which one could wish; we obviously indicated our opinion that as a body the accomplishment of Preaching is one which they are far from possessing. We are glad to see our opinion confirmed by a brilliant writer in the "Foreign and Colonial Review," who qualifies a favourable and sanguine judgment of our religious condition by mentioning the art of Preaching as one which still remains to be learned by us.

Some of our friends may, perhaps, censure us for bestowing two articles on what they deem a very subordinate institution of the Church, and one mischievously overrated by the popular religionists of the day. That it is so we are far from denying; but we are sure that it is easy equally to underrate it, and we think that we have observed such a tendency amongst those who have set their face against Puritan sentiment and practice; albeit from their school have come forth some of the most splendid exceptions to the mediocre character of modern English preaching. Our readers, doubtless, remember the following passage in "Mr. Froude's Remains."

"Next, the Tracts talk a great deal about the Clergy 'teaching authoritatively.' Do you think that, on any fair principles of interpretation, the texts which claim authority for the teaching of inspired persons, and those in immediate communication with them, can be applied to the teaching of those who have no access to any source of information which is not equally open to all mankind? Surely no teaching now-a-days is authoritative in the sense in which the Apostles' was, except that of the Bible; nor any in the sense in which Timothy's was except that of primitive tradition. To find a sense in which the teaching of the modern clergy is authoritative, I confess baffles me. Do you mean that if his lordship of ——, taught one way, and Pascal or Robert Nelson another, the former would be entitled to most consideration? Or do you only give the preference to ordained persons, *cæteris paribus*? The former assertion would be startling, the latter does not come to much."—Vol. i. p. 403.

"Preaching and reading the Scriptures is what a layman can do as well as a clergyman. And it is no wonder the people should forget the difference between ordained and unordained persons, when those who are ordained do nothing for them, but what they could have done just as well without Ordination."—*Ibid.* p. 372.

Of course these, being said in a letter to a friend, cannot be viewed as more than the writer's *first impression* of the case; and had Mr. Froude considered the ground which we now mean to go hastily over, we dare say he would have greatly modified, if not altered that opinion.

We affirm, then, that this disparagement of Preaching is adverse to the sentiment of the whole Catholic Church. Although we are in the habit of laughing at that popular interpretation, which, whenever it encounters the words *Preach* or *Preaching* in

the New Testament, understands by them the public delivery of sermons; though we admit that nothing can be more ludicrous than such a notion of St. Paul's meaning when he speaks of "the foolishness of Preaching," yet we do think, on the other hand, that the Puritan doctrine on this subject was far from so indefensible as Hooker and the contemporary Church writers imagined, and that, in fact, it was an exaggeration and distortion, instead of an abandonment of Primitive sentiment. Their doctrine, as is well known, was—that a peculiar Virtue resides in the *Publicly uttered* Word, over and above what that Word possesses if communicated in any other way. This doctrine is embodied in the Westminster Catechism as follows: "The Spirit of God maketh the reading, *but especially the Preaching* of the Word an effectual means, &c." To what extent this doctrine was pushed, and with what figures illustrated, may be seen from Hooker's Eccl. Pol. b. v. especially as illustrated by Mr. Keble's notes.

That all this, however free from what was commonly termed Popery, was but the substitution of one form of Carnality and Superstition for another may safely be conceded. To consider its glorious incompatibility with the *Bibliolatry* of modern Puritanism would be highly interesting, but at present would lead us too far from the question before us. Hooker's replies seem to us, we own, anything but satisfactory. He flies off to the other extreme, and seems to consider the sermon as having no other merit or value than what the *wit*, i.e. intellect, of the Preacher can give it. Mr. Froude's estimate seemed no higher at the time he wrote the letters from which we have quoted; indeed, he seemed disinclined to rank Preaching among the peculiar prerogatives conferred by ordination—an error, surely, if the Catholic Church be right.

The Church, as the earthly Representative and Manifestation of her Divine Head, must exercise His three especial functions of Prophet, Priest, and King. In fulfilment of the first named, she has ever recognised a peculiar authoritative ministration of the Word, each several application of which forms the especially appointed portion of the souls to whom it is legitimately made. Doubtless such ministration is not confined to the preaching of sermons; doubtless the ordinance of Catechising is one, and not the least important, of its branches; doubtless, too, the private instructions of a Priest to a single member of his flock ought to fall under its range, and to partake of its character. But notwithstanding all this, there seems to have been from the beginning a highest and most dignified form of it designed for the faithful in common, which was therefore public, and looked 's, in its way, *liturgic*. Such an ordinance was, doubtless, eathed to us from the Synagogue; and our Lord's use of it

in the most solemn Ritual He ever observed, that during which He instituted the blessed Eucharist, may well warrant the high value and especial dignity which the Church has ever assigned to it. St. Paul, too, (Acts xx. 7,) seems to have accompanied the Lord's Supper with it; and his remarkable words, (Rom. xvi. 16,) according to their most generally received interpretation, invest it with a liturgic aspect. Justin Martyr testifies to the Eucharist having been, in his days, accompanied by a sermon, and that delivered by one of the Priesthood. The Apostolical Constitutions consider preaching as one of the especial functions of the Priesthood; as does the Council of Ancyra, an authority of about the same date, which reckons it among the marked features of the Sacred Liturgy, forbidding the Presbyter who, having been, in certain more excusable circumstances, betrayed into *Sacrificing*, might on his repentance be restored to his former rank, to consecrate the Eucharist, *to preach or discharge any other part of the Divine offices.* The same thing is attested by those ancient definitions of the Ministerial Grades, which stated the office of the Presbyter thus: "Sacerdotem oportet offerre, et benedicere, et bene præesse, *prædicare*, et baptizare." *Vide* Martene de Ritibus, I. viii. 11.

These considerations may, perhaps, suffice to show that if the religionists of the day attach an exaggerated value to preaching, other parties may easily underrate it, and that in so doing they run counter to Catholic sentiment, the Church having ever ranked the public ministration of God's holy Word among the high and distinctive powers which are conveyed to her Priesthood by their Apostolical ordination.

And, if Mr. Froude's difficulty be alleged, that while nearly all parties would, on their first impressions, except against the proposition that every man may administer Sacraments, no one can see anything in the composition or delivery of a Sermon which, with reference to the power of doing either, seems to require an especial ordination; and that, except as matter of discipline and obedience, no man of Catholic sentiment could by possibility attach the same value to the sentence of certain living Bishops and the opinion of Robert Nelson; we are furnished with a ready answer in the Post-Communion Collect of our own Service for the Ordering of Priests. The Bishop there prays in the following terms:—"Most merciful Father, we beseech Thee to send upon these Thy servants Thy heavenly blessing: that they may be clothed with righteousness, and that Thy Word spoken by their mouths may have such success, that it may never be spoken in vain. Grant, also, that we may have grace to hear and receive what they shall deliver out of Thy most holy Word, or agreeable to the same, as *the means of our Salvation*, &c." This is the gracious peculiarity of the Word rightly spoken by God's commissioned ambassador, that it is

spoken by appointment; that it shares in the great ministerial Charter, "Lo, I am with you always;" that we are to value it, not merely for its intrinsic Truth, Solemnity, or Comfort, but as the especially designed provision for the wants of our souls at the time and on the occasion when we legitimately hear it. This consideration makes it easy to understand why an especial *charisma* conveyed by ordination should be requisite for the ministry of it; for, while we see no presumption in a man's expecting the grace of his orders, rightly cherished and used, to give him a more accurate and penetrating insight into Divine things than he could otherwise have had; it is obvious that the selection of particular portions, the *right division*, of the Word of Truth, the especial aspects under which, on each especial occasion, it is to be presented, and the estimate of the spiritual wants around us involved in all this, are matters on which he must need continual guidance; in which it is most comforting to be told that they whose duties impose such need, have an especial ordination to which they can look as insuring its supply, and that the knowledge of this by themselves and their flocks, gives a totally different character to their ministerial words from that possessed by the discussions or persuasions of unordained men, however accurate, or however forcible, these latter may be.

Nor can the cases of Origen and others, who were allowed to preach while laymen, be fairly alleged against what we have been laying down. For they were but exceptions that in a very marked way proved the rule, the objections raised, and the answers given to such practice, attesting what that rule really was. In fact, that a layman has preached by permission, is a fact in no way perplexing to the Catholic thinker, who recognises in Baptism the root of all spiritual prerogative whatsoever—the general capacity of all that every other ordinance can specially confer,—the *lay priesthood* which Tertullian and others after him have considered to hold in solution all other grades and developments of Priesthood. And whether they have been right or wrong in thinking this, no orthodox man will deny that such Lay Priesthood is a reality, and that it is conferred in Baptism; no thinking man will fail to see that the Church has never yet measured or limited the developments whereof it may be susceptible; and that if even the administration of Baptism has been thought, and by large branches of the Church *ruled*, to come within its range, much more may that of Preaching, which, whatever be the authority that it implies in the administrator, from its nature can give rise to no questions of *validity*, no questions of whether iteration be or be not necessary, as regards the receiver—an ordinance which on no one occasion
ny directly judicial effects, such as follow Baptism, Absolu-
Confirmation, or Orders. Consequently, no one would

think of blaming such conduct as that of Frumentius in Ethiopia; no one would doubt a lay Christian's right to preach Christ to the Heathen, in the absence of any ordained ambassador to them; nor would any one feel such authority, so exercised, as at all interfering with the ordinary sacerdotal character of preaching. There is all the difference in the world between a gifted man being allowed to speak seasonable words on some one occasion or more, and a standing authority to speak, so as to be entitled to claim obedient attention for all that one says in virtue of such authority.

If, then, Preaching be an ordinance of such ancient and inherent dignity, it seems needless to contend for the necessity of administering it as well as we can. Independently of the considerations that we have been urging, an earnest man will always seek to do well whatever he has to do at all, and as a fact our "working clergy" have nearly all got to preach at least one Sermon every week. But if the right exercise of this institution be one of the objects, and the requisite power one of the gifts, of Apostolical Ordination, then, beyond question, there is a still higher necessity for bestowing on it all the attention and energy of which we are capable. In our last article we considered mainly the tone of authority and dogmatic teaching with which the preacher ought to arm himself—our arguments for which are reinforced by the ground that we have now taken; but, at present, we propose looking at the subject mainly in its literary aspect.

Doubtless, no man ought to demand that each Sermon he hears should afford him literary gratification; and, doubtless, a Sermon may answer all the requisite conditions of excellence in its kind with but a small amount of literary pretension. Nevertheless, we think the average of intellect put forth in the Sermons of the day rather humbling. There are men set apart, among other duties, to speak magisterially on certain subjects, with every possible advantage of position, every inclination on the part of those around them to be respectful listeners. The subjects are at once the most awful and the most universally concerning; the authority with which they are treated the most commanding known on earth. Now, as we have already hinted, we do not demand that Preachers generally should be great orators,—we even think that on the whole they are better otherwise. Neither do we insist on their separate compositions having separate literary value. But we conceive that we have a right to expect that they should in no case whatever be *weak*. Our Judges cannot be possessed of equal intellectual power; nobody pretends to say that all their decisions are of the same stamp as a Stowell's or a Lyndhurst's; yet we fancy that in giving judgment they one and all speak tolerably to the purpose, that their words are reasonably charged with meaning, that they are seldom

weak. So we fancy of commercial arbitrators, and so of business letters of any sort. Throughout English society, the various classes and professions do their respective parts very creditably, with the exception, perhaps, of country justices, and certainly of senators and preachers. With the faults, however, of justices and senators we have nothing to do at present, nor, however gladly we should perceive their amendment, can we think them so much to be deplored as those of the clergy. But it is matter of serious regret, that, amid the thousands of Sermons delivered every week from the pulpits of our Church, so very small a proportion should rise above mediocrity: so very many, pronounced, too, by sensible and strong-minded men, should be wretchedly weak; while another large proportion should be rife with vulgarity and offensive qualities; and of the remainder so few comparatively should be characterised by any air of reality, anything like definite drift or purpose, anything like practical approach to the idea of the institution. Now, how is this to be mended? Everybody knows the remedy urged in the Spectator, which has been largely adopted among us, that of preaching other people's Sermons; availing oneself, as the phrase is, of the composition of a judicious divine. Without utterly condemning and railing at this practice, as do our dissenting neighbours, we think it liable to serious objection, and on the whole rejoice to learn that the young clergy are taking pains to write their own Sermons. For if they copy, their choice must be from our standard or our mediocre Sermons. If the former be chosen, their literary merit will demand that the theft be acknowledged, which, as matters are, would be far from expedient: if the latter, the people will be used unfairly, who have, we think, a right to demand that they shall not be served with mediocrity on system, and who would, any how, prefer the preacher's own mediocrity to another man's; to say nothing of the fact that those who have been weak enough to publish Sermons of little literary value, have seldom been good divines; so that the people who listen, if *listen* they do, to their lucubrations at second-hand, are served with sorry doctrine. Again, the copyist can scarcely be exercising the solemn duty to which he was ordained of "rightly dividing the Word of Truth," administering it to his hearers in such parts and proportions as are dictated by his knowledge of their special situation and needs. At least, if he succeeds in adapting other men's writing to this, he performs a task much more difficult than would be involved in a similar exercise of meditation and judgment employed on the same ject, and aided, it may be, from the same sources, but issuing rds of his own; and is, therefore, chargeable with a waste ne and strength. The changes, too, which take place on age render it scarcely possible that the style of one age ld be fit for the pulpit in another, where beyond all other

places and occasions, it behoves us that our words should not be abstract, but living and real, free from technicality, and charged each with its own distinct and well-known meaning. Any how, the fact that our parishioners believe them to be our own, and that we could not safely undeceive them if it were otherwise, must always constitute a very serious objection to the use of another man's Sermons.

And further, if, as we have urged, the Power of Preaching be one of our ordination Graces, it surely behoves those who have received it to show their faith in its reality, by sedulously cultivating it. Such ought not to distrust their capability in this respect. Though they may rank themselves low in the intellectual scale, though they may attach no literary value to their Sermons, they ought by no means to doubt that, in virtue of God's appointment, those Sermons can be made most efficacious to those who hear them. They may be no orators (how very few of any order ever can be!), and they may have taken no pains to become rhetoricians, whose art—a poor substitute for oratory anywhere—is an offensive one in the pulpit; but, for all that, they can take care that their words be living and true ones, instinct with the Holy Ghost and with power. There is nothing in the preacher's art, difficult in one point of view as is its discharge anywhere, which need be beyond the reach of any man who is fit for the priestly office at all. His great aim must be to see that he have something to say,—that he be furnished with a real adequate meaning for his words, and then that his words be as far as possible faithful and exact representatives of that meaning;—in a word, he must desire and strive to be *real.* In doing this, doubtless, are involved much labour, much meditation, much scrutiny of Scripture, much *general* acquaintance with the voice and sentiment, the *Common Law* of the Church, much knowledge of the daily life, the governing thoughts, the habitual persuasions of his flock; above all, much acquaintance with the intimate recesses of that human heart which is his as well as theirs, and is naturally the same in all essentials in him as in them. Doubtless, the doing all this is no easy burden or light yoke; but a burden and a yoke, notwithstanding, which the man on whom rest the vows of a Priest has no right to decline. And we are quite sure that the effect of regarding the personal composition of Sermons as one of the duties imposed by that vow, would be most salutary on the whole body of the clergy; that their efforts at discharging that duty conscientiously on which, taking them as they now are, we have good warrant for counting, would lead to their cultivating habits of closer prayer, and more earnest scrutiny of Scripture, than characterise them at present; that without adding to their merely *literary* ambition, nay, by dint of calming and temper their whole estimate of themselves and their circumstances

many instances greatly abating it, such efforts would issue in their becoming better practical theologians, fitter to impart the right portion of the Word at the right season, more qualified to advise in difficult cases, abler to guide precarious tendencies, and rightly to develope the religious zeal and inquiry with which they may come into contact, and for the right issue of which, as far as in them lies, they must hold themselves responsible. No man can fairly say that the English clergy are as yet adequate to their position in these respects: when we consider how few of them are qualified to catechise in any powerful or instructive way, we see how far off they are from the character of the "faithful and wise steward," who is able to give the Lord's household "their portion of meat in due season."

But the efforts and the use of human means required for this are no light matter. There never was a greater mistake than to suppose that we may bestow little pains on that which is to aim at no literary excellence, and to be addressed to the plain and the uneducated. The late Mr. Rose, in his admirable work on "the Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy," has some judicious observations on this subject, bearing, perhaps, on the literary, but certainly, also on the practical, aspect of the question, from which we now extract what follows, being a note on a remark of the present Bishop of Chester.

"There are some very excellent and sensible remarks on the style of Parochial preaching, in Mr. Sumner's work, called 'Apostolical Preaching,' p. 9, 5th edit. But Mr. Sumner appears to me to make parochial preaching a much easier thing than it really is. In stating his opinion to that effect, he says that the preacher 'must descend from the high and lofty tone of language to which he is accustomed, to walk in the humble terms of Scripture; he must limit his rounded periods to the extent of vulgar comprehension; he must abound in interrogations and addresses which the rules of composition condemn.' This is perfectly true; but this very limitation of rounded periods, so that dulness shall not be mistaken for simplicity, appears to me to require great study and pains; and the interrogations and addresses, of which Mr. S. speaks, effective as they assuredly are, will become offensive and wearisome, when not regulated by a just taste and knowledge of the best models. Mr. Sumner would, I fear, think the assertion extravagant; but I am well convinced that the village preacher, of good sense, might be much benefited by the study of Demosthenes, or of any other of those great masters, who, to mighty eloquence, have added a profound knowledge of the human heart. South, after inculcating with great force the necessity of plain preaching, says, 'Those two stand best by mutual support and communication; elocution without wisdom being empty and irrational, and wisdom without elocution, barren and unprofitable.'—Sermons, vol. v. p. 465."—*Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy*, pp. 168, 169.

The main point here considered seems to be style; and undoubtedly, next to doctrine, to acute perception of states of heart, and to a command and skilful application of Scripture, come a mastery over words, a constant habit of regarding and ng them as real phenomena of thought, instead of mere nters to be taken instead of it, a regard to their primary seldom rightly excluded by any secondary meaning which

may be annexed to them, and above all a facility in applying the laws of syntax, composition, and rhythm, to the common vocabulary of all orders. This last is the village preacher's consummate art, and the one of all others most hardly attained; for in the present day, scarcely any educated man finds it difficult to mould his sentences into some sort of structure, provided he may avail himself of whatever abstract words and terms of art he may be master of; but enforce the exclusion of such, and his difficulties at once begin. On the other hand, if the sentences be not so moulded, no meaning can come clearly out; nay, it may be questionable whether any presents itself clearly to the speaker or the writer; for we need scarcely tell our readers that the laws of good composition are entirely grounded on the logical relations of the things to be expressed; and that by consequence their observance or neglect will be in proportion as those relations are felt and made distinct.

This, then, must be constantly kept in mind by the Priest who would preach with effect on the common sense of his parishioners; that whilst he must avoid all slovenliness of syntax, whilst he must compose carefully, his vocabulary must be that with which they are familiar. And when he has learned to observe both these conditions, he will find that few difficulties but moral ones stand in his way. Our readers may, perhaps, be aware of Horsley's *dictum*, that so long as we do not transgress their vocabulary, we may lead the minds of the lower orders to the apprehension of any religious truth whatever wherein we have succeeded in interesting them; a *dictum* the soundness of which Heber declared to be attested by his own experience.

But first to be master, and then to have ascertained the limits, of the common vocabulary, is no easy attainment. It is hardly to be gained, of course, without much intercourse with the lower orders; but such intercourse alone will seldom, if ever, be sufficient; for no good whatever would be got by *copying* their talk. What we have been recommending is as far as possible from the adoption of vulgarisms. What we want is, that our words be lively with meaning, and the very essence of *vulgarisms* is to have no meaning, or but indirectly to express one. To those who have not narrowly watched the conversation of those around them, it may seem strange to talk of using words with real meaning as a comparative rarity; but a little reflective observation will convince us that it is only in proportion as men's minds are freed from vulgarity that they do so. The poor are often less vulgar than the class immediately above them, and just as they are so, do they speak with distincter meaning. But the lower end of the middling classes is unhappily all but universally vulgar; and let any man mark th talk he hears in an omnibus or a short stage coach, in or ne

London, and he will be astonished, not only at the small amount of significance that goes to a great many words, but at the singular want of relation between that significance and those words. It is not very long since we heard the following in such a situation as those to which we have referred. "What I complain of him is, sir, that he has got a way with him, as if he thought you beneath him, and *I*, for one, don't like that; *I* don't like that, sir. It may be *acquired*, I know nothing about that; I wo'nt say that it is not *acquired*, but *I* don't like it." Then *da Capo*, we were favoured again with the original statement, of hauteur in the party, the expression of aversion spoken of as something singular and idiosyncratic on the part of our friend, the hypothetical allowance that the hauteur might be *acquired*, and the aversion remaining notwithstanding, all in the same, or nearly the same, words as at first; and we see no reason to doubt that our fellow-traveller, if nothing *has happened* to him meanwhile, has since repeated the same sentence many hundred times. And let any one think over the vulgarisms which pain him, the trite self-complacent offensive phrases, for gestation, *accouchement*, lactation, death, money, success, and he will see that his dislike to them arises from their being perversions of words from their true meaning, and a mode of employing them by which they become mere counters.

Mimicry of common talk, therefore, will not serve the purpose we have in view. The first and most essential condition of its attainment will be to have something distinct to say, and to be thoroughly in earnest about the saying of it. People seldom express themselves ill when they unite these two conditions. And next, simple as the object seems, it will be desirable, if possible, to become, what is far too uncommon, a good *English* scholar. We should have much greater hopes of a Preacher addressing us in a really simple style, if we knew that he was intimate, in addition to his English Bible and Prayer-Book, with Chaucer, Shakespere, and Bacon; that he had earnestly inspected the instrument of English speech on which they played so beautifully; that he had traced its essential rules, and discerned its great principles as obeyed by them, than from any other intellectual or non-intellectual fact about him of which we might be apprised. Thus familiar with what Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls the *common* style, as distinguished from the *austere* and the *ornate*, which common style is always that of the greatest writers, and fulfilling the higher moral conditions of which we have spoken, we think he might address
e most rustic audience, in language simpler, and therefore
e real, than their own, and yet dignified withal, and such
an elevate them above the level of their ordinary thoughts
associations.

But this last condition must be carefully attended to. Beau-

tiful as are many things in the Parochial Sermons of Archdeacon Hare and his lamented brother, and excellent hints as they supply, we observe in them, with regret, the error of too much condescension. This is a subject on which we have spoken our mind before now. We do not believe that the lower orders at all relish such condescension, which they are perfectly able to see through. They are prepared to expect greater dignity in the pulpit than anywhere else, and they ought to find it. They should not hear a word, or be presented with an image, which can make other than solemn impressions. We believe that, apart from directly religious benefit, the Service and the Sermon are the common man's *literature*, the instruments of refining and raising him; and therefore, we think that the Sermon should be like the Prayers, above, but not beyond him; simple, yet lofty as may be; above all, must it be really in earnest, with no visible condescension to him, such as shall make him feel dealt with *economically*, such as shall make him feel that the Preacher is saying something very different to him from what he would say to people of his own condition.

Let us now briefly consider some of the different types of preaching which are presented to us by those who have really excelled in the administration of this ordinance.

Much as we might wish it, we must content ourselves without any specimens of Apostolical preaching; for we cannot regard the one or two addresses of SS. Peter and Paul, which are preserved in the Book of the Acts, as *Sermons*. They are never addressed *ad fideles*, nor connected with the ritual of the Church. In the age immediately succeeding, although we doubt not that the preaching was most effective, it is equally lost to us, and probably possessed no element of literary endurance. In the third century it was probably rising into more prominence in this respect. The rhetorical styles of Tertullian and Cyprian, so different from the writers who went before them, may, perhaps, argue a habit, either in themselves or those around them, of addressing large assemblies; and we know the estimation in which Origen was held in respect of his preaching, some of whose works, indeed, have been preserved to us in the form of Homilies. In the succeeding age the rise of Arianism, as is well known, was connected with the Sermons of its author; a circumstance which led to a prejudice against generally permitting Presbyters to preach. After this the ordinance breaks out upon us clearly and full, and runs down to ourselves in a continuous and copious literary stream. We need scarcely point to SS. Chrysostom and Augustine as the great preachers in the Eastern and Western Churches respectively, to whom we shall have occasion by and by to refer as the models of two different methods, between which, in preference to all others, we think lies our choice. St. Bernard,

great ornament of the middle ages, must be considered as very much in the same mould as Augustine, though with some important points of diversity.

The Reformation was, of course, the very age of preaching, and, beyond all doubt, much of it must have had great power at the time, though probably but little of it was possessed of literary value; and nearly all of it too occupied with particular engrossing topics to serve as models in the present day. The seventeenth century is usually appealed to as the age of English wealth in this kind; and undoubtedly the literary and theological value of its homiletic remains can hardly be overrated. On their Sermons, the divines of those days expended all the energy and opulence of their full and mighty minds; and in those Sermons may be found nearly every beauty of which the English tongue is susceptible. Yet nobody, we think, would wish to hear, were he at all likely to hear, a man now-a-days preach at all like either Andrewes, Donne, Taylor, or Barrow, or any of their compeers. Not only would their pedantry be insufferable in our day, but the whole scholastic attitude into which they threw themselves is not only unsuitable to the mass of parishioners, but, except under peculiar circumstances, to the ordinance of Preaching altogether,—to its high real dignity, and its liturgic solemnity. It is incompatible with the dogmatic character which ought generally to characterise the sacerdotal ministration of God's Holy Word. The only situations in which it is tolerable, and indeed frequently desirable, are the University Pulpits, Visitation Sermons, and other occasions when the Preacher is speaking, if not exclusively *ad clerum*, yet at least *ad scholas*, and moreover, must often say all that he has to say on one single occasion. Then, indeed, the Sermon may take the character of an Essay, and be a complete treatise on its subject. But the parochial Sermon, we think, need never aim at such literary completeness, as it will almost fulfil its ends better without it, and is any how debarred by its necessary limits from the general possibility of attaining it. And here, by the way, we may remark, on the unnatural and hurtful fetters which our clergy, especially in towns, think fit to impose on themselves in respect of time. There is a general sense of being bound to preach at least half an hour, and an almost as general sense of its being very injudicious materially to exceed that duration. A better and a surer way to produce, what is the great fault of English preaching, unreality, we can hardly imagine. From the moment a man either writes or speaks to fill time and not to illustrate a subject, he becomes a sham, and that which he says, of no more inherent value than sounding brass. He says it, *t because he has it to say*, not because he is constrained to say , not because it is the thing which those before him should have said to them, but to avoid a charge, no very ignominious

one, we think, of being briefer than his neighbours. But a man who feels his position will never, either in the pulpit or elsewhere, use words for any other purpose than to convey a meaning which they alone will convey as he wishes; and if our preachers would but cultivate this reality of end and aim, they would begin, we feel sure, to discover that their present limits are for the most part either too long or too short for a Sermon on one single subject; frequently too long if their intention be to present some one view, bring out some one thought, make some one main impression, or exhibit some one solemn truth; and nearly always too short, if they mean to deliver a complete essay, which shall handle every main feature, and answer every important question awakened by the subject. This latter can seldom be done much *within the hour;* a duration most unfitted for the length of the rest of our Morning Service, even without Communion; a circumstance the less to be regretted, in that, as we have already said, such an aim ought not to be that of the Parish Priest in general. The other, the exhibition of some one view, seems the safer and more eligible plan, except when circumstances render the exposition of Scripture practicable; and for such exhibition, though we may sometimes require half-an-hour, we shall often find twenty minutes quite enough. The exuberant mind of Augustine could often be contented with much less. People seldom think how much can be said in twenty minutes. Given but weighty words on the part of the preacher, and an attentive mind on that of the hearer, what a body of thought, what rich reflection, what various illustration, what edifying and comforting truth may not pass from one to the other within that time! What an addition to every man's responsibility,—what accession to the true believer's comfort, what enlargement of his views, what strengthening of his hold on Truth, may not be furnished within those limits! But, of course, more time may be requisite; nor have we any intention to prescribe the precise length in any case. All that we would enforce is, the uselessness and evil of saying a word more than one really has to say, for the sake of such a conventional point as filling up a certain space.

We rejoice to think that this exhibition of one prominent view seems to be the end aimed at by our most powerful preachers at present. It characterises the Sermons of Arnold, Newman, Maurice, Manning, and others, as well as the two volumes placed at the head of this article. In proportion to its prevalence, do we see the old-fashioned model, of formally dividing the subject, in great measure cast aside. Of course such formal division is sometimes requisite; and should be employed whenever the subject requires it. Only let the divisions be real divisions; which they cannot always, or generally, be, when the Preacher introduces them into every Sermon, 1

matter what its subject, or what the light wherein he means to view it. We have a dim recollection of once hearing Isaiah lv. 1, handled somewhat as follows:—The invitation of the text was announced, and undertaken to be treated as,

1st. A free invitation,

2dly. A gracious invitation,

3dly. An undeserved invitation,

4thly. An invitation with which it is at once our bounden duty, and highest interest, at once to close.

When sermons of this sort are printed, the heads are usually dignified with capitals, and the notion entertained of them is, that they are singularly clear; the fact being that this, their apparent clearness, is but a substitute for thought and matter, a mechanical trick, which can be learned by a month's practice, and, in many cases, instead of promoting, hindering the advance and order of Thought. When it is desirable, when the subject itself suggests or demands such formal division, it will be often advisable to devote a separate discourse to each head. People always forget the incapacity of average minds to carry away a number of Thoughts and Truths on any single occasion. This it is which makes many excellent Sermons unsuitable, even after real simplicity of language has been attained. This, too, is nearly fatal to Leighton's works as reading for the family services of the Sunday. We remember having recourse to some of them for that purpose, firmly relying on their freedom from technicality, or any serious difficulty; but it was in vain; too much ground, we discovered, was gone over for the attention of our servants,—a variety of matter was presented, too great for either their retentive, or even their receptive powers. We think some admirable guidance in the composition of this kind of Sermons, may be found in the Homilies of Augustine. Not that they are all of this kind; for much of his Homiletic Remains, like those of Chrysostom, consist of exposition of Scripture; and at other times, he, as well as other fathers, wanders from one subject to another, following beautiful conceits, such as his first topic in no way led us to expect. This, in a different way, illustrates one of our points, that the Sermon is not required to be a complete Essay, a systematic treatise. But when he does develope one main thought, nothing can well be more simply impressive than his way of doing so. And, be it carefully observed that, by his abstinence and reserve, by confining himself to the day's work, by giving but "the portion of meat in due season," he succeeded in conveying to his flock a far richer body of Truth, and awakening their minds to profounder thoughts, generally very subtle and remote ones, than have often passed from the pulpit since.

Finally, the main body of Augustine's Sermons is addressed, *as we* think, *with us*, the Morning Sermon ought always to be, *d fideles.* We say the *Morning* Sermon, because that is part of

the Communion Office, being, along with the Epistle and Gospel, the administration of God's Holy Word proper to that office. It should never, therefore, take a missionary character: it is altogether inconsistent to summon people to join in the prayers and other services, which have preceded the Sermon, and the moment that has commenced, to treat them as barely Christians, as having not yet come to Christ, as having not yet repented unto life. Our object should be to add to their knowledge of Heavenly Truth, and to clear and strengthen their apprehensions of what they already know; not, indeed, to forget their conscience, but to appeal to it, as the conscience of believers, not of heathens. The Evening Discourse, when there is one, being no part of the Communion Office, or even of the ritual of the Church, may take a different character; and, provided there be no denial or forgetfulness of Baptismal benefit, we may then speak to the prodigal of returning, to the guilty of repenting, to the asleep of awaking, to the dead, of arising and receiving light and life.

So much at present must suffice for the former of the two legitimate types of parish preaching, that wherein the preacher, laying aside the thought of literary completeness, tries to present and impress his flock with some one main feature of Truth. The latter—exposition of Scripture—would, if well done, be very valuable; though circumstances do not always admit of it. The several Sundays of our Christian year have very often their own claims on our attention too imperative to be compatible with a protracted course of Sermons, at least in the morning.* Exposition will be more practicable in the Evening, especially the week-day evening, lecture. Its management will, however, prove an art not to be attained in a day. After the needful preliminary of sound Biblical knowledge has been secured, the Preacher must learn the accomplishment, of arresting and detaining the attention, of giving neither too little nor too much. Here he will often have to expose his hearers to what we have spoken of as their greatest difficulty, being carried over a variety of ground on one occasion; and in order that this may not be too much for them, he must do violence to his literary feelings, by repeating the same thing again and again, by parting with no one point till, by dint of such repetition, he shall have fairly lodged it in their minds. Chrysostom will be his best guide in this department, than whom no man ever possessed more tact and method in carrying the mind over varied matter, in saying neither too little nor too much; in keeping himself above the average level of thought and feeling, so as to elevate those who listened to them, and yet not removing himself

* The best style of expository preaching in the morning, would be to comment on the Gospel, Epistle, and Lessons, and if possible to connect them together.

so far from the common track as to become in the smallest degree unpractical. It would be an interesting task, did our limits permit, to compare and contrast these two great preachers of antiquity, especially with a reference to our present subject. Seldom indeed do we encounter two minds more unlike without being contrary; presenting so much difference with so little discordance. At present we must confine ourselves to the remark, that Chrysostom's audiences seem to have answered more to such as the modern preacher in populous places may count on having before him than Augustine's, and that so far he is a better guide for us. The African Church, in Augustine's time, was undergoing sharp discipline, and was in a numerical minority in its contest with the Donatist enemy. This may have kept its members purer and more consistent than elsewhere; whereas, Antioch, the scene of Chrysostom's earlier labours, had indeed been rent by dissension, but of a different kind, and less directly conducive to such a result. Hence Austin speaks not only *ad fideles*, but frequently to the very best of these; and his homilies bear a *devotional* character, scarcely characterising Chrysostom's; and scarcely fit perhaps for ordinary cases. Each, for example, has bequeathed to us a Homily on Psalm cxlv. (cxliv. according to their reckoning,) and each Homily is a more than ordinarily beautiful work of its author. Of each, the subject is necessarily the same, the loving kindness of the Lord; but how differently do they treat it! The golden mouthed preacher of the East pours forth his soul in an enumeration of the great things God has done for Christians—the ministration to our wants of the things around us, the form and constitution of our bodies, the grandeur of the human soul, the dispensation to us day by day, of signs, and laws, and corrections—the varied and incomprehensible Providence which is over us, last and chief of all, the not sparing the Only Begotten for our sakes, the good things given us now in Baptism, and the Mysteries, the unutterably good things to be given hereafter—the Kingdom, the Resurrection, the Inheritance that is full of all Blessedness. (Chrysost. ed. Paris, 1835, tom. v. p. 564.) Nor does he, indeed, forget to add, in the spirit of the Evening Hymn of the East, that we owe God thanks for Himself and "His great Glory." "For this too," he goes on to say, "we owe Him, Praise, and Blessing, and ceaseless Thanksgiving, and Worship, and persevering Service." But this, to which Chrysostom only comes after a long enumeration of other things, and on which he only pauses for two sentences, is the sustained pitch of St. Augustine's Homily; not, indeed, the way of direct propositions, but of general sentiment. He habitually passes from the works and gifts of God, to God Himself, His Glory, His Beauty, Truth, Goodness, and Love. And this, many of our readers may well know, was the whole habit of his mind, and the informing spirit of all

his Theology. Doctrine, orthodoxy, Catholic zeal are, with him, but outgrowths of the great Truth in the light of which he lived, that God is the Supreme—the only Good, that union with Him is Light and life,—separation from Him is Darkness and Death;—that He is Love towards all, and that they only miss the healing beams of that Love, who turn their backs on it, and reject and spurn it. But this high and heavenly pitch, those wings of ripened Faith and Love on which, in common with Bernard and Leighton, St. Austin continually soared, we are almost deterred from attempting; we feel as if they would neither suit us, nor those to whom we speak.

We must hasten to our own Homiletic Literature, on which however, we cannot pause, as we would wish. Though no clergyman should be ignorant of the Homilies, nor should allow those about him, if he can help it, to be ignorant of them either, we imagine there will be no controversy about their unsuitability to our present wants. And the Sermons of Hooker, full as they are of beauties, are in the same predicament. We have already said as much of those bequeathed to us by the great divines of the seventeenth century, profoundly as we admire them, and necessary as we consider an acquaintance with them to every competent English Priest. Of those with which we are familiar, Bull's seem to us the most practical and *purpose like;* though even they are far from the unscholastic living utterances which we desiderate. We have no need to denounce the preaching of the eighteenth century now. Horne, amid almost effeminate prettinesses, has left us the best Sermons, as regards doctrine, unction, feeling, and fancy, of any divine within the period; Paley and Horsley, widely differing as they did in their drift and purpose, the most vigorous and manly ones, and moulded too on the best and most natural model, being free from conventionality, either as to length or form. Of course we do not speak of Butler's, which are not parochial, and scarcely pastoral; though they are such as make us long to know of what character his parochial and pastoral Sermons were. By the way, we once heard that about a hundred of these were in existence at the beginning of this century, having somehow come into the possession of a country clergyman, after whose death, his widow, supposing them to be only her husband's, burnt them all!

In the present day, we hope we do not deceive ourselves by believing that preaching has taken a fresh start, and become more living and powerful. Of those living ornaments of our Church, who have given us really valuable Sermons, we have often had occasion to speak. The two volumes now before us are well worthy of being named in their company. Everybody who has encountered, as most of us have, Mr. Paget in his livelier vein, must rejoice to find that his voice gains in power as speaks in graver tones; to speak plainly, that his Sermons

better than the best things in his tales; indeed, they well answer to the conditions we have been laying down, every word has a meaning, every sentence occurs because Mr. Paget had occasion to utter it; and the English is uncommonly pure and excellent. We need not tell our readers whether the doctrine be sound.

The other volume is a legacy from one of the most powerful minds with which we ever came in contact. Mr. Robert Tennant was but little known to Fame, and his early death has prevented the possibility of his ever being more so now. But Fame has been given in reward of merit far inferior to that which is to be found in this volume, which is full of admirable matter. The doctrine is, we think, more than commonly deep, and the eloquence of a rare and high pitch. The spirit too is most wise, gentle, and loving; and we will run the risk of being charged with an indelicate reference to former years, rather than deny ourselves the expression of our satisfaction, that a powerful and richly-endowed, but long tempest-tost, mind, did at length reach the Catholic anchorage, and repose on the still waters of Heavenly Truth, a fact so abundantly testified here. Florence, we believe, contains the remains both of Mr. Tennant and Mr. Rose, and we imagine it was the former's privilege, to minister to the latter's dying needs. May the spirit of both of them influence the English of that place! And may our fellow-Christians there, and over the other regions of Christendom, from whose communion we are unhappily separated at present, see more and more Englishmen of the like stamp; so that, our Church being better understood by them, and her principles better exemplified in the practice of her sons, the way to reconciliation may be smoothed, and the long-severed brethren unite in penitence for the guilty past; in the recognition of a common Faith, and a common Inheritance, in a generous and loving imparting each to the other, and a docile and thankful reception each from the other of whatever each can teach the other, and in that brotherly love which has power to glorify the Church anew, and to reinvest her with that might whereby of old she was "terrible as an army with banners," and went forth "conquering and to conquer."

Note to the Article on Plain-Tune, (Christian Remembrancer, April No.) p. 439, &c.

We are bound to add something to certain remarks, which ıred in our last number, with respect to ritual observances ɔrk Minster. And first, as regards the altar ornaments:

we do not hesitate to afford willing insertion to the following statement, which, in justice to our very respected informant, we give in his own words.

"The Minster possesses two pairs of silver gilt candlesticks, one presented by Archbishop Sancroft, when he was Dean of York, the other by a Lady Beaumont, both shortly after the Restoration. These, with *wax* candles in them, not *tin* ones, were usually placed on the Altar 'on Communion-days.' On other days, in order to guard against danger of theft, when the Minster was open at all hours, a pair of brass candlesticks with false candles was to be seen there. Since the fire which destroyed the choir, these brass candlesticks, by common consent, (without any debate whatever) have been disused. The only debate, if a conversation ought to be called so, has been about the restoration of the Sancroft and Beaumont candlesticks on Communion-days: which possibly some of the Canons Residentiary may have had restored during their residence, while others have not restored them. As the omission was in the first instance accidental, it is probable that the use will be restored."

Which we are very glad to hear. In fairness, however, to the author of the article on Plain-Tune, while we willingly abandon the imaginary conversation,—so far as the words spoken are concerned,—yet the *fact*, as we then stated it, or the *possibility*, as we now phrase it, of the use of candlesticks being contingent upon the views, or it may be the taste, of the different Residentiaries, still remains; and the inference which we drew was not very unnatural.

With respect to the ritual irregularities in York Cathedral, our article has also been complained of. And here we are bound to be explicit. We cheerfully admit that there are those among the capitular body who are most anxious and willing to perform their duties; to them our censure was not meant to apply. We sympathize with their regrets too much to add to them. And, as to venturing to throw any blame upon the Venerable Primate, that is out of the question: we remember well his Injunctions for the restoration of weekly communion, and for the general regulation of service, although how far these injunctions are obeyed does not yet seem clear; nor have we forgotten his Grace's honest endeavour to enforce Ecclesiastical discipline in a case, where the common law alone interfered to prevent, as many think, an act of public justice. But neither Primate nor Chapter have much power in the regulations of the service: their good intentions may always be thwarted by the interference of that official who has the almost uncontrolled ordering of the Church. The influence of good wishes and feelings on the part of the capitular body is but negative; while the practical effect of the Dean's disregard of Ecclesiastical order is but too apparent to any who have attended the service at York. Of course, it is something that many connected with the Minster regret, that the Dean will not permit the Litany to be chanted—or that they are scandalized to find that one half of their colleagues do not turn to the East when the Creeds

said, or that as many think it unnecessary to kneel during prayers. We make no doubt that they are similarly vexed that the Offertory prayer is omitted after the sermon, or that a Psalm-tune is substituted for the Anthem. We can quite understand that they really think it indecorous that the stalls of the clergy should be filled by ladies on a Sunday. We do not disparage the value of the protests, silent or otherwise, of the better portion of the clergy of York, against the painful, yet innumerable sights which indicate how little right-mindedness there is in the ruling spirit of the service at York. But all this does not change facts. Good wishes and feelings are one thing—results are another. These appear; the others do not. Abuses prevail and are glaring; men may deliver their own souls by protesting against them: but this does not remove them. All may wish it otherwise—but while it is *not* otherwise blame rests somewhere. And the cause of all this is not far to seek, if our readers will be good enough to recall certain "Remarks addressed to the Bishop of London, on his late Charge to the Clergy: by Wm. Cockburn, D.D. Dean of York," which we took the liberty to review in January, 1843. And here we take leave of the matter, desirous as for the truth, so also, as they say, for saddling the right horse, as we trust to have shown: and while we own our regret at having, upon incorrect information, mis-stated, or over-stated, the matter of the candlesticks, because such involved personal charges, which we are glad to retract, we leave our readers, and our friends, (among the best of whom we reckon our censor in this question,) to settle whether we had not ample grounds for our complaint about the conduct of Divine Service in the Northern Metropolis.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mores Catholici, or Ages of Faith. Book X. London: Booker and Dolman. 1840.

Among the many debts of gratitude which we owe, if we would but acknowledge them, to the Monastic institutions, is the fostering care which they extended from the earliest times to our literature. The holiness attached to the buildings of the Church, marked out ecclesiastical edifices, from the first, as repositories of archives and writings; and, as early as the fifth century, a separate place had been set apart, attached to the great church at Nola, as a depository of MSS. under its librarian and chancellor. St. Jerome, at the close of the fourth century, makes the first mention of such a collection of MSS. as may with justice be designated, a Church Library; and not o many years afterwards, St. Augustine alludes to his library at his hurch at Hippo. The Bishop of Rome was the greatest possessor

of books in the early days of the Church; and, by the time of Gregory the Great, the custom had arisen of applying to his stores for any work required by Churches more remote and less favoured than that of Rome.

From their first foundations, the Monks had acted on the French maxim of later days, that a cloister without a library, was a camp without an armoury; and from such small beginnings as a solitary life of St. Anthony, which Augustine found at Treves, cloisters became the great school for manuscripts, their inhabitants choosing, like the followers of St. Bruno, "to live in great poverty, so that they should collect a rich library." Men of all classes assisted in the formation of these collections, labouring in amassing these literary treasures, under the hope of enjoying the peace that results from study, learning in leisure and occupation much that they knew not of, and fortifying their contempt for the treacheries of the world and its pleasures. "Nothing is pleasanter, nothing more delightful, than reading," says an old monkish collector; "I have past nights without sleep, studying the Scriptures, and omitted to take my meals, in order to save time for reading."

"But," says the enthusiastic author of the Mores Catholici, "it is Richard of Burg who, above all, reveals what was in the minds of the monks, when they applied with such diligence to form libraries. 'In books,' says this great Churchman, 'every one who seeketh wisdom findeth it. In these, cherubim exhibit their wings, and excite the intelligence of the students, and they look from pole to pole, and from the rising to the setting sun. *In these, the Most High God, incomprehensible, is contained apprehensibly and adored.* In these, lies open the nature of celestial, terrestrial, and infernal things. In these, are revealed laws by which all policies are ruled, the offices of the celestial hierarchy distinguished, and the tyrannies of demons described. *In books, I find the dead, as if alive; in books, I foresee the future; in books, are manifested the laws of peace; all things else fail with time. Satan ceases not to devour his offspring; for oblivion covereth the glory of the world. But God hath provided a remedy for us in books, without which all that were ever great, would have been without a memory.* Towers fall to the earth, triumphal cities perish, nor can any king or pope confer a lasting privilege, unless by books.'"

The few succeeding paragraphs deserve to be inscribed in letters of gold, over the entrance of every library of any resources.

"'*Finally, think what convenience of learning there is in books; how easily, how secretly, how securely, we may lay bare without shame to books, the poverty of human ignorance. These are the masters who instruct us without rods, without anger, and without money. If you approach, they sleep not; if you interrogate them, they do not hide themselves; if you mistake, they do not murmur or laugh. O Books! alone liberal, and making liberal, who give to all who ask, and emancipate all who serve you,*—the tree of life you are, and the river of Paradise, with which the human intelligence is irrigated and made fruitful.'"

As the means of rendering the contemplation of truth more perfect, and as the immediate instruments of speculative happiness, the old Churchman readily defends the giving any price for books, and being hindered in the obtaining "the infinite treasure of wisdom," by the malice of the seller alone, or the need of waiting some more convenient time: the seventy-two thousand sesterces that Aristotle gave for the few books of Speusippus, were justified in the opinion of Richard of Bury. The author of Philobiblion goes on thus:—

"'The monks, who are so venerable, are accustomed to be solicitous in regard of books, and to be delighted in their company, as with all riches; and hence it is that we find in most monasteries such splendid treasures of erudition, giving a delectabl-

light to the path of laics. O that devout labour of their hands in writing books; how preferable to all georgic care! O devout solitude, by means of which neither Martha nor Mary can be corrupted. Truly the love of books is the love of wisdom, and a sensual or avaricious life cannot be combined with it. Therefore, some one says:—

" Nulla libris erit apta manus ferrugine tincta,
Nec nummata queunt corda vacare libris:
Nummipetæ cum libricolis nequeunt simul esse,
Ambos crede mihi non tenet una domus."

No one can serve books and mammon, for the former reveal God. Truly an image of future beatitude is the contemplation of sacred letters, in which one time the Creator, in another the creature, is seen; and from a perpetual torrent of delight faith is drawn. How admirable is the power of books, while, by them, we behold the universe, and as if, in a certain mirror of eternity, the things which are not, as if they were!—we ascend mountains, we dive into abysses, we see creatures of all kinds, we distinguish the properties of earthly bodies, and we even pass to contemplate those that are heavenly. So thus, by books, we attain the reward of beatitude, while we are as yet only travellers journeying towards it.' "—*Mores Catholici*, X. 223-4.

Clerics, as well as laymen, vied with each other in contributing books to the Monastic Libraries. In some convents, every novice signalized his admission to the society by the present of some useful and valuable MS. Others, as Simon Langham, Abbot of St. Alban's, commemorated his departure from that abbey, where he had so long lived, to higher promotion abroad, by a present of books, valued, in those days, at above eight hundred pounds. The house of Corby, in Saxony, received into its stores folios from Pannonia of Arabic learning, and MSS. in Hebrew, taken in the war in Hungary. St. Louis left his library between the Franciscans and Dominicans, whilst Malatesta Novello, of Rimini, endowed and furnished the library of the Franciscan convent of Cesena. The Abbey of Tagersne, the scene of many a devout meditation of Henry the Third of Bavaria, received a noble library from its Archducal Visitor, as a memorial of the happy days he had passed within its walls. The monks, too, hesitated not to expend a great portion of their possessions in the purchase of books. In the middle ages, Paris was the great book-mart of the world; and thither the monks resorted, ready " to untye their purse-strings, and open their treasures, dispersing money with a joyful heart, and ransoming, with *dirt*, books that are beyond all price." The quaint old Monkish Philobiblist assigns no bad reason for such an expenditure of the conventual revenues in " that Paradise of the world, where there are libraries more redolent of delight than all the shops of aromatics; and flowering meadows of all volumes that can be found anywhere. But lo," continues Richard of Bury, " how good and pleasant a thing it is to gather together into one, the arms of clerical warfare, that there may be a supply of them for us to use against heretics, if ever they should rise up against us."

Every year some great and good man departs from among us; some one famous for his researches, or his writings, who has lived a life among the works in his library, and leaves the carefully-collected weapons of his disputations, or his writings, to be scattered piecemeal. Of how many is it not now daily lamented among us, as it s in past times, by Picus of Mirandula, on the death of his ned uncle, " It is not yet known what is to be done with his rich ary." The private collectors of the middle ages, for the most , obviated this ever-recurring question, by collecting, not so much

for themselves, as for some monastery. With such sources, it is not to be wondered that the libraries of the monasteries of St. Fulda, Corby, or Gembloux, became so famous in their day. That of St. Fulda dated from the Carlovingians, and was destroyed in the thirty years' war; Gembloux, rich in the antiquities of the Low Countries, lasted seven centuries; that of Corby was transferred to Wolfenbuttells, during the wars of the sixteenth century. The Library of St. Gall was in its embryo in the eighth century, rose and fell with the monastic discipline, and, at last, after six hundred years of variation, warranted the title of "Bibliotheca illa Solemnis." When the reformers visited St. Gall, the treasures of the library were left a prey to plunderers and children. Some, indeed, the magistrates did rescue from the ignorant persons who threw them about the streets, and laid them up in the council-chamber of the municipality.

"In France," says our author, "the monasteries were very rich in books. Stephen Pasquier cannot sufficiently express his admiration of them. 'Though much,' he says, 'has been lost through the length of years, and the misfortunes of our time, one may still gather out of the libraries of our monasteries *plusieurs beaux brins dont l'on peut embellir le public.*' 'I cannot omit mentioning,' says Paradin, 'that, at St. John, in Lyons, there are certain very ancient books, written of the bark of trees, of which one is legible, and contains a commentary on the Psalms; but the other, which is unbound and torn, is written in old characters, which, to confess the simple truth, cannot be read, though the letters are fine and clear. To many who are not skilled in such matters, they seem to be Greek characters, but they are Latin letters, of which the form only is unlike ours; so that, however clever a man may be, he would find it hard to read a page in a week. These are, in fact, the works of St. Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne. Some think that they are written on linen, others that it is on the junk of the Nile, others that it is on little pieces of wood glued together. It is impossible to divine exactly what they are. Certainly, they are venerable, and worthy of being preserved, through reverence for antiquity.' The library of the Abbey of Cluney, before the Protestants pillaged and burnt it in the sixteenth century, was deemed one of the wonders of the world; and, in fact, it equalled that of the emperors at Constantinople. The literary treasures of the Abbeys of St. Remy, at Rheims, of St. Benedict, on the Loire, of St. Victor and St. Germain, at Paris, and of St. Denis, after its discipline had been reformed by Suger, were immense. The most important MSS. of the Petavian Library, collected by Paul Petau, and afterwards purchased by Vossius, from his son, Alexander, for 40,000 livres, which forms the kernel of the present Alexandrine Library in the Vatican, came, in 1562, out of the plundered Abbey of St. Benoit-sur-le-Loire. Frequently original MSS. of the great men who had rendered particular abbeys illustrious, were preserved in them. In the Dominican Library of SS. John and Paul, at Venice, was a Thucydides of the tenth century; and works by Gulielmus Pastrengicus, who, from being a Turk, became a monk of that house, and enriched it with many oriental manuscripts. In Bobbio, of which the library was already celebrated, in 823, Mabillon found a Sacramentarium Gallicanum of the seventh century."—*Mores Catholici*, pp. 229—231.

But it were hardly possible to make the most succinct catalogue of all the famous libraries of the middle age monasteries, were but a line apiece devoted to the agricultural collection of Bobbio, the Ambrosian autographs of the Camaldolese Convent of St. Michael, in Venice, or the MS. autographs of nearly all the Greek fathers that adorned the great Archimandrian Monastery of St. Saviour, at Messina. The glories and wonders of the libraries of Alcobaca, Oviedo, Sahagun, Barcelona, and the treasures and curiosities of Palmos, Lesbos, Andros, and Mount Athos, cannot here find one tithe of the space they do of right demand.

These gifts of the rich and learned were not closed up in the monastic libraries from the eyes of strangers, or devoted to the perusal of

a favoured few. "*Publicæ et maxime pauperum utilitate,*" was not only the inscription over the library at Florence, but the practical rule by which these collections were amassed and preserved. The monastic libraries were open to every one. That of St. Francis, at Padua, was free to every one for six hours in summer, and five in winter. Before the great revolution in Paris, nineteen libraries were daily open to the researches of the students of that capital; since that epoch of liberty, learning, and freedom, the libraries have sunk to eight, and the year has been shortened by six months of closed doors. Nor, indeed, were strangers prevented from taking books to their homes. In some libraries, they could be borrowed for life; in most for a fair space of time, under due precaution. Books likely to be in great request, were chained to the wall, lest any evil-disposed person should lay violent hands on them. Such chains may even now be seen, not only in the libraries of the continent, but also in some of those of our English colleges, such as that of Jesus College, Cambridge, where three books still retain their old covers, and iron chains. Some clerics, as a certain arch-prelate of Palermo, kept several chained volumes in his hall of reception, that those who came on business might not pass the time of waiting in idleness. Thus speaks the monk of Bury:—

"Moved by Him who alone granteth and perfecteth a good will to men, I diligently inquired, what among all the offices of piety would most please the Almighty, and most profit the Church Militant. Then before the eye of our mind there came a flock of chosen scholars, or rather of the elect, in whom God, the Artificer, and Nature, his handmaiden, had planted the roots of the best manners and sciences, but whom penury so oppressed that they were dried up; because these fruitful seeds, in consequence of want, were watered with no dew in the uncultivated soil of youth, so that their virtue lay hidden and buried. So the crop withered away, and the corn degenerated into tares; and they who might have grown up into strong columns of the Church, by the capacity of a subtle genius, were obliged to renounce studies. Thus they are repelled violently from the nectarian cup of philosophy, for which they thirst the more for having tasted it; and being deprived of the writings and helps necessary for contemplation, as if through a kind of apostasy, they return, for the sake of bread, to mechanical arts, to the loss of the Church, and the scandal of the whole clergy. So Mother Church cannot bring forth sons for the want of the few and little things with which nature is contented: she loses pupils that would afterwards have become champions of the faith. What can a pious man behold more deplorable?—what can more excite his compassion?—what can more easily dissolve into drops a congealed heart? Therefore, we consider how much it would profit the Christian republic to bear assistance to the poor, and nourish students, not with the delights of Sardanapalus, or the riches of Crœsus, but with scholastic mediocrity. How many have we seen conspicuous by no lustre of birth, and no hereditary succession, but only assisted by the piety of good men, who have deserved apostolic chairs; in which they have served the faithful, subjected the proud, and procured the liberty of the Church? Therefore the result of our meditation was pity for this obscure race of men, who might render such service to the Church, and a resolution to assist them, not only with means of subsistence, but with books for their studies; and to this end, our intention ever watched before our Lord. Truly, this extatic love so moved us, that, renouncing all other earthly things, we applied ourselves to collect books."—*Mores Catholici*, pp. 232, 233.

Libraries are still being collected, though hardly for the reasons so eloquently put by the monk of Bury. Books, indeed, are no longer bound by iron chains, but are they more unfettered than of old; ore open, not to the learned and the rich, but to the poor and the learned? The corn-factor of Amiens cares more for the price of the arkets, in which he is deeply interested in that phase of his existence,

than he does for the relics of the Monastic Library of Corby, of which he is guardian, as librarian of his city. It is not in Amiens, or in France alone, that we may regret that the monks of old are no longer the guardians of their libraries, or that the Benedictine has been replaced by the learned modern librarian, or the mere subaltern handler of volumes, or the grenadier of the Bourbon Library, at Naples. In the middle ages, the readers, indeed, were perhaps few, when compared with these days, but books were fewer, and more valuable. Still, not only were most of the libraries open to the poorest student, but, to a most liberal extent, the system of lending libraries was constituted. Such was the case at Venice, where the bounds of the city alone confined the loan of the books from the library of St. Mark. In those days, when a MS. was indeed a treasure, and a book was the result of as patient transcription on the part of the scribe, as of mental labour on that of its author, the temptation of loans from the various monastic repositories became too great; and in France, the Council, in 1212, deemed it of so much more importance that knowledge should be spread abroad than that a MS. or so should be lost to a monastery, that they forbad the abbots from restricting their loans, "quum commodare inter præcipua misericordiæ opera computetur." It was a source of pleasure to the monks, when some brother from another convent came and visited their library. "It was gratifying," says Wibald, Abbot of New Corby, to the Archbishop of Bremen, in 1151, "that you visited our brethren, and consoled them. But I wish you would return and remain longer; and as you promised that you would return, and turn over, and search, not alone the volumes of our shelves, but also the schedules, I wish that we may have this delight together, in peace, and quiet, and leisure; for what greater happiness in life?" Their common studies formed the bond that united many a brother in distant lands with those from whose society he had been sent forth on the long and dangerous service, in friendship and common prayers.

The monks were by no means negligent in the care of their books, however willing they might be to open their libraries to the student. According to one monastic rule, no brother was to be negligent of the book he had taken from the library, nor leave it open in his cell, when himself absent. That of Citeaux directs that, "if it be necessary to go anywhere, the person to whom the book was entrusted, should place it back in the drawer; or if he wished to leave it on his seat, should give a signal to the nearest brother to guard it during his absence." The author of the Philobiblion, who may well be said to have sat like Cato in the library of Lucullus, inhaling, not reading books, gives no unamusing sketch of the scholastic manners of his day, in his curious and minute instructions for the proper preservation of his darling books.

"Not alone," says the Monk of Bury, "do we serve God by preparing volumes of new books, but also by preserving and treating with great care those we already have. Truly, after the vestments and vessels dedicated to our Lord's body, sacred books deserve to be treated with most reverence by clerks; in shutting and opening volumes, they should observe a mature modesty, not too hastily loosing the clasps, nor failing to shut them when they have finished reading; for it is far more important to preserve a book than a shoe."

The old Philobiblist then goes on to reprove the race of youthful scholars who require to be bridled by the rules of elders; men who act with petulance and presumption, and knowing little of the value of the things they ill treat, exhibit in their conduct their ignorance, inexperience, and gross presumption.

"You will see," says Richard, "one youth lazily reclining over his studies, and in the winter season, when suffering from a sorry rheum, permitting drops from his nose to fall upon their pages. I wish that such a scholar, instead of a book, may have to sit over leather with a shoemaker. He has a nail, too, like a giant's, with which he marks the margins of the passages that please him. He has besides innumerable straws, which he puts between the leaves, to help his memory; these accumulate, so as to swell the junctures of the binding, and there they are forgotten, and left to rot. He scruples not to eat cheese and fruit, too, over the open book, and to pass the plate dissolutely over it; and, because he has no bag provided for alms, he commits the fragments to the book. What more shall I add? Leaning on his two elbows, he rests upon the book, invites sleep, and doubles down the corners of the leaves, to their no small detriment. Then, when the showers are past, and the flowers have appeared in our land, this scholar, whom we describe, rather a neglecter, than inspector of books, stuffs his book with the first violets and roses he can find, and turns over the leaves with hot hands, never thinking for a month to close the book, so that insects penetrate, and eat into it."

It might be supposed that the indignant Philobiblist had completed his catalogue of the enormities committed by manifold markers, readers at meals, flower-gatherers, and dog's-earing scholars. Far from closing his list, he has reserved the worst to the conclusion. In his days there were those who loved to show their own learning, or ignorance, by marginal remarks; to parade their powers as draftsmen by marginal caricatures, or their economy in paper by applying the borders of pages to practising alphabets. Nor were there wanting those "sacrilegious thieves, who cut out leaves, or letters," to whom our guardian of illuminations and MSS. scruples not to award the punishment of an anathema. Our good monk was no patron of the dear little damp-fingered darlings of the nursery; impressed with a love of books amounting almost to idolatry, or unwilling that the child, the future scholar, peradventure, should be too early initiated into the juvenile recreations, at which they are so *au fait*, he was hard-hearted enough to forbid the little imps to admire the capital letters, lest admiration should provoke feeling, and feeling should render damp and dim the gold and colours of the MS. Laics, old Richard thought but little of, as to their learning; prone to sit wisely looking on the inverted pages of a book, drawing as much instruction from its letters upside down, as when properly directed. The monk's concluding appeal is according to the spirit of the age. To our ears, it appears more than strange to hear the Saviour's conduct set forth as our example in so apparently trivial and every-day actions as handling of books; but to the monks of old He was an ensample, even in the least of things; and the men of the middle age could rightly estimate the appeal of this Monk of Bury. In fine, all negligence with regard to books is excluded by the example of our Saviour; for when He had read from the book, which was delivered Him, we read, that He did not return it to the minister until He had closed it with His sacred hands; from which students ought to example, never to commit the least negligence with regard to

It was sometimes the custom to insert in the volumes a few lines of warning to those by whom they would chance to be used. The following are from the library of the Abbey of Richenau, which, commencing by stating by and under which abbot the books were procured, proceeded thus :—

> " Adjurat cunctos Domini per amabile nomen,
> Hoc ut nullus opus cuiquam concesserit extra ;
> Ni prius ille fidem dederit, vel denique pignus,
> Donec ad has ædes quæ accepit salva remittat.
> Dulcis amice gravem scribendi attende laborem ;
> Tolle, aperi, recita, ne lædas, claude, reponè."

When we read of the readiness with which the libraries of the middle ages were thrown open to the students of the day, not to say the anxiety with which, in many cases, the abbots of convents pressed the followers of knowledge to drink of the Biblical founts of their conventual libraries, we are naturally led to consider how we fare in these enlightened days—whether the student can now have free access to the stores of knowledge with which our land abounds. One great public library is open to the students of the metropolis ; three or four more, partly the relics of old ecclesiastical foundations, partly share-holding speçulations, open their doors to certain privileged classes. In our universities, even if, in theory, the public libraries are open to their members, who will not admit that, in practice, they are closed, save to a privileged class ? There are few colleges that do not boast their old library ; and, in many, as in the venerable fabric within whose walls we were enclosed for three academical years, a yearly sum as a donation, on matriculation, is demanded of the poor students—the *pauperes scholares*—for the use of the library, from the interior of which they are excluded, except as a sight for some friend, or until their half-finished labours have raised them to that class, which, according to college rule, can be trusted with the contents of the college library. Can there be any reason for believing in the stories of skeletons of sundry domestic animals discovered in college libraries ? poor luckless creatures, with misplaced confidence in the reading habits of their masters, seduced into abiding in the library, in the hopes of having countless opportunities of escape, through countless applications of eager students to the treasures of the place ; day after day, week after week, month after month, passes away ; the supply of mice and rats is not equal to the demand, and ere the dean, with the head and sub-librarian, return to pay their semi-annual visit to the library, poor pussy has fallen a victim to her misplaced confidence in the intelligence of the nineteenth century.

The cases and coverings for their MSS. were carefully provided by the monks of the middle ages, and insects and age were alike rendered harmless by the strong odour of the ointment of the resin of the cedar-tree, and the stout covers which the deer's hide contributed. When the prohibition against hunting was so rigorously enforced against the monks, while used for relaxation, or the loading of the festal board, Charlemagne removed it from the monks of SS. Bertin, Omer, and Denis, on the condition of their confining their courses to the procuring of skins for the covers of their books ; whilst the Count of Anjou, in 1047, gave the tithe of deer to his newly-founded monastery at

Saintes for a similar purpose. There are still some few specimens of the stout deer-hide bindings in existence. Sad, indeed, was the destruction which ofttimes fell upon the literary, as well as other treasures of the convents. Sometimes, on the near approach of the enemy, the church treasure and the library were buried, or concealed, in some secret place; death fell upon the depositaries of the secret; and when, years after, accident revealed the place of hiding, time and damp had gone far to destroy the contents. Sometimes the convent library fared worse than that of Colonel Mannering, and had no Dominie Sampson to lament over its battered contents, and pick the bullets from its thick volumes. The great Medicæan Library was formed from the ruins of a greater one, of the convent of St. Salvator de Settimo, in Florence. "I remember," says the composer of the history of the Cistercian houses, "that when living in that house, I used to wonder on seeing how many volumes were covered with mud, and torn, and defaced; but an old monk told me what he had heard from the ancient Fathers, that it was Florentine soldiers that caused that destruction; for being placed in ambush in the monastery, and sallying forth to repel the enemy from the walls, they had scarcely proceeded beyond the ditch, when the substructure failed; and there being a great confusion, in order to facilitate the return of those who were without, and who would otherwise have been slain in the trench, they took a quantity of books, and made a bridge across with them, on which they passed back."

Pass we now to the small retired room whence these MS. treasures issued, the scriptorium of the convent, where the ready scribes sat ceaselessly at that monotonous labour of transcription. Over the door of this room might well be inscribed the lines that were to be read over that of St. Fulda:—

"Hic sedeant sacræ scribentes lumina legis
Nec non sanctorum dicta sacrata fratrum.
Hic inter sese caveant sua frivola verbis,
Frivola quæ propter erret et ipsa manus.
Correctosque sibi quærant studiose libellos
Tramite quo recto penna volantis eat.
Est labor egregios sacros jam scribere libros,
Nec mercede suâ scriptor et ipse caret."

The ninth and tenth centuries were the most remarkable for the labours of the monastic scribes; transcribing flourished, indeed, until the fourteenth century, but the difference between MSS. of that date and four hundred years before, is as marked as the correctness of those of the fourteenth century from the corruption of the transcriptions immediately preceding the discovery of printing. It is not too much to affirm, that every year the transcribers were becoming more negligent, and that printing was discovered but just in time to save our MS. treasures from irremediable incorrectness and utter corruption. To the beauty of the tenth century writing, every one at all conversant with MSS. of that date will most readily bear witness, though they may not be inclined to admit that art as a sufficient refutation of the old title of "barbarous ages," or quite agree with the historian of the Black Forest in estimating the beautiful writing and embellishing of

the books of that age, as "apparently the produce not of human but angelic hands."

To such of the abbots of that era as followed the example of St. Bernard in establishing and encouraging monastic scriptoria, we are mainly indebted for our present MS. collections. In that age, and in the century immediately preceding and subsequent to it, we find a well-spread desire of multiplying copies of books. Scriptoria, supported by ample revenues, and worked in, not by humble brothers alone, but by such men as Abbot Frederic of Hirschau, were in full operation, and men began to be proud of the multitude of works they produced by their ceaseless labours with the reed. The task was no easy one: "as the sick man desires health, so does the scribe sigh for the last page of the book," writes one scribe: "Written with great trouble," is the complaint of another; whilst a third expresses the joy of the transcriber on the completion of his work in the following rhyming hexameter:—

"Libro completo saltat scriptor pede læto."

"Writing books," says our author, "was the main employment of the Monks of St. Gall, in the ninth and tenth centuries, to collate which they brought manuscripts from Italy and France; and this was the object of most of their epistolary correspondence. They wrote only on parchment, which, out of the hides of wild beasts, they manufactured with such skill, that it is often whiter and finer than the finest post paper. In the beginning of the ninth century, their writing was obscured by many Merovingian and Longobardish signs; but from 820, this cursive writing was generally laid aside for the Carlovingian Roman character. The great antiquarians, Mabillon, Baluze, Basnage, Calmet, and Gerbert, found few MSS. to equal those of St. Gall. Some made the parchment; others drew the lines; others wrote the books; others put in the gold and initial letters; others painted them; others compared the text with the original; which work was generally done by night, in the Scriptorium, between matins and lauds; and the last hands were employed in binding them within thick boards, cramped with iron, lead, or ivory. Writing was learned by the verse, everywhere known, containing nearly all the letters of the alphabet—

'Adnexique globum zephyrique kanna secabant.'

"The labour was great, and Eadbert complains of it, saying, 'He that is ignorant of writing, is unconscious of labour; three fingers, indeed, write, but the whole body works.'"—*Mores Catholici*, pp. 241, 242.

Not content with delineating letters in ink and various other pigments, the monks of St. Gall endeavoured to engrave the letters on parchment with a style. Sintram, one of the most noted of their scribes, left records of his penmanship in most parts of the world, so numerous were his writings; yet, though with a writing most delicate in style, "you will scarcely find," says Ekkehard, "that he had to erase one word in a page through any mistake." There were but few monasteries in Germany that could not show one or more of the handworks of Sintram, the "beautiful scribe." So prodigious is the number of books,—many of them far from small,—stated by every authority to have been transcribed by some of the great monkish scribes, that we receive, with unconcealed incredulity, the recorded labours of Harduin, Maurus Lapi and his thousand MSS., and the mass of service books assigned to the pen of the half-blind Gerhard of Monte Serrano.

It was in no bad spirit that many of the monks addicted themselves to the labours of the scriptorium, or expended their resources in the collection of books. Far better was their spirit than that whi

actuates so many a bibliomaniac in these days; the pride of having a unique edition, of numbering his volumes by tens of thousands, of contrasting his row of unopened Elzivirs, Alduses, or Caxtons, with the scantier array of his equally bibliomaniacal but poorer rival.

Some could say with the monk of the abbey of Morigni, "May God reward all constructors, enlargers, and protectors of this place, and have mercy on them, and on me also, who have written these things, and who know not whether I have done it any service, excepting that I have, to the best of my power, corrected and accentuated the whole Bible, from Genesis to the last epistle of St. Paul; St. Augustine, from his book 'De Trinitate Dei,' till that of John, the morals of Gregory, and other works." The monk then laments his inability in his temporary exercise of the office of prior; "partly through ignorance, partly through infirmity, not of body, but of manners;" and he then concludes with this appeal to his readers:—"You who read this, I beseech, by the sweet name of my Lord Jesus Christ, to say, with all the affection you can, 'O God, merciful by nature, who showest mercy and hast pity upon all, show mercy, I pray, to Teulfus, unworthy of thy mercy.' But if you shut your bowels against me, and turn a deaf ear to my prayer, you will sin, both against God, who is charity, and against me." The thought, that by the labour of their pens they might disseminate religious knowledge, was a source of joy to some of the monastic writers.

"Happy intention," says Cassiodorus to his monks, alluding to those who transcribed the ancient books, "praiseworthy assiduity, *by the hand to preach to men, by the fingers to open the lips, in silence to give salvation to men, and with the pen to fight against the unlawful suggestions of Satan; for the devil receives as many wounds as the writer puts down words of the Lord. Resting in one place, he goes, by means of the dissemination of his book, through different provinces; his labour is read in holy places; the people may learn from it how they may be converted from an evil, to serve God with a clean heart.*"—*Mores Catholici*, p. 245.

We are almost afraid of expressing our regret that not now, as of old, pious hands alone are employed in the multiplication of the Holy Word, lest we should be set down as wishing for the abolition of the fourth estate of the realm, the much belauded origin of the Reformation. But surely it is far from gratifying to remember the manner and the means by which the Scriptures are multiplied in our printing offices; composed, corrected, hurried through the machine, thrown from one part of the office to another with no more respect than the sheets of a book of ballads or a Newgate novel; without further recollecting the ofttimes unhallowed and heretical hands to whose labours we are indebted for our copies of the Word of Life. Of course, in us it is rank superstition to claim any outward respect for the corporal form of the Scriptures. Be it so; we can bear to be called superstitious in this matter; and fear not to ascribe the present inconsiderateness, not to use a stronger term, with which the Bible, as a book, is treated among us, as to other causes, so also to its rapid multiplication by novel aids, which have taken away from it that external reverence with which it was treated in earlier times.

We must here conclude. Let no one think that we are insensible the advantages which we and our predecessors have derived from the covery of printing and the labours of the printers, or consider that would recall the days of slow transcription, of few books. All that

we contemplated in this slight sketch was, to vindicate for the monks of old some claim among bibliopilists, and to add one more argument against the now almost defeated dictum, that the middle and the dark ages are convertible terms.

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1. *Practical Remarks on the Minor Accessories to the Services of the Church. By* GILBERT J. FRENCH. Leeds: Green. London: Rivingtons.
2. *Church Needlework; with Practical Remarks on its Arrangement and Preparation. By* Miss LAMBERT, *Authoress of the Hand-Book of Needlework.* London: Murray.

THESE works have peculiarities which, as they represent a class, we may as well distinguish with critical care. They are curious, then, in their several aspects: that is, both externally and internally, and in the way of their final cause: so, as our worthy ancestors would have said, we will examine our present teachers of Ecclesiastical æsthetics, in their moral nature, their physical nature, and their intellectual nature. Body, mind, and soul of each are alike noticeable.

And first, morally, which would not be at first so apparent, Mr. French and Miss Lambert are really discoverers in the ocean of literature. Columbus-like, they have fallen upon the Fortunate Islands of Trade. Formerly, and we speak from sorrowful experience, one of the greatest drawbacks from the luxury of authorship, was that inconvenient item in a Publisher's Bill—"Paid in advertisements, £ *s. d.*" It has been a *crux* then to authors, and to tradesmen, hitherto, how to make advertising profitable: the greatest masters in the art have not attained more than a balanced account. Was it Moses' revolving clothes-cart, or Painter's "When you Marry," or the *affiche* of Mr. Montgomery's next Charity Sermon, advertising in every conceivable case had to be paid for. In the long-run it might pay its own expenses, but, *pro re natâ*, every advertisement was money out of pocket. All honour, then, to French and Lambert! not only do they not pay for advertising, but they get paid for it: they publish elaborate puffs of their own wares and shops, to the tune, one of a half-guinea 8vo., and the other in the costly guise of a gilt-edged 12mo. The antiquarian and tradesman are thus amusingly interchanged: at first you would imagine that you were reading a Cardinal Bona, or an Ottley, or a Way at the least: maniple and albe, corporas and *aire*, are discussed with edifying accuracy; when, presto!—enter the linendraper—exit the antiquarian—"I have prepared, &c., &c, a beautiful article, 15*s.* each!!" But, seriously, to find on p. 76, an elaborate quotation from St. Optatus Milevitanus, and on p. 75, a list of Mr. French's prices of worsted fringe and shabby printed flannel, is extremely offensive. Miss Lambert—which, by-the-bye, is not the lady's name, she having exchanged the maid for the matron—manages matters much more discreetly; and were we not aware that she is proprietress of a high-priced "establishment," for the sale of Berlin wool and embroidery frames, in Burlington-street, we should really have been disposed to rank her with—Mrs. Somerville, for aught we know. However it is becoming quite the fashion for girls to work for our church

a custom which we should be the last to discourage—we have not the slightest objection to their buying silks and needles of Miss Lambert, only we wish that she had taken a more straightforward way of announcing what she is pleased to call her "avocation;" for her book is, on the whole, not a bad one, though it is full of blunders.

Next, as to the external aspect of these books. They are simply distressing. We think it was the *Times* which complained of the present Gothomania. It is perfectly frightful. Why half the children who are born are not crimped and jagged with tracery and foliation puzzles us not a little. We cannot draw a line but it shifts into string-course and mouldings: our dots become ball-flowers: our jelly-moulds are all but lanterns and pinnacles: our pies are encrusted with Tudor pannelling: ribbons begin to look mediæval and severe: and Westminster Abbey steals out in pipkins and pocket handkerchiefs. Flowing or solid, wet or dry, substance or accident, all shapes itself into some monstrous misapplication of diaper and quatre-foil. Thus; if Miss L. wishes to inscribe the title of her book on its cover, it must be under a canopied tomb: if Mr. F. has the same object, he must "adopt" an angel with a background semée of stars—holding what? a shield with the emblems of the Sacred Passion? no—a dirty rag with some nonsense of a bookseller's title. We instinctively condemn, as shallow pretenders, each and all of these abominable and irreverent perversions, and the sooner we have done with mock frescoes, and mock illuminations, and mock brasses, and bits of finials for head-pieces, and distorted arcades and wheel-windows for stamped bindings, the better.

Last of all: neither of these books is to be trusted: with much of good, which their respective authors could scarcely have missed, with the Ecclesiologist, and Markland, and Bloxam, and Pugin at hand, there is much to object to. Miss Lambert, for example, blunders egregiously when she recommends *any* relief or shadow in embroidery, as she does in many of her borders and monograms. No. XII., for example, at p. 118, and those figured at p. 90: her evangelistic symbols—the Agnus Dei, the sacred Dove, the peacock, and others, are very bad. What suits stone, or even wood, where there is relief, does not suit embroidery where there is none—pendents and wheat-ears are not to be mixed up, except in that most detestable of pseudo-styles, the *renaissance*, as at p. 66. In a word, it must be with the greatest caution that our lady-readers attempt any of Miss Lambert's patterns. The most curious and valuable illustration in her volume, is that of a pall belonging to the Fishmongers' Company, which has been traced back to the fourteenth century. As to Mr. French, he meddles with so many things which he does not understand, that we can only wish him a little less business, and then he may become qualified, by study, for the work which he has taken up: the linendraper and the ecclesiologist are at present incompatible. He thinks proper to suggest that the altar should not be placed against the east wall; he condemns Latin inscriptions; he introduces the "maniple" only of a shape and pattern and use totally different from any known ancient examples; he tells us that the

na, p. 125, is not now required; although he is right in objecting
r scarfs, he is wrong in the size which he gives to the ancient
p. 150; he is still more decidedly incorrect in saying that the

surplice should *not* be close up the front; and his patterns, both for linen and altar cloths, have no authority whatever. He has moved, however, in the right direction; and for this we thank him.

In a word, while we would thankfully see every church in England as beautiful as Solomon's temple, we are afraid of decoration without taste and knowledge; of attention to mere æsthetics apart from the "weightier matters of the law;" and above all, of mere speculations and adventurers in holy things.

Mr. E. C. Kemp is, in one respect, a remarkable person: he has delivered a "Lecture on Transubstantiation," (Bell,) before a Protestant Association, which, though unsound, is neither indecent nor abusive. And yet he is one of those to whom the good Dean of Hereford's rebuke, addressed to Mr. Venn, on his recent unseemly exhibition, would apply: viz., as neither qualified by his studies, nor called upon from his position as a Parish Priest to conduct so serious a dispute. The acme of wickedness in one of these lecturers, was once exhibited in a London church, where the preacher, on the *segnius irritant* plan, was shameless enough, to produce in the pulpit from his pocket what he said was the consecrated host in a bottle, and to display it with oratorical gestures and words, which we care not to repeat.

Mr. Kemp, also, has hit upon a novel mode of refuting Dissenters: he goes to "Mr. Kinghorn's Baptist Meeting-house" and then publishes his "Reflections on the Discourse," &c. (Bell,) which he heard on this occasion. Did he do this in the former case? Because we claim "equal justice" for Papist and Puritan.

"The Churches of Yorkshire," (Green,)—and the "Churches of Cambridgeshire," (Stevenson,)—(the last under the auspices of the Camden Society,) are going on, we trust, in a satisfactory way. They are beautiful and authentic works. How very slow the Oxford Society is in its publications: some promises are better than performances.

Looking Westward, we find a second edition of Bishop Doane's Sermon on "Ancient Charity," (Burlington, U. S.) in which he first announced his intention of instituting the weekly offertory: as this took place three years since, we should be glad to know how it has worked. Appended is a Pastoral in behalf of Missions, ordering a general collection at the offertory: this wholesome practice is gradually making way. Here we have to thank the Bishop of London for an example which, if followed out, will, in the end, relieve the Church from the perplexities inseparable from Societies.

"A Pastoral for the season of Confirmation," (Burlington, U. S.) from the same quarter, is simple in the expository portion, and with something more than the good Bishop's warmth in the hortatory part. The glow of Transatlantic Sermons is so universal, that it is a question of national temper rather than literary taste.

"Worldly and Christian Education Compared" (Rivington,) we introduce here, because it is a Sermon preached by an American Divine, Dr. Jarvis of Connecticut, of high standing and reputation, who is at present in England, with the view we hear of publishing a learned work on New Testament Chronology. The Sermon was preached at South Hackney, and published by request: and a very interesting one it is. Dr. Jarvis it seems has been in England before; and his testimony to our improved state is very cheering. At the same time we suspect, what the Doctor is too good and gentle to tell us, that the recent act—one, let us say, of the most tardy and incomplete justice—which admits our American brethren to stand as priests at our common altar, has, it may be unconsciously, prejudiced him to take an over favourable view of our present ecclesiastical state. We welcome Dr. Jarvis heartily and respectfully, both as a stranger, and a writer. The English Church yet owes a long arrear of duties to America: and we are quite sure that we shall lose in self-respect, if we fail to pay some of them in the person of the Historiographer of the American Church: a more engaging and worthy representative our daughter could not have sent us.

"Mariolatry," &c. by Mr. Hartwell Horne, has been dignified with an American reprint by Dr. Jarvis (Hartford, Parsons). This is an honour quite equal to its deserts: too much of the details which Mr. Horne has collected, is, we are afraid, undeniable: but this writer has a hard, technical, unloving way of stating faults and sins. He jots down with the cold precision of a catalogue-maker. We cannot understand how any Christian can quote Conyers Middleton with other feelings than loathing; and it is not a *fact*—we say nothing whether the phrase is or is not justifiable—that the Church of England refuses the title of "our Lady" to the B. V. M. (See the Lessons proper for Holy Days.)

"Bibliotheca Sacra" and "Theological Review," No. 1., (Andover, W. S. Allen; London, Wiley and Putman,) completes our American list. Of its principles we shall not be expected to approve, conducted as it is by Dr. Robinson and Professor Stuart: it is of the German and Rationalizing school. But we are not sure that the plan, already very successful in Germany, of a Quarterly, composed entirely of original Dissertations and Essays, avowed by the Authors, and on other than subjects of local controversy, might not be tried among ourselves.

Speaking of new periodicals reminds us of the "Archæological Journal," No. 1. (Longman,) published under the auspices of the British Archæological Association, for the preservation and illustration of ancient monuments, buildings, &c. As the Institution, which, with the Journal, promises exceedingly well, has special reference to Churches and all branches of Christian art, we recommend them unconditionally; only, let the conductors remember that *reverence* which is due to such subjects: we thought that we detected an over-spicing of mere Antiquarianism.

"Zoological Sketches" (S. P. C. K.,) is a beautiful book. It consists of reduced copies of the fine single prints of Animals, published with so much success by the Literature and Education Committee; accompanied by pleasing and right-minded anecdotes of the different creatures. Mr. Secretary Murray, the author, has shown himself a worthy follower of Derham and Gilbert White; higher praise we could not award; and it is well deserved. At present, the monthly meetings of the Society are anything but "the happy family" which all Londoners must have been delighted with in Trafalgar Square, and which Mr. Murray so genially describes, p. 52. We are quite sure that Mr. M.—at least we can answer for ourselves,—would be much more at home with the cats and rats, hawks, owls, and guinea-pigs, all lying down in peace and silence, in their "large cage" by the National Gallery, than with their theological congeners biting and tearing one another once a month in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

"Percy's Reliques" (Washbourne,) is republishing in Numbers, in a pleasing form and guise. Never was so sweet a companion with which to

"——loiter long days by Shawford brook,"

which to an Editor is rather matter of hope than anticipation.

The Cambridge Camden Society has published a very interesting account (Stevenson,) of the repairs of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge—interesting both as a record of one of the most important restorations of the day, as well as an historical document. We regret to hear that the Society is in debt for the Restoration fund, and is in trouble from the ignorant puritanism of a non-resident incumbent: we trust that they will as readily get out of the former trouble as they will dispose of the mischievous folly of Mr. Faulkner. Is there not some blunder at p. 10, where the "Old Jewry in London" is said "to derive its name from the church of St. Sepulchre being in it?" St. Lawrence is the *present* church in the Old Jewry: was there a St. Sepulchre's before the Fire?

A most instructive and interesting collection of "Documents relative to the ·ction and Endowment of Colonial Bishoprics" (Rivington, &c.) has ap-·red, enriched by the very best History of the several attempts to expand the ·lican Episcopate, which we possess. It is from the pen of one of the most ·ul men in England, the Secretary of the S. P. G.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[*The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.*]

MAURICE'S KINGDOM OF CHRIST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

SIR,—The letter which appeared in your last number, on the subject of my "Kingdom of Christ," has released me from an obligation which I felt to be very painful. I was sure that the flattering opinion of me which was expressed in a former article in the CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, could only have proceeded from the partiality of personal friendship. For this reason I valued it; on every other ground I much regretted it. I felt that it was, in itself, extravagant; that it must be disagreeable to nearly all the readers of your work who happened to be acquainted with what I have written; and that it far too kindly and liberally permitted me to take rank as the honorary or correspondent member of a school, the members of which would very eagerly disclaim my alliance, if I were ambitious to force it upon them. I must, therefore, at whatever sacrifice of feeling, have rejected compliments so undeserved, if your correspondent had not saved me the trouble of stripping off my own laurels, by taking the task upon himself.

I owe him still greater gratitude on another ground. I have heard many discussions lately on the subject of anonymous criticism upon books and persons. I am so far convinced by the arguments of those who denounce them, that I trust I shall never myself venture to speak of any man, or any body of men, without making myself formally responsible for my words. But this is entirely a rule for individual conduct. Persons of more self-government, more sure of always walking by a higher guidance, more confident, from past experience, that they will not be tempted to substitute personalities for principles, may, I doubt not, dispense with it. For my own sake, I should be very sorry if all conformed to my practice: one would miss many useful reproofs which, under other circumstances, would certainly not be heard. It would be a serious loss to me, for instance, if your correspondent had not told me that I was the most conceited man alive. I must needs bless the mask through which words so profitable, so helpful to my self-knowledge, could be spoken. There is only one correction which I wish to make upon your correspondent's statements on this point. He supposes that I have somewhere attempted to show that the charge is unfounded, and he remarks, (very sensibly, I think,) that my eager denial is a strong presumption of guilt. But he will find, I believe, if he will take the trouble to reconsider the passage which he has quoted, that my object in it was not in the least to show that self-conceit was not one of my most besetting sins. The more conscious any of us are of that sin, the more we feel how it has hindered all our struggles after truth, how it has led us to glorify our own opinion, how it has set us at war with the thoughts and opinions of other men, the more earnest shall we be to discover any help which

God may have provided for overcoming this tendency, for leading us, in spite of it, to a knowledge of Himself, to fellowship with our brethren. The object of my book was to show that such helps have been provided; that we can be led out of the conceits of our individual minds, from which conceits no one had ever suffered more than myself, into the knowledge of that which is fixed, and eternal, and true; and that if we will walk in the path which God has marked out for us, we shall, at last, obtain this victory, let the strife within and without be as hard and as long as it may. One means of obtaining the victory I believe to be the observance of the precept, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." A desire to sit in judgment upon the thoughts and feelings of other men, I have felt to be one of the greatest and sorest temptations which my self-conceit has presented to me. By resisting that temptation, by endeavouring to act upon the belief that there is something true and holy in the thoughts and feelings of all men, and that it is their pride which leads them to set up their own truth against that of other men, and so to become schismatics and heretics, I have found that I mortify my self-conceit more effectually than by any other method. In the preface, from which your correspondent has quoted, I maintained that this *method* was not a self-conceited method; that it was a humble method, and one which a more humble person than I am would understand and follow far more effectually than I have done. To this belief I still adhere; and the more of self-conceit I discover in myself, or others discover in me, the more necessary do I feel it. Again I thank your correspondent for his plain-spoken admonitions: I hope they will lead me to greater personal watchfulness. They certainly make me desire to act more strictly upon the principles which I have recommended to others.

I have dwelt somewhat too long upon this question about my self-conceit, which, interesting as it is to myself, cannot, I imagine, be very particularly so to your readers. A far graver subject is touched upon by your correspondent, when he quotes (with a few alterations) a passage from my book, in which I speak of the High-*Church school* amongst us as only maintaining a certain side or portion of truth, and thereupon grounds the charge, that I look upon the *Catholic Church* as upon a level with, or only raised a little above, the different sects and heresies, in each of which I have contended that some important principle is contained. In this statement the question between us is brought to a fair issue. I maintain, that to confound a school professing any doctrine whatsoever with the Church, is the very principle of heresy: he thinks that whatever is affirmed for or against a certain school professing Catholic opinions, must be affirmed for or against the Church. There is nothing new in his opinion. The sect of the Pharisees believed that adherence to it was identical to adherence to the Jewish Commonwealth. Because it held that opinion, it became the most contemptuous, godless, and wicked of all sects. The principle passed from the elect nation into the universal Church. There it has continually existed, and still exists, only in more direct and monstrous contradiction to the character of the body which it professes to glorify. The principle which is opposed to this—the principle which recognises the Church as a universal and living family,

in one living and ever-present Head; and constituted in that name into which we are baptized; and not united as a school or sect, in the profession of certain opinions or notions about the Church, or about any thing else—is also not new. It has maintained a hard fight with the other principle for the last 1800 years; it has stood its ground: it will prevail at last. But the time, I believe, is come when those principles will be brought into more manifest conflict than ever before; when every man must take his stand upon one or upon the other. Those who bind themselves to a school, and make that their church, will doubtless have their reward. They will have much present sympathy, "many organs," much pleasure in denouncing and insulting those who differ from them. They who acknowledge the Church, and repudiate all sects and parties, as such, must prepare themselves for a slow, sad warfare with the spirit which dwells in all parties, and which dwells in themselves; must look to be more and more misunderstood by all about them; must deny themselves (unless they would undergo a bitter repentance hereafter) the use of those poisoned weapons which the others consider useful and commendable; must content themselves with the friendly greeting of some one here and there, and those whom they have cheered with the hope that truth is not unattainable, or charity impossible, even upon this earth; must look for their chief comfort to the day of final manifestation. To those who have wished to take this narrow path, the most grievous reflection of all is, that they have walked in it so unsteadily, that they have so often deviated into the party line which they have nominally abandoned, that they have allowed so much of the self-conceit, which is the proper native characteristic of the party man, to mingle with the churchmanship, of which the groundwork and the consummation is humility. Had it not been for these shameful inconsistencies, they would have been far more odious and more dangerous to the organs of party than they are now. Civil sneers, and occasional complaints, would have been exchanged for undisguised hatred. But God will yet raise up true and faithful witnesses for him; he will prepare them, by his own discipline, for the foes they must encounter; he will himself provide them with the only armour which can make mockery of the assaults of those foes.

You have invited me, Sir, to defend myself against your correspondent, but you have expressed a fear that I may make some demands upon your editorial courtesy which it will not be possible to grant. I have not unreasonably trespassed upon it in this letter: I shall not task it any further. My opponent is perfectly welcome to the last word; and I hope that my friends, if I still have any amongst your readers, will do me the very great personal favour of not saying more in my justification than I have thought it necessary to say myself.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
F. D. Maurice.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of London, *June* 2.
Bp. of Chichester, *June* 2.
Bp. of Exeter, *June* 2.
Bp. of Hereford, *June* 2.
Bp. of Lichfield, *June* 2.
Bp. of Lincoln, *June* 2.
Bp. of Peterborough, *June* 2.
Bp. of Salisbury (for B. & W.) *June* 2.
Abp. of York, *June* 9.
Bp. of Ely, *June* 9.
Bp. of Durham, *June* 30.
Bp. of Winchester, *June* 30.
Bp. of Worcester, *July* 21.
Bp. of Norwich, *Aug.* 25.

ORDINATIONS.

By the Ld. Bp. of Gloucester and Bristol, *on Sunday, April* 14, *at Gloucester.*

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—T. R. J. Langharne, B.A. Jesus; S. W. Mangin, B.A. Wad.; H. Turner, B.A. Queen's; S. H. Archer, B.A. Exet. (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter.)

Of Cambridge.—W. C. Badger, B.A. Queen's; E. Gilpin, B.A. Trin.; H. L. Nelthropp, B.A. Trin.; J. Richards, B.A. Trin.; H. T. Lee, B.A. Trin.; H. Lister, B.A. Cath. H. (*l. d.* Bp. of Ripon); R. M'Niell, M.A. Trin. (*l. d.* Abp. of York); G. Babb, B.A. St. John's (*l. d.* Bp. of Worcester).

Of Dublin.—R. Halpin, B.A. Trin. (*l. d.* Bp. of Clogher.)

Of Lampeter.—S. Appleby, St. David's (*l. d.* Bp. of Llandaff.)

Literate.—J. Griffiths (*l. d.* Bp. of Llandaff.)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—L. Carden, B.A. Univ.; M. H. Estcourt, B.A. Exet.; T. C. Griffiths, B.A. Wad.; W. Hughes, B.A. Jesus; E. Huntingdon, S.C.L. New Coll.; E. Mansfield, B.A. Exet. R. T. Mills, B.A. St. Mary Magd.; G. Prothero, B.A. Brasen.; W. Wiggin, B.A. Exet.; T. Jackson, M.A. Brasen. (*l. d.* Abp. of York.)

Of Cambridge.—J. Grote, M.A. Trin.

By the Lord Bp. of Rochester, *at Rochester, on Sunday, April* 14.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. R. Harrison, B.C.L. All Souls; W. A. B. Cator, B.A. Mert.

Of Cambridge.—G. Y. Boddy, B.A. St. John's.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—S. Holmes, B.A. Magd. H.

Of Cambridge.—W. E. Light, B.A. St. John's; J. L. Allan, B.A. Trin.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Barnes, R.	Bampton, V.	Oxford	D. & C. of Exeter	...	...
Bates, M.	Ch. Ch., Hougham	Canterbury.		...	...
Bellairs, C.	Ch. Ch., Coventry, P.C.	Worcester..	Vicar of St. Michael....	£179	...
Bisset, C.	Upholland, P.C.	Chester.....	Rector of Wigan.....	165	3113
Bruce, K.	Abbotsham, V.	Exeter.....	Lord Chancellor	159	414
Burgh, De, R. L.	Harmondsworth, V. w. West Drayton	London	H. De Burgh, Esq.....	530	1330 802
Cardall, W.	Trinity Church, West Bromwich, P.C.	Lichfield....		...	...
Carter, T. T.	Clewer, R.	Oxford	Eton College	460	3075
Coffin, R. A.	St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, V.	Oxford	Ch. Ch. Coll., Oxford...	145	2600
Cooke, C.	Withycombe, R.	B. & W.....	T. Hutton, Esq.....	203	318
Crofts, J.	St. Saviour's, York, R..	York.....	Lord Chancellor	133	2623
Deck, J.	St. Stephen's, Hull, P.C.	York.....		...	...
Deedes, C.	Chilton Canteloe, R.	B. & W.....	John Bragge, Esq.	260	134
Dudley, W. M.	Whitchurch, R.	Winchester.	Bishop of Winchester..	140	1741
Eade, T. F.	Thrandestone, R.	Norwich ...	Sir E. Kerrison	391	373
Fortescue, H. R.	East Allington, R.	Exeter.....	Mrs. Fortescue.....	345	729
Goodwin, W.	St. Benedict, P.C. Norwich	Norwich....	Parishioners	95	1319
Grueber, C.	St. James-the-Less, P.C. Hambridge			...	...
Gwyther, J.	Fewston, V.	Ripon	Lord Chancellor	150	2118
Hallewell, J.	Chillenden, R.	Canterbury	Lord Chancellor	130	137
Halliwell, T.	Christ Ch., P.C. Redhill	Winchester		...	...
Johnson, J. B.	Welbourne, R.	Norwich	Mrs. J. Johnson	250	234
Kent, C.	Elton, P.C.	Hereford....	Lord Chancellor	50	99
Kirkham, J. W.	Llandysilio, P.C.	Bangor		...	...
Lamb, T.	St. Mary, Preston, P.C.	Chester.....	Trustees	...	...
Lowe, N.	Colliton Rawleigh, V.	.....	Dean of Exeter.....	...	...
Meller, T. W.	Woodbridge, P.C.	Norwich	T. W. Meller, Esq.	500	4954
Metcalfe, W.	St. Mary's, Ramsgill....	Ripon	Vicar of Masham	...	...
Molesworth, W. N.	St. Clement's, Spotland, P.C.	Chester.....	Vicar of Rochdale	...	...
Nihill, D.	Bridgewater *cum* Chilton, R.	B. & W.....	Lord Chancellor	342	10436 74
Ormerod, T. J.	Framlingham Pigot, P.C.	Norwich....	Bishop of Norwich	...	289
Overton, J. G.	Rothwell, R.	Lincoln.....	Earl of Yarborough	250	290

PREFERMENTS—*Continued.*

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Pakes, H. A. A....	Newton, R.....	Ely	Marquis of Bristol	£314	443
Ramsden, W.....	Buslingthorpe, R.....	Lincoln	Govs. of Charter House	244	50
Rowsell, T. J.....	St.Peter's, Stepney, P.C.	London.....	Brazen. Coll., Oxford...	400	...
Scott, E. D.....	Enham Knights, R.....	Winchester	Queen's Coll., Oxford...	208	92
Skipsey, R.....	St. Thomas, Bishop-wearmouth, P.C. ...	Durham.....	.....	...	...
Smith, H.....	Butler's Marston, V.....	Worcester..	Ch. Ch., Oxford	88	313
Smith, S. L.....	Church Brampton, R...	Peterboro'..	Corp. Ch. Coll., Oxford	346	169
Stephenson, J. H..	Lympsham, R.....	B. & W.....	Rev. J. Stephenson	503	567
Stuart, —	Cottesmore, R.....	Peterboro'..	Earl of Gainsborough...	893	670
Ward, H.....	St. Nicholas, East Grafton	Sarum.....	.....	...	...
Whish, M. H.....	St. Peter, Bishport, P.C.	.....	.....	...	...
Wilson, T. D. H...	Redgrave, R.....	Norwich....	G. St. V. Wilson, Esq..	777	1352

APPOINTMENTS.

Bellairs, H. W.. H. M. Inspector of Schools.
Bond, H..... Stall in Wells Cathedral.
Browne, R. W.. Chaplain to Troops in London.
Burton, C..... Clerk in Orders at the Parish Church, Leeds.
Butterfield, J.... Head Master of the Free Sch., Catterick, Yorkshire.
Dakeyne, J. O.. Inspector of Schools for Lincoln & the neighbourhood.
Fletcher, J..... H. M. Inspector of Schools.
Gleig, G. R..... Principal Chap. to the Forces.
Knight, T. H.... Lecturer in Exeter Cathedral.
Lampen, R..... Canonry in Exeter Cathedral.
Morgan, H. H.. Warden of St. Catherine's Hospital, Ledbury.
Twistleton, F... Master of St. Ethelred's Hosp.
Watkins, F..... H. M. Inspector of Schools.
Wood, P. A. Le Heup..... Stall in the Collegiate Church, Middleham.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Allen, J. T., Rec. of Shobdon, Herefordshire.
Bainbridge, T., Rec. of Addlethorpe, Lincolnsh.
Baker, W., Rector of Gerran's in Roseland.
Basnett, J., at the Cloughs, near Newcastle-under-Lyme.
Bass, R., Vicar of Austrey.
Best, F., Rector of South Dalton.
Bigge, E., Archdeacon of Lindisfarne, and Vic. of Egglingham, county of Northumberland.
Boon, R., Rector of Ufford.
Boyton, C., D.D., Rector of Tullyagnish, county Donegal, Ireland, and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Raphoe.
Bush, C., B.A., at Weston-Point, Runcorn, Ches.
Byron, S., M.A., Vicar of Keelby, Lincolnshire.
Cobbold, F., Rector of Hemley.
Heathcote, E., at Chesterfield.
Hewlett, J., B.D., Rec. of Hilgay, and formerly Preacher at the Foundling.
Hows, F., Rector of Framingham Pigott.
Jones, J., LL.B., Rector of Llanvyrnach and Penrieth, Pembrokeshire.
Jones, J. W., Rec. of Hubberstone, nr. Milford.
Leach, R., Rector of Manorbeer.
Powley, R., at Legbourn, Lincolnshire.
Quarrington, J., Vicar of Shopland, Essex.
Revely, E., late Curate of Little Whitley.
Ricketts, W., Rector of Kibworth.
Story, Dr., Chancellor of the diocese of Clogher.
Walter, W., Rector of Bideford.
Wheeldon, J., Minister of St. John's Chapel, Market-street, Hertfordshire.
White, H., Rector of Claughton.
Wodsworth, C., Vic. of Audley and Prebendary of St. Paul's.
Woodcock, G., M.A., at the Rectory, Caythorpe, Lincolnshire.
Worsley, H., D.D., Rector of Gatcombe, Isle of Wight.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

[As we formerly noticed Mr. Alexander's comforting proposals to build a new church in Edinburgh, for the use of the poorer members of the Church in the Old Town, with a school, &c. attached: we are glad to announce that the scheme, though for some reasons withdrawn, has been revived under the best auspices of success. The Scotch laity have at length begun to move, as we learn from the following prospectus]:—

"DIOCESE OF EDINBURGH.

"*Proposal for Building a New Church in Edinburgh, for the accommodation of the Poor, with a School-house attached, to be situated in the Old Town.*

"A number of laymen, members of the Church of Scotland, have had for some time under their consideration the spiritual and educational wants of their poorer brethren in the Old Town; and, from inquiries which have been made, it is manifest that the state of church accommodation for the poorer classes of the community in that locality, who belong to the Church, and the means of instruction for their children, are wholly unsuitable and insufficient.

"In these circumstances, it is felt to be a duty incumbent on all churchmen, forthwith to endeavour to supply these deficiencies, by providing, as soon as the requisite sum is subscribed, an edifice, in a convenient situation in the Old Town, for the worship of God according to the Ritual of the Church; and, in connexion therewith, a school-house, for the instruction of the children of the poor.

"It is a source of much satisfaction to reflect, that, under the sanction of the Bishop, a great deal has already been

done in Edinburgh to rescue the children of the poor from the deplorable state of ignorance and irreligion in which, from the absence of the requisite means of instruction, they were so long suffered to remain. In particular, it may be mentioned that, besides the scholars attending the other Church schools, there are at present about one hundred and seventy children, whose parents are for the most part natives of either England or Ireland, assembled for daily instruction in a small hired room in the Lawn-market, under the personal superintendence of one of the Clergy of the Diocese; and there is every reason to believe that, if proper encouragement be afforded to this interesting department of ministerial duty, the happiest results may be expected.

"It is considered desirable that the proposed church should accommodate not less than 600 persons, and that the school-house should be sufficient for at least 200 pupils, who will attend church regularly. The expense of both buildings cannot be estimated at less than 3,000*l.*, including the site. It is intended that at least one-half of the sittings shall be free; but it is anxiously wished that all of them should be so; and if such a further sum shall be raised as to admit of a requisite endowment for the clergyman, that arrangement will be carried into effect.

"The following gentlemen, whose names are appended, have consented to act as a committee, for carrying out the above proposal; and they confidently appeal to members of the Church everywhere, to aid, by their benevolence, the promotion of this most desirable object. A considerable portion of the sum required has already been obtained; and the additional offers of support they have received from various quarters are such as to warrant the expectation that the reproach will be speedily wiped away, with which the members of the Church in Edinburgh have been so long charged, on account of the indifference with which the claims of their poorer brethren on their sympathies have been regarded.

E. D. Sandford, Esq., Advocate, 11, Randolph-crescent, *Chairman*.
W. Brand, Esq., W.S., 4, Queen-st.
Robt. Campbell, Esq., Advocate, 11, Walker-st.
C. Colt, Esq., 15, Regent-terrace.
Sir Wm. Dunbar, Bart. of Mochrum, 7, Alva-st.
W. Forbes, Esq., Advocate, 9, Coates-crescent.
Edw. Fraser, Esq., Advocate, 46, Albany-st.
R. R. Glasgow, Esq., Advocate, 15, Rutland-street.
W. Goldie, Esq., W.S., 34, Melville-st.
J. Gordon, Esq. of Cairnbulg, Advocate, 60, Great King-st.
A. F. Irvine, Esq., Advocate, York-pl.
J. Muir, Esq., 6, Royal-terrace.
C. G. Reid, Esq., W.S., 68, George-st.
C. F. Shand, Esq., Advocate, 5, India-st.
R. Stuart, Esq., Advocate, 23, Great King-st.
W. C. Trevelyan, Esq., Wallington, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Adam Urquhart, Esq., Advocate, 5, St. Colme-street.
W. S. Walker, Esq., Advocate, 7, St. Colme-st.
The Hon. Henry Walpole, Wolterton-park, Norfolk.

"Subscriptions will be received by the Treasurer, or by any of the Members of Committee; and also by James Burns, 17, Portman-st., Portman-sq., London; J. H. Parker, Oxford; Gallie & Bayley, 69, George-street, Edinburgh; and Brown & Co., Aberdeen.

"Chas. G. Reid, *Sec. & Treas.*"

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received the following—

"*London, April* 22, 1844.

"Sir,—I was not aware until this evening that you had spoken of the Preface to my papers on the Dark Ages, as written 'in reference to what has appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer*.' As I do not know how my remarks may appear when viewed in that light, I beg to assure you that they were written and printed without my having the least suspicion that a single word on the subject had appeared in your work.—I am, Sir, your obedient Servant, "S. R. Maitland."

With reference to the last clause of his letter, (see p. 631,) we can assure Mr. Maurice that he has, we believe, many friends among the readers of the *Christian Remembrancer*, and that it is only from deference to his wish that we have suppressed—though in type—a letter on the subject of his "Kingdom of Christ," from the author of "Signs of Hope," as well as an interesting communication from "Hiberno-Catholicus," who, formerly a Quaker, says, "that this book was mercifully made the instrument of removing every lingering doubt, and of enabling him with confidence to take the decided step of seeking for admission, by baptism, into the body of Christ's Catholic Church."

The correspondence relative to the Union of the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol, as illustrating the proposed Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, arrived too late (*i. e.* April 27) for the present month.

We have received a letter from Mr. Newman, disavowing the authorship of the life of St. Stephen Harding, reviewed in our last number. It is allowed that the prefatory advertisement is, of course unintentionally, misleading. Our mistake is, perhaps, cheaply purchased by the announcement.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JUNE, 1844.

History of Scotland. By PATRICK FRAZER TYTLER. Vol. 9. A.D. 1587-1603. W. Tait, Edinburgh. 1843.

The Episcopal Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution. By JOHN PARKER LAWSON, M.A. London: James Burns. 1844.

SUCH of our readers, if there be any such, as have remembered the former articles we have put forward on the previous volumes of Mr. Tytler's valuable history, will not have forgotten that we have already delineated, in short, consecutive sketches, the religious state of Scotland from the Reformation to the death of the unfortunate Mary. The appearance of the learned historian's concluding volume, and also of that on the Episcopal Church of Scotland, which we have placed at the head of this article, will enable us to complete our long-intended and continued series of the religious history of the Scotch, by connecting our *résumés* of Tytler with that in which we digested the most important facts in Mr. Lawson's previous volume. Much as our system of "*rifaciamentos*" on this as well as other subjects have been called in question by some able critics, we cannot but think that in and by them, we have been at once digesting information for those who cannot, or care not, to seek its original sources, and instigating others to apply to the works from which we have so largely drawn, and from which we have selected such tasty morsels as best set forth the various qualities of the authors, and best fitted into the mosaic of our histories. The gap which we now propose to fill up, is that from the death of Mary to the Revolution; laying, indeed, our main stress on the various phases assumed by Religion during that eventfu'

period; and at the same time working in with our narrative such secular facts and events as are necessary to a clear understanding of the real motive-causes of many a religious effect.

Crafty and provident as was Elizabeth, she could neither prevent the Scottish king from hearing of his mother's execution before the explanations of her executioner, nor persuade the continental powers that she was innocent of Mary's death. It was in vain that she persecuted Davison, that she feigned to be ignorant of the great rejoicings and blazing fires that followed on the arrival of young Talbot from the death-scene at Fotheringhay; she was equally unsuccessful in misleading the Europe of her own day, as the unprejudiced of the present time. Seven days after the execution, Ashton rode into the palace yard of Edinburgh, the bearer of the tidings of Mary's death. Loud, and universal as loud, were the execrations and the threats of revenge with which the sad news was received; aye, so loud, so universal, that the crafty king himself could not refrain from chiming in with the feelings of his people, and in the apparent bitterness of his heart summoned his ablest border-chieftains to counsel revenge, whilst his invectives showed the large supply in his treasury of abuse.

The position of James was highly embarrassing: the few feelings that he possessed carried him with the hearty violence of his people; and, whilst he feared to alienate his warlike nobles, to whose prowess and power he might be compelled, ere long, to appeal as his best argument for the English crown, and therefore dared not to treat with coldness their universal musterings to revenge his mother's death; he, at the same time, could not but remember that there was another powerful party in his own kingdom little disposed to revenge the death of her for whom they had refused to pray, and on whose head they had boldly and publicly heaped the terms "apostate," "traitoress," "adulteress," "Jezebel," and that while he was conciliating the nobles by prospects of revenge, he was rendering the Kirk, its preachers and its burgher-followers, his more than ever determined enemies. Could he trust to Spanish aid in his contest with Elizabeth, or look to France for help against England? Religion rendered the one as unlikely as policy did the other. It was as little likely that the Spanish bigot would aid in consolidating the Protestant powers of England, as that France would place, by its aid, under one sway, the political strength of our Island. Lastly, could he hope to be welcomed as Elizabeth's successor by the nobility of her realm, as the first that had revived the ancient and almost forgotten enmity between the nations? James weighed all these arguments, and acted with his usual craft. He determined to play one party against the other, and set off his close coalition with Elizabeth in 1588, against his acquiescence—if not encouragement—of the devastating forays

which swept over the English borders, and reduced the land to a desert throughout the previous year.

It was, however, rather an erroneous calculation of his power over the potent Roman Catholic Lords Huntley, Errol, Angus, and Maxwell, than premeditated apostasy that drove James to so sudden a coalition with Elizabeth. He deemed them so much in his power that he feared not to encourage their secret plottings with Spain. But the scorpion that he was encouraging to sting his enemies, soon threatened himself, and the Roman Catholic lords, backed by the wealth of Spain and aided by the ceaseless efforts of their missionary priests, whom the king had permitted to come into the realm *sub rosâ* to keep up the feeling against Elizabeth, feared not to plot the seizure of James, the overthrow of the Kirk, and the re-establishment of their own faith in the realm. The Kirk—a power by no means to be ridden over as yet—soon let the King know their feelings on this point. "It was an exceeding great grief," they said, in their long document of the "Griefs of the Kirk," which they presented to James in the February of 1588, "an exceeding great grief to all such as have any spunck of the love of God, and his Kirk, to see Jesuits, seminary priests, and other teachers of papistry and error, so long suffered to pollute this land with idolatry, corrupt and seduce the people, and spread abroad their poisonable doctrine." They complained that these persons "were in special favour, credit, and furtherance at Court;" whilst on the other hand they beheld "the true word of God contemptuously despised by the great multitude; his holy Sacraments profaned by private, corrupt, and unlawful persons; the discipline of the Kirk disregarded; the ministers and office-bearers within the same invaded, struck, menaced, and shamefully abused; themselves beggared, and their families shamefully hungered." What with the superstitious riotousnesses, at Yule and Christmas, of the southern counties—the fearful state of Huntley's territory in the north—the town and vicinity of Aberdeen so full of Romanists that "few or no decent people are in the place," and the pilgrimages and keeping of holy-days in Berwickshire,—the bonfires, girdles, fastings, festives, and carols of Stirlingshire, and the general desertion of kirks throughout the "haill realme," the Presbyterians make a pitiful complaint unto the King, and make it evident that, in despite of these powerful persecutors of papistry, there was yet too great a hankering after the old religion, and distaste of the present faith, to tamper any longer with the Catholic nobility and their followers.*

As the fears of James that he should alienate the burgher interest by holding with the Catholic Barons, or be exposed to civil war and assassination should he dare to oppose the machi-

* Lawson. A.D. 1588, pp. 284—6.

nations of Huntley, prompted him to give a diplomatic belief to the explanations of Elizabeth; so the danger of the now approaching Armada, the rebellion of Tyrone in Ireland, and the prospect of an inroad of Scottish Islesmen to the assistance of their fellow savages, overcame, for the moment, the deep-rooted parsimony of the English Queen. A Duchy with a princely revenue, an annual pension, a Scottish body-guard, maintained by English gold, and a force of English auxiliaries on the borders, were the promised bribes by which Elizabeth's ambassador softened down the scene at Fotheringhay, and rendered James his sister's good and firm friend until the danger bribed against was overpast. The danger once past, with it went the liberality of Elizabeth. Huntley for a time hindered, the Irish rebels unaided, the Armada unsupported by a rising of the northern Scottish Catholics, and crushed by the concentration of the powers of England on its force, Elizabeth refused to sanction the promises of her ambassador, "dandling and duping James," to use his own words, "like a great boy."

Deceived by Elizabeth, and encouraged in his anger by the Catholic lords, James once more gave ear to their plans, and connived at their renewed machination, with Spain and Rome. Under the guise of revenge against Elizabeth, James soon discovered the real object of the Catholic plot, and that himself and the religion of his people were equally marked for destruction, as Elizabeth and the Church of England. Leniency towards Huntley precipitated the outbreak, and effectually aroused the spirit of the King. The Protestant nobles rallied round his standard; he pushed forward against the rebel lords, and the forces of Huntley, Crawford, and Bothwell, melted away before the royal army. His rebel nobles defeated, James turned all his thoughts on matrimony, and when the ambassadors seemed dilatory in bringing their negociations to a conclusion, suddenly went aboard ship for Denmark, to woo for himself his Northern bride, leaving Lennox and Bothwell to keep his subjects in order. Well did the council keep the King's commands; at no time was Scotland more at peace within herself, less disturbed by the talkings and preachings of the Kirk, and the meetings of the Barons, than during the rule of Lennox and his fierce co-adjutor, Bothwell. The spring of 1590 brought back James and his Queen; and amid the joy with which he and his bride were welcomed, and the prospect of fêtes and brave doings at court, one thing clouded the joy of the Kirk, the threatened anointing at the coronation. James insisted on the ceremony as Christian, holy, and Catholic; the Kirk reviled it as Jewish, Papal, and superstitious. Fear effected what argument could not. "Anoint," said the King, to his chaplains, "or I send for one of the Bishops to take your place." The dread of being supplanted, or, as the Puritans put it, of "the profanation of Episcopal interference,"

even of a titular bishop, overcame their prejudices, and as the tract-writer of the "Coronation of the Queenis Majestie"* relates, "the countess of Marr, having taken the Queen's right arm, and opened the *craigs* of her gown, Mr. Robert Bruce immediately poured forth upon those parts of her breast and arm of quhilk the clothes were removed, a bonny quantity of oil;" and so with various erudite Latin addresses, a classical panegyric from Maister John Russell, and a flight of his son, Little John, in the light and airy habiliments given to angels in pageants, the coronation concluded to the satisfaction of King and people.

The year succeeding the King's marriage witnessed the origination of Maitland's plan for emancipating James from the power of the factious nobles,—the King's crusade against witches, and extraordinary speech at the general assembly of the Kirk. Speech-making was James's failing; when the jurors acquitted the poor creature, Napier, the King, irritated at the failure of his pet case of witchcraft, actually arraigned the jurors, and sat in trial on the delinquents himself. Their plea of guilty cut the trial short, but failed of arresting James's oration.

"He made an oration, however," says Mr. Tytler, "some sentences of which give a good picture of the style of his oratory; often pedantic and tedious, but not unfrequently epigrammatic and sententious. Alluding to the shocking state of the country and the prevalence of crimes, 'I must advertise you,' said he, 'what it is that makes crime to be so very rife in this country; namely, that all men set themselves more for friend than for justice and obedience to the laws. This corruption here, *bairns suck at the pap;* and let a man commit the most filthy crimes that can be, yet his friends take his part; and first keep him from apprehension, and after, by fead or favour, by false assize, or some way or other, they find moyen of his escape. The experience whereof we have in Niddry. I will not speak how I am charged with this fault in court and choir; from prince and pulpit; yet this I say, that, howsoever matters have gone against my will, I am innocent of all injustice in these behalfs. My conscience doth set me clear as did the conscience of Samuel; and I call you to be judges therein; and suppose I be your king, yet I submit myself to the accusations of you, my subjects, in this behalf; and let any one say what I have done. And as I have thus begun, so purpose I to go forward; not because I am James Stuart, and can command so many thousands of men, but because God hath made me a king and judge, to judge righteous judgment.'"—Vol. ix. pp. 53—4.

So much for himself as James Stuart the King,—the Scottish Samuel; now he comes on the stage as the Scottish Witchfinder,—a very John Hopkins in royal robes.

"For witchcraft, which is a thing grown very common among us, I know it to be a most abominable sin; and I have been occupied these three quarters of a year for the sifting out of them that are guilty therein. We are taught by the laws, both of God and man, that this sin is most odious; and, by God's law, punishable by death. By man's law it is called *maleficium* or *veneficium*, an ill deed, or a poisonable deed; and punishable, likewise, by death. Now if it be

* A curious tract printed by Mr. Gibson Craig, in the Bannatyne Club volume, entitled "Papers relative to the Marriage of James the Sixth," referred to and quoted by Mr. Tytler, p. 34.

death as practised against any of the people, I must needs think it to be (at least) the like if it be against the king. Not that I fear death; for I thank God I dare in a good cause abide hazard —— as for them that think those witchcrafts to be mere fallacies, I remit them to be catechised and instructed in the most evident points."—Vol. ix. pp. 54—5.

James appears next as the eulogized orator of the Kirk, when the General Assembly presented their petition for the ratification of the liberties of the Kirk, the persecution of Jesuits, and Seminary Priests, and the appointment of a sufficient Pastor with a sufficient living in every parish church. If the King's replies to the petition were evasive, the royal oration that followed, at least as reported by the Kirk writers, made most ample amends.

"The King," says Mr. Lawson, "willed the ministers to purge themselves, and to be impartial in their own cause. It was their duty, he said, as well to see them reformed as it was theirs to urge him and the nobility to reform themselves. In no point was he so earnest as this. In end, his majesty praiseth God that he was born in such a time, as in the end of the light of the gospel to such a place as to be king in such a kirk,—the sincerest kirk in the world. 'The Kirk of Geneva,' said he, 'keepeth Pasch and Yule. But what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk of England, it is an ill-said mass in English, wanting only the liftings. I charge you, good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and exhort the people to do the same; and I forsooth, so long as I enjoy my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all, deadly.'"

If the King did favour the Kirk with such an outbreak against the Church of England, we can well conceive the "loud praising of God and praying for the king" that followed this exhibition of royal puerility and ignorance. For a time, the King and the Kirk seemed on good terms; but the agreement was but short-lived, and as James gradually acceded to the plans of the Catholic nobles, he equally alienated the good will of the Kirk and burghers; until, at length, completely in the power of the Huntley faction, deprived of the able advice of his chancellor Maitland, and terrified by the formidable and unnatural coalition between the majority of the high nobles, and the unprincipled earl of Bothwell, the King was compelled, once more, to have recourse to the Presbyterians, and to court and conciliate that powerful party, by the unwonted concession of the Establishment of the Kirk, on the petition of its ministers, for the repeal of the Statutes of 1584, against the discipline and privileges of the Presbyterians. The Assembly's petition required not only the abolition of the obnoxious Acts, and the ratification, by the Legislature, of the present discipline, but also the restoration of Church property, the disqualifying Abbots, Priors, and Prelates, from voting in parliament or convention, and the purging of the land from idolatry and bloodshed.

The chief opposition was to the first part of the petition—the legal establishment of the Kirk, with its assemblies, provincial

synods, presbyteries, and particular sessions. There were two reasons for this; the King's bitter hatred of the republicanism of that form of ecclesiastical government, and his well-grounded fear of rendering these bold and able men more independent of the regal power. Against this proposition, the nobles concentrated their opposition, little caring for the legal enunciation of the restoration of the ecclesiastical property, or the decree for purging the land from idolatry and bloodshed, well knowing the inability of King or Kirk to rescue the property from their mailed hands, or to extinguish the so-called idolatry of the old religion, or the bloodshed of political and private feuds. The persuasions of Maitland, and his influence at Court, though himself absent, induced the King to yield, on motives of policy, the "Charter of the Liberties of the Kirk." With its government thus ratified in all its minuteness, with its discipline pronounced godly, and its jurisdiction affirmed; with every presentation taken away from her Titular Bishops, and placed in the hands of their particular presbyteries, the Kirk and its preachers were not satisfied; and, in consequence, this settlement of matters was but a new beginning of troubles to the country.

"Had the Kirk," says Mr. Tytler, "contented itself with these triumphs, and rested satisfied in the King's present dispositions, which appeared wholly in its favour, all things might have remained quiet; for the Catholics, convinced of the madness of their projects, were ready to abstain from all practices inimical to the religion of the state, on the single condition that they should not be persecuted for their adherence to their ancient faith. But the Kirk were not disposed to take this quiet course. The principle of toleration, divine as it assuredly is in its origin, yet so late in its recognition amongst the best of men, was then utterly unknown to either party, Reformed or Catholic. The permission of even a single case of Catholic worship, however secret; the attendance of a solitary individual at a single mass, in the remotest district of the land, at the dead hour of night, in the most secluded chamber, where none could come but such as knelt before the altar for conscience sake, and in all sincerity of soul; such worship, and its permission for an hour, was considered an open encouragement of antichrist and idolatry. To extinguish the mass for ever, to compel its supporters to embrace what the Kirk considered the purity of Presbyterian truth, and this under the penalties of life and death, or, in its mildest form of treason, banishment and forfeiture, was considered not merely praiseworthy, but a point of high religious duty; and the whole apparatus of the Kirk, the whole inquisitorial machinery of detection and persecution, was brought to bear upon the accomplishment of these great ends. Are we to wonder that, under such a state of things, the intrigues of the Catholics for the overthrow of a government which sanctioned such a system continued? that when they knew, or suspected, that the King himself was averse to persecution, they were encouraged to renew their intercourse with Spain; and to hope that a new outbreak, if properly directed, might lead either to the destruction of a rival faith, or to the establishment of liberty of conscience?"—Vol. ix. pp. 65—6.

The effect of this violence on the part of the Kirk, was the discovery of the plot of the "Spanish blanks," the arrest of Mr. Ker, the bearer of the mysterious papers, and the intercepted letters of the Catholic lords, the imprisonment of Huntley and

Errol, the spirited remonstrance of James to the treacherous ambassador of Elizabeth, and his successful activity against the Catholic nobles; up to this point the Kirk were the King's obedient friends. But when the intercessions of de Burgh began to weigh with James; and the King appeared unwilling to ruin the ancient nobility of his kingdom, and sacrifice them to the wishes of the burghers,—then, when they could no longer hound him on to the annihilation of the Roman Catholic nobility, the Kirk began to dictate to their King, and to let James know that their support was only to be bought at the price of the utter destruction of the Roman Catholic earls, and the entire extirpation of their faith. They craved of his majesty "to punish all Papists within the realm, according to the laws of God and men," and that "every seminary priest, Jesuit, or trafficking Papist," might be declared guilty of treason, and that the penalties of the act against those who might harbour or conceal these poor persecuted creatures might be enforced with increased severity. Should the Kirk, too, find any subject to be, in their estimation, a Papist, he was forthwith to be barred from office, cut off from the King's presence, and deprived of all benefit from the laws of the realm. Would James but grant these slight demands, and write himself the Kirk's humble servant to command, he might summon his faithful Presbyterians to his standard in town or in field, surround his sacred person with a body-guard of holy gospellers, and pay them all out of the revenues of his ruined Roman Catholic nobility. James refused the offers of the Kirk, and was deserted by them. All was now, for a time, confusion in the country, the power of the law was set openly at defiance, and the security of domestic life was despised, or the violation of its sanctity revenged by private force. Well might Burghley indorse on the letter in which Bowes related to his master the successful villany of Gray and his supporter, Lord Hume, in the streets of the capital, "A miserable state, that may cause us to bless ours, and our governess." At length the parliament met, Bothwell was proclaimed a traitor at the Cross of Edinburgh, and the Kirk conciliated by the exemption of their stipends from taxation, and by the introduction of a statute against the Mass and the Jesuits. On the great subject of the prosecution of the Roman Catholic lords, the Kirk was foiled; the King had long before determined on lenient conduct, the King's advocate declared the summonses informal, and the evidence of treason insufficient, and Huntley and his companions escaped without an attainder for that session of the Estates. The wrath of the Kirk was unbounded, and the pulpit rang with denunciations of the King and his parliament. "It was a black parliament," said Davison, from his pulpit, "for iniquity was seated in the high court of justice, and had trodden verity under foot." "It was a black parliament," he reiterated,

"for the arch-traitors had escaped; escaped, did he say? No, they were absolved; and now all good men might prepare themselves for darker days:"—"trials," continued the preacher, with a spirit of prophecy, that savoured much of counter-plots with Elizabeth,—"trials were at hand: it had ever been seen that the absolving the wicked imported the prosecution of the righteous. Let us pray that the King, by some sanctified plagues, may be turned again to God." Truly sanctified were the plagues by which James was to be so soon tried. Elizabeth, with her double dealing, whilst she, through her accredited ambassador, aided James against Bothwell, was organizing a powerful conspiracy with that traitor himself, to overwhelm Maitland, seize the King's person, and render the Kirk and its prophesying preachers triumphant.

Within a few days the Stewart plot was matured, and James a prisoner in his own palace, in the hands of Bothwell, Lennox, and the other nobles of the race of Stewart. Then came Bothwell's trial for attempting the King's life by enchantment; his triumphant acquittal; the attempted escape of the King, and his bold bearing in his compromise with Bothwell, and his declaration to the factious ministers of the Kirk, that he would either be once more a free monarch, or proclaim himself a captive. Gradually but surely the King's party began to increase, and that of his enemies to disunite, in despite of the exertions of Elizabeth and the preachments of the Kirk. Before a month had elapsed the King's party was too powerful to be resisted by intrigue, and Cecil strove to unite with the English faction the party of Huntley. Yes, Elizabeth, who at first denied her share in the Stewart plot, and then repeatedly asserted that what she had done was for God's glory and the interests of true religion, had instructed her representative, Bowes, to aid in prosecuting the "papistical rebels," and represent himself and his mistress as the confirmed enemy of the "idolaters;"—she, the saintly queen, now bade her ambassador link together Bothwell, the Kirk, and Huntley, against her friend and cousin, James. Bowes felt the impossibility of his imposed task; however insincere Bothwell and Huntley might be, the kirk were sincere in their hatred of popery, and he felt that they, at least, "would greatly start and wonder" at the proposed coalition, for the glory of God and the interests of religion. Foiled of her purpose, Elizabeth turned round both on Bothwell and Huntley. She wrote to her dear cousin James, to express her abhorrence at the conduct of the former, and her astonishment that one who had done so abominable an act, had passed unscathed; whilst she called James to account for halting in his projected punishment of "those notable traitors of the north," Huntley and his partisans. How disgusting is such hypocrisy—such deliberate lying! Double-dealing as was the spirit of the age, its hypocr

and falsehood seems almost unparalleled in Elizabeth and her ministers. It is useless to attempt to cast the odium on Burghley, or Sir Robert Cecil, or on any humble servant of the maiden queen: she was, in every sense of the word, her own minister, her own diplomatist, and penned, with her own hand, her false letters to the King of Scotland. "Time will prove the truth," was the motto of her sister. Of a surety time has proved Elizabeth; yea, every year, and every day, is proving the hollowness of her fame, the insincerity of her heart, the dishonesty of her much-belauded policy.*

But to return to James and his opponents. The royal party rallied to the Convention at Stirling; Hume and the Master of Glamis brought their forces to the rescue, and the King spake out boldly, abjured the compromise he had been forced into, and dared, in the face of the remonstrances of the Kirk, to relieve the Roman Catholics from present prosecution, and promote one of their body to the captaincy of his own body-guard. James declined to force the northern Roman Catholics to a public profession of Presbyterianism. To them he was in the main indebted for his present freedom, and he looked to the present time as one opportunity of reuniting the divided nobility of his kingdom. And thereupon the wrath of the Kirk blazed out. The pulpits rang with warnings and invectives; and no kirkman's nose was too bad to scent out the fact that Court favour was turning towards popery. The provincial assembly of St. Andrew's, of which Mr. John Davison was the pet prophet, led the way in the agitation.

"Of this religious convention Mr. James Melvill, nephew of the well-known Robert Melvill, was chosen moderator; and Mr. John Davison, the sternest and most zealous amongst his brethren, did not hesitate to arraign the pastors of the Kirk with coldness, self-seeking, and negligence. 'Let them repent,' said he, 'and betake themselves to their ordinary armour—fasting and prayer. Let the whole Kirk concur in this needful humiliation. Above all, let the rebel earls, Huntley, Errol, Angus, Auchendown, and their accomplices, whom it were idle to assail with any lighter censures, be solemnly excommunicated; and let a grave message of pastors, barons, and burgesses, carry their resolution to the King, now so deeply alienated from the good cause; then they might look for better times. But now their sins called for humiliation; for they, the shepherds, seemed to have forgotten their flocks; they were idle and profane; nor would he be far from the truth, if he declared that a great part of their pastors were at this time the merriest and carelessest men in Scotland."—*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 111, 112.

The demands of Mr. Davison were obeyed by the Assembly, and the sentence of excommunication passed against the Catholic earls and their followers; and this because some amongst them

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This project of Elizabeth's of uniting the Kirk, Bothwell, and Huntley, against King, has been unravelled, for the first time, by Mr. Frazer's diligent researches he State Paper Office. The gist of the plot is in a letter from Bowes to Burgh-, Sept. 6, 1593.

must have been members of the university of St. Andrew's, and as such signed the Declaration of Faith. It is very sad to record this act of a small section of the self-righteous Kirk—this isolated provincial synod of self-elected priests daring to excommunicate a mass of members of the Catholic Church, in order to gratify their innate hatred, and clothing their act with the paltry and shallow defence of the signature of the declaration by some of the members of the excommunicated body. It is painful to see God's ordinances, and the Church's holiest form of condemnation, thus prostituted; but it were more painful had that power really rested in them which the members of the Synod claimed by this merciless act.

The Catholics craved the mercy of the King; confessing their many intrigues and plots, they threw themselves on the King's clemency, and besought some modified toleration for their faith. James steered between the violence of the Kirk and the petition of the Catholics. He expressed his firm determination that the form of religion which the first year of his reign saw established, should be professed by every subject, and bade every one embrace that faith ere the first of February next, or depart the realm, and enjoy in foreign lands his revenues and his conscience; as for the rebel lords, he pronounced them free of the conspiracy with Spain for the overthrow of the faith, and bade them deserve their pardon by abstinence from future intrigues. Even this did not satisfy the Kirk.

"To our modern and Christian feelings this sentence must appear as unwise as unmerciful; for it disavowed the possibility of toleration, held out a premium to religious hypocrisy, and punished sincerity and honesty of opinion with perpetual banishment. James had hoped that it might pacify the country; but it experienced the fate of middle courses, and gave satisfaction to no party. The Catholics, who had never intermitted their intrigues with Spain, had lately received assistance and encouragement from that country; they commanded almost the whole north, and were in no temper to resign their religion, or retain it at the expense of perpetual exile. They temporized, therefore, affected a submission they did not feel, and continued to strengthen themselves at home and abroad for a new struggle. But if the Catholics were discontented, the Kirk received the Act of Abolition with mingled wrath and lamentation. It actually seemed to them an insufficient security, and a trifling punishment, that no man was to be permitted to remain within the realm, and enjoy his estate, and the protection of the law, unless he signed the presbyterian confession of faith. The profanation was, that any man should be at liberty to retain his belief in the Roman Catholic faith, and his Scottish estates, if he consented to banish himself from his native country."—*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 121, 122.

Nor was Elizabeth more satisfied with the compromise than the Roman Catholics and the Kirk. The Catholics refused to accede to the terms; the Kirk cried out for further persecution, and Elizabeth siding with them, complotted with Bothwell; and whilst Lord Zouch, as her ambassador, was content to remonstrate only with James on his leniency, as Elizabeth's secret emissary he was planning the union of the forces of Athol a

Argyle, with those of Bothwell and the Kirk, and the destruction at once of Hume and the Catholic friends of the King, as of Huntley and his rebellious comrades. The scheme failed; James discovered the plot, concentrated the forces of his friends at Kelso, seized one of Zouch's suite, who had been deep in the plot, imprisoned some of the most violent of the preachers, and, in his address to the people after the sermon in the High Church of Edinburgh, declared his fixed determination of quelling by force both Bothwell and the Catholics of the north. The energy of the King had its desired effect; Bothwell disbanded his forces and retired to England, protected, but no longer encouraged by Elizabeth, as his use was past; for a time the northern rebels were successful; but when the royal forces came upon them in force, one by one their armies were broken, and their fortresses captured; and, before the year's end, the desires of the Kirk had been satiated. Every castle where mass had been said was purged by fire and sword, "and the noblemen and gentry, whose only petition had been that they should be permitted to retain their estates, and have their rents transmitted to them, in the banishment which they had chosen, rather than renounce the faith of their fathers, were fugitives and wanderers, hiding in caves and forests, and dreading every hour to be betrayed into the hands of their enemies."

It were useless to track out, bit by bit, the various plots and counterplots that encircled James during the struggle between his former friend, Maitland, the Earl of Mar, and his own Queen,—and which ended, on the death of Maitland, in resigning the management of his revenues into the hands of his Queen's party—or the crafty movings and evasions by which Elizabeth sought to maintain herself in the good opinion of James, and yet escape from the fulfilment of her many promises of support and maintenance. The eighteen months of intrigue had rendered James no mean antagonist even for Elizabeth and her crafty statesmen.

"There was still indeed," says Mr. Tytler, "much that was frivolous, undignified, and capricious; much favouritism, much extravagance, an extraordinary love of his pleasures, and a passion for display in oratory, poetry, theology, and scholastic disputation, which was frequently ridiculous; but with all this he was dreaded by his nobles, and compelled respect and obedience. As Elizabeth advanced to old age, his eye became steadily fixed on the English throne, which he considered his undoubted right, and the one great engrossing object of his policy was to secure it. His fairest chance, he thought, to gain the respect and good wishes of the English people, when death took from them their own great princess, was to show that he knew how to rule over his own unruly subjects. Hence his vigorous determination to restrain, by every possible means, the power of the greater nobility; to recruit his exhausted finances; to reduce the isles, and consolidate his kingdom; and to bridle the claims of the Kirk in matters of civil government, or interference with the royal prerogative; he warmly seconded their efforts for the preservation of the reformed , and resistance to the efforts of its enemies."—Vol. ix. pp. 190, 191.

The meeting of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in March, 1596, gave James a convenient opportunity of gratifying his love of that peculiar oratory which suited the ears of the preachers. The preacher Pont, the moderator of the meeting, welcomed the King's presence with an adulatory speech, in which he reminded James of Constantine, how he honoured the fathers of the Church; of David, how he danced before the ark. The King's oration delighted the Assembly.

"James professed his zeal for religion since his youth up. He had ever esteemed it, as he declared, more glory to be a Christian than a king, whatever slanders to the contrary were spoken against him. It was this zeal which moved him to convene the present assembly; for, being aware of the designs of Spain, their great enemy, against religion and this isle, he was anxious to meet not only the ministers, but the barons and gentlemen; to receive their advice, and resolve on measures to resist the common enemy. Two points he would press on them; reformation and preparation: the reformation of themselves, clergy, people, and king. For his own part, he never refused admonition; he was ever anxious to be told his faults; and his chamber-door should never be closed to any minister that reproved him. All he begged was, that they would first speak privately before they arraigned him in open pulpit. He hated the common vice of ambition; but of one thing he was really ambitious, to have the name of James the Sixth honoured as the establisher of religion, and the provider of livings for the ministry throughout his whole dominions." —*Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 192.

The preachers were so delighted with the prospect of getting some pay for their preachments, that they hardly murmured at the King's rebuke of their violent pulpit attacks, or suggested even a difficulty to his proposition, with which his oration concluded, of raising a standing army. Still they could not forget the "divers Jesuits and excommunicated papists still entertained in the country," and could not close their assembly without one more humble supplication to the King to forfeit the lands of the fugitive nobles, and "examine and remove the griefs that eat, like a canker, into the body of the Kirk." At this moment, when all was fair weather between James and the Kirk, the rescue of the bold borderer, Kinmont Willie, from the castle of Carlisle, by the warden, Buccleugh, threatened, for a time, to breed confusion. James saw the necessity of yielding to the demands of Elizabeth, for he was even then meditating the recall of the catholic lords; and with his first step that way he must lose the support of his present friends, the preachers; he was sure shortly to have enemies enough at home, without adding thereto a quarrel with England, which might endanger his succession to the English crown. Bowes detected the Court intrigues in favour of the banished earls, and communicated his suspicions to the Kirk. At that moment Huntley ventured back in disguise, and Angus came secretly to Perth. Huntley's countess petitioned for her husband's recall, promised that he would abide his trial, banish all papists from his society, willingly admit a presbyterian teacher into his house for his bette

Brave words these, and so truly Christian, that we cannot wonder that their utterer dared to justify them, and to decline the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, when they would have called him to question for his slander. Of a truth, Mr. David Black's impudence was not a little proved when he objected that to question such a political and private piece of slander was "ane spiritual matter," and comprehended, in his commission from our Saviour, to preach the Word in all its fulness. The declinature was enough to raise the king's wrath; but when he heard that it was being circulated for signatures through the country, James saw the necessity of curbing this malicious spirit, and forthwith forbade the meetings of the Assembly, and ordered them to seek their flocks within twenty-four hours. The Assembly immediately met, "laid their letters open before the Lord," declared the danger imminent, and summoned every preacher to deal mightily with the power of the Word from their pulpits, in justifying the words and conduct of Black, and their resolution to disobey the King's proclamation. James would even yet have treated the Kirk with moderation, if they would have withdrawn Black's declinature; but they would not. The trial of Black proceeded—the charges had been admitted to be treasonable—still James offered terms. Some progress was made in the compromise, when it was insisted that the offender must first confess his offence against the Queen; the would-be master would not hear of this—the trial proceeded—the prisoner did not appear, and was found guilty in his absence, and commanded to surrender himself into ward. Again the Kirk sounded the alarm; not one atom of their demands would they abate—a fast was proclaimed; and again and again the Word sounded mightily from their pulpits—as they termed the violent slanders to which they prostituted the ordinance of preaching. Great as was the confusion, some creatures of the palace, who, from their offices, acquired the nickname of Cubiculars, hoping to swim in such troubled waters, played false with both parties, endeavouring to lay the blame of the King's resistance on the Papist councillors, and to frighten the Octavians by rumours of threats and assassinations. The climax of the riot may best be related in the words of the historian:—

"By these abominable artifices, the single end of which was to destroy the government of the Octavians, the hopes of peace were entirely blasted; and the little lull which had succeeded the retirement of the commissioners was followed by a more terrific tempest than had yet occurred. The King, incensed at the conduct of the citizens, and the suspicion which it implied, (the mounting guard over their ministers' houses,) commanded twenty-four of the most zealous burghers to leave the capital within six hours; a proceeding which enraged the ministers, whose indignation blazed to the highest pitch, when they received an anonymous letter, assuring them that Huntley had that night been closeted with James. The information was false, and turned out to be an artifice of the Cubiculars; but it had the desired effect, for all was now terror in the Kirk. Balcauquel flew to the pulpit; and, after a general discourse on some text of

the Canticles, plunged into the present troubles of the Kirk, arraigned the 'treacherous forms' of which they had been made the victims, and, turning to the noblemen and barons who were his auditors, reminded them, in glowing language, of the deeds of their ancestors in defence of the truth: exhorting them not to disgrace their fathers, but to meet the ministers forthwith in the little church. To this quarter so great a crowd now rushed, that the clergy could not make their entrance; but Mr. Robert Bruce, pressing forward, at last reached the table where the Protestant barons were seated, and warning them of the imminent perils which hung over their heads—the return of the Papist earls, the persecution of Black, the banishment of the Commissioners and citizens—conjured them to bestir themselves and intercede with the King. For this purpose lords Lindsay and Forbes, with the lairds of Bargaine and Balquihan, and the two ministers, Bruce and Wilson, sought the royal presence, then not far off; for the King was at that moment sitting in the upper Tolbooth, with some of his privy council, while the judges of session were assembled in the lower house; on being admitted with the rest, Bruce informed the monarch that they were sent by the noblemen and barons, then convened to bemoan and avert the dangers threatened to religion. 'What dangers?' said James; 'I see none, and who dares convene contrary to my proclamation?'—'dares,' retorted the fierce lord Lindsay, 'we dare more than that; and shall not suffer the truth to be overthrown, and stand tamely by.' As he said this the clamour increased; numbers were thronging unmannerly into the presence-chamber, and the King starting up in alarm, and without giving any answer, retreated down stairs to the lower house, where the judges were assembled, and commanded the doors to be shut. The Protestant lords and ministers on this returned to the little kirk, where the multitude had been addressed, during their absence, by Mr. Michael Cranston, who had read to them the history of Haman and Mordecai. This story had worked them up to a point that prepared them for any mischief; and when they heard that the King had turned his back upon their messengers, they became furious with rage and disappointment. Some, dreading the worst, desired to separate; but Lindsay's lion voice was heard above the clamour, forbidding them to disperse. Shouts now arose, to force the doors and bring out the wicked Haman; others cried out 'the sword of the Lord and Gideon;' and, in the midst of the confusion, an agent of the courtiers, or, as Calderwood terms him, 'a messenger of satan sent by the Cubiculars,' vociferated 'Armour, armour! Save yourselves. Fy, fy, bills and axes.' The people now rose in arms; some rushing one way, some another. Some, thinking the King was laid hands on, ran to the Tolbooth; some, believing that their ministers were being butchered, flew to the kirk, others thundered with their axes and weapons on the Tolbooth doors; calling for president Seton, Mr. Elphinstone, and Mr. Thomas Hamilton, to be given up to them, that they might take order with them as abusers of the King and the Kirk. At this moment, had not a brave deacon of the craftsmen, named Wat, beat them back with a small guard, the gate would have been forced, and none could have answered for the consequences. But, at last, the Provost, Sir Alexander Hume—whom the shouts of the uproar had reached as he lay on a sick bed—seizing his sword, rushed in all haggard and pale among the citizens, and with difficulty appeased them into a temporary calm."—*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 216—218.

Alarmed at these various tumults, James sent Mar to remonstrate with the excited preachers, and learn their demands. The terms proposed were such as were to be expected—the repeal of the acts that restrained the violence of the Kirk, the recall of the banished citizens, and the downfall of Seton, and the other suspected councillors. James promised to lay these demands before his council, and, in the temporary lull that followed,

slipped out from the Tolbooth, and, with his obnoxious advisers, took refuge in Holyrood. Once safe in his palace, James soon took his revenge of the turbulent preachers and their supporters. One day he remained in Holyrood preparing his measures; and scarcely had he and his Court departed for Linlithgow, ere the city cross was visited by the royal herald, and the affrighted citizens heard the royal denunciation of their late conduct, and the removal of the Court from his rebellious city to such other place as the King should appoint. The nobles, too, were ordered to leave the capital for their own homes, and forbear from future assemblies without the royal permission. Sad and sorrowful looked each man on his neighbour, as he read the royal proclamation, and bemoaned the threatened desolation of the capital, and cessation of trade. Again the pulpits made the doctrine to sound greatly, setting forth the quarrel as between God and the King, not the King and his rebellious people. Bruce thundered from one pulpit, and Welsh from another, during the fast proclaimed by the Kirk; and whilst the one enlarged on the pusillanimity of his hearers, the other hounded on the people against their sovereign as one possessed with a devil, against whom it was as lawful for his subjects to rise in revolt, and take the sword out of his hand, as for the child to bind the frenzied parent in his wildest moments. The Kirk would have seduced Lord Hamilton to have led them in this their open rebellion; but he scorned or feared the proffered honour, and carried to the King the treasonable letter, in which Bruce and the other ministers tendered to him the dangerous post of patron of the godly Kirk. So long as the ministers alone had concerted together in their claim of an independent jurisdiction, James was hardly justified in treating them as rebels; but now that the citizens of Edinburgh had been worked up into aiding and assisting them in their claim, he was free to turn upon them as malcontents, and to let them feel the fulness of his wrath. Message after message was sent to implore the King's return to the capital, but to none was access granted. The provost was bid to imprison the ministers; the late tumults were pronounced treasonable; the capital was interdicted even to the courts of justice; and all that the King would answer to his humbled citizens was, that come he would to his capital, but in such guise as to let them know and remember that he was their sovereign. Rumours of Highland clans gathering on the capital—of threatened pillage—cast a deep gloom over the citizens; and cold were the looks, and dull the attention, they gave to their most favoured preachers. Ere the King came, some of the most obnoxious of the ministers fled across the Border. Early in January the royal forces occupied the capital; on their bended knees the provost and baillies bemoaned their offences, and promised submission for the future; and the King's

oration at the High Church assured the trembling people of a future supply of discreet preachers in the place of the fugitives, and gave them hopes that ere long the King and his Court might return to comfort and delight his repentant citizens. It was clear that the King had some great plan in reserve: when he propounded his searching interrogatories to the preachers, respecting the license of preaching, the right of excommunication, the possibility of the existence of a lawful minister without the imposition of hands, the Kirk soon perceived that it was Episcopacy, in some form or other, that James was manœuvring to introduce as the price of his pardon to his rebellious citizens. Great was the ire and dismay of the Presbyterian body at these interrogatory attacks on the Kirk, and the Synod of Fife, after "tossing about the King's queries for some days," sent in their answer in favour of themselves on every point. The following are some of the points in this their declaration of faith and discipline:—

"The first question, whether matters concerning the external government of the Kirk might not be debated, *Salvâ fide et religione!* was met by a direct negative; on the second, they were equally positive that the King had no voice in the discussion or establishment of any acts relating to Church government. All the acts of the Kirk, (so was their response worded,) ought to be established by the Word of God. Of this Word the ordinary interpreters were the pastors and doctors of the Kirk; the ordinary expounders, such as were called for in times of corruption, were the prophets, or such men as were endowed by God with extraordinary gifts; and kings and princes had nothing to do but to ratify and vindicate, by their civil sanction, that which these pastors and prophets had authoritatively declared."—*Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 228.

The assumption is not unlike the syllogism by which the American saints argued their right to the property of the world in general, and America in particular. "The Lord," said they, "has given the world as the inheritance for his saints; we are his saints; *ergo*, the desired right to oust any sinner in possession." As for the license of preaching at people, and wandering from the text, they fortified the one by the Apostolic Canon: "they that sin publicly, rebuke publicly, that the rest may fear;" whilst in favour of speaking all things, civil or religious, on all texts, and travelling out of the subject, the directions of St. Paul to Timothy were relied upon as a case in point. The General Assembly, too, wanted not the authority of the King, for the Lord was its Ruler and Summoner, and its acts were valid, even when carried against the royal will and prerogative. This was their argument:—

"The King should consent to, and give a legal sanction to all acts passed in ı Assembly; and why? Because the acts of the Assembly have sufficient thority from Christ, who has promised, that whatever shall be agreed upon rth, by two or three convened in his name, shall be ratified in heaven; a arrant to which no temporal prince can lay claim; and so the acts and constitutions of the Kirk are of higher authority than those of any earthly

king; yea, they should command and overrule kings, whose greatest honour should be to be nursing-fathers and servants to this king, Christ Jesus, and His house and queen, the Kirk."—*Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 229.

The Synod of Fife were by no means seconded in their bold stand for the Kirk; and James, by a few promises to waverers, a few threats to the timid, and a wholesale gathering of the northern presbyters, who were but lukewarm friends of the system, contrived to persuade the General Assembly to recognise the royal doctrines. The committee, indeed, of the Assembly, to whom James's thirteen propositions were referred, gave in answers unsatisfactory to the King; the King requested the Kirk to meet the estates, and when the members of the Assembly were come, treated them to such a peremptory address on the rights of the crown, the licensing of the preachers, and the due limits of discipline, that they returned to their house of meeting, and so remodelled their answers as to satisfy the King. By this act they gave up to the King the power of proposing measures of reformation or amendment in religion, subjected their conventions to the King's summons, forbade the censure of the acts of the realm from the pulpit, without previous petition to the crown for redress, or of any person who had not fled from justice, or was not excommunicated, and rendered the consent of the King, as well as of the congregation, necessary to the appointment of any minister to one of the principal towns of the kingdom.

Thus checked and hampered, the Kirk submitted to be reconciled to the Catholic lords as penitents, and consented that the General Assembly should be dissolved, and its powers vested in fourteen of its members—the King's led horses, as Calderwood indignantly calls them—who were to consult and co-operate with the King in regulating "not only particular flocks, but the whole estate and body of the Kirk." "The King's led horses" did the King's work bravely; they ousted Wallace and Black from their pulpits for their scurrility, and deprived Melvill of his rectorship of St. Andrew's, for a too eager dissemination of his religious and political opinions among the students of the university. Nor was James himself forgetful of his grand proposition against the Kirk, to which all, as yet, was but an introduction; and though he amused himself in the autumn in burning witches, and hanging borderers, he had not permitted these relaxations to prevent him from so tutoring his fourteen commissioners, that, among their requisitions to the estates, when parliament opened, was a petition "that the ministry, as representing the Church and the third estate of the realm, might be admitted to have a voice in parliament." What was this, said the old Puritans, but the first step to episcopacy?

"The monarch, indeed, did not now deny it. He knew he had a majority in the Assembly, and looked for an easy victory; but something remained of

ancient courage and fervour of Presbyterianism. Ferguson, now venerable from age and experience, lifted up his testimony against the project for bringing his brother into parliament. It was, he affirmed, a Court stratagem; and if they suffered it to succeed, would be as fatal, from what it carried within its bowels, as the horse to the unhappy Trojans. 'Let the words,' said he, 'of the Dardan prophetess sing in your ears, *Equo ne credite Teucri!*' Andrew Melvill, whom the Court party had in vain attempted to exclude, argued against the petition in his wonted rapid and powerful style; and John Davison, tearing away from the King's speech, and the arguments of his adherents, the thin veil with which their ultimate design was covered, pointed, in a chain of witty and biting irony, to the future Bench of Bishops, with their Primate at their head. 'Busk * him, busk him,' said he, 'bonnily as ye can, and fetch him in as fair by as ye will,—we ken him weel eneuch; we see the horns of his mitre.'" —*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 237-8.

These efforts were perfectly futile, and the Estates passed an act, "That such pastors and ministers as the Crown provided to the place and dignity of a bishop, abbot, or other prelate, should have voice in parliament as freely as any other ecclesiastical prelate had in former day." His project thus completed in the Estates, James now convened the General Assembly, and, after the usual preliminary persuasions to some, and compulsion on others, opened the project to the ministers in one of his characteristic orations.

"He dwelt on his constant care to adorn and favour the Kirk, to remove controversies, restore discipline, and increase its patrimony. 'All,' he said, 'was in a fair road to success; but, in order to ensure it and perfect the reform, it was absolutely requisite that ministers should have a vote in parliament; without which the Kirk could not be saved from falling into poverty and contempt.' 'I mean not,' he said emphatically, 'to bring Papistical or Anglican bishops; but only that the wisest and best of the ministry should be selected by your Assembly, to have a place in council and parliament, to act upon their own affairs, and not to stand always at the door like poor supplicants, utterly despised and disregarded.'"—*Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 239.

It cannot but strike any one who reads these orations of James against the Church government of England, that these denunciations of our episcopate, and couplings together of our bishops with those of Rome, are very inconsistent with his later conduct—but three years after this last speech—when he restored the apostolical succession to the Church in Scotland, through those very bishops whom he now attacks. It must, however, be borne in mind that these royal orations are not always reported in like words or expressions by the episcopal and presbyterian historians; and that, whilst in the one, the bitterness of the king's language is chiefly directed against Rome, in the other, it is equally caustic against England. Nor should it be forgotten that James was, as yet, most imperfectly acquainted with the Church in England; and that, though he was eager to restore such a form of Church government as would bridle the sense of the hundred masters of the Kirk, he was equally

* *Busk*, dress.

afraid of pulling the Kirk into rabid opposition by open declarations in favour of episcopacy, as of introducing it in that form, to which, in matters of faith, kings must give way. We can well conceive, that, at present, he regarded the Anglican episcopate and service as too nearly allied to Rome, and that he wished to raise up a new form of an old establishment after his own devices, by which he hoped to assimilate the Kirk and the Church to one another. The King's oration was keenly debated and answered by Melvill, Davison, Bruce, and others of the Genevan party, and defended by Gledstanes and James himself. However, it succeeded only by a majority of ten, and that more from the presence of the northern brethren, according to Calderwood, than from soundness of argument on the side of the royal proposition. The resolution come to by the Assembly affirmed the correctness of the principle, that the third estate of the realm should be represented in parliament; and, though not content that the titles and names used by the preceding Church should be assumed, it was conceded that the same number, about half a hundred, "should be chosen, as were wont in time of the papistical Kirk, to be bishops, priors, and abbots; and that their election should belong partly to the King, and partly to the Kirk. That the proposed order was in nothing, save in name, episcopal, none, at least of our friends, will doubt; but, such as it was, it was no doubt an improvement on the government of the Kirk, a restraint on their unbounded license, and a useful preparation to that renewal of the succession of the Church which the Spottiswoode consecrations effected. The nature of this temporary change, and the feelings with which it was received by the people, are well described in our historian's pages.

"This resolution," he says, "was adopted in March 1597—8; but the final establishment of Episcopacy did not take place till more than a twelvemonth after this, in a General Assembly convoked at Montrose, on the 28th of March, 1600. On that occasion, it was decided that the King should choose each Bishop, for every place that was to be filled, out of a leet, or a body of six, selected by the Kirk. Various caveats, or conditions, were added to secure the Kirk against any abuse of their powers by these new dignitaries. They were to propound nothing in parliament, in the name of the Kirk, without its special warrant and direction. They were, at every General Assembly, to give an account of the manner in which they had executed their commission; they were to be contented with such part of their dioceses as the King had assigned for their living; to eschew dilapidation; to attend faithfully to their several flocks; to claim no higher power than the rest of their brethren, in matters of discipline, visitation, and other points of Ecclesiastical government; and, lastly, to be as obedient to authority, and amenable to censure in all Presbyteries and Provincial, or General Assemblies, as the humblest minister of the Kirk. As to the names of these dignitaries, the word bishop was apparently so odious and repugnant to the people, that the King did not deem it prudent to insist on its adoption; and the brethren unanimously advised that they should not be called bishops, but commissioners. James was too well satisfied with the reality of his success in carrying this great scheme to so prosperous an issue, to cavil at this shadow of opposition; and the subject was handed over to the next General Assembly. The feelings with which this triumph of prelatical

ciples was regarded by the sincere and stern adherents of Puritanism and purity, will be best understood by this brief extract from the work of one of its ablest advocates, the historian Calderwood. 'Thus,' says he, 'the Trojan horse, the Episcopacy, was brought in covered with *caveats*, that the danger might not be seen; which, notwithstanding, was seen of many, and opposed unto; considering it to be better to hold thieves at the door than to have an eye unto them in the house, that they steal not: and, indeed, the event declared that their fear was not without just cause: for those commissioners, voters in parliament, afterwards bishops, did violate their *caveats* as easily as Sampson did the cords wherewith he was bound.'"—*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 240-1.

Between the passing of the resolution in 1598, and the actual appointment of these hybrid commissioners in 1600, the Kirk gave James tolerably plain proof of their vitality, when they thundered from the pulpit against his anti-kirk opinions in the Basilicon Doron, and warning his son against the Puritans, "as the very pests of the Church and commonweal, whom no deserts could oblige, neither oaths nor promises bind;" and "who breathed little but sedition, aspired without measure, ruled without reason." For two days the Puritans kept strict fast, and sought, by praying and preaching, "to avert the judgments so likely to fall on an apostate king and a miserable country." Loudly and long did they declare from their pulpits, how that the people had fallen away from God, the enemies of the Gospel returning in triumph, the King turned to a defamer of the Kirk, the princes educated by papists, and the young nobles returning from their travels papists or atheists. Indeed, the poor Kirk had several severe frightenings in the year "99." Hardly recovered from the Basilicon Doron, their fears were again excited by the arrival of the French Ambassador, with an actual full-grown Jesuit as his priest, who openly celebrated the offices of his religion in the house of his master. O! how they sighed for the days of persecuting statutes, libellous sermons, and "*auto da fës*" of papists. One thing was comforting, the Jesuit's master was only on a visit, and therefore there was a hope that the trial of the faithful would be short; for so little confidence had they in their own faith, that even one Jesuit settled *in perpetuum* in the capital, and one daily mass, was regarded as fatal to the Kirk. Misfortunes never come alone; soon after the Jesuit came the players, Fletcher and Martin, with their troop of comedians. Powerfully did the pulpits sound against the stage. "Herodias," said the preachers, "had danced off the head of the Baptist, so would Fletcher and Co. dance off the head of the Kirk." Here, they thought, we can interfere without invading the rights of foreign princes; so at the

'avers they went, not only with words, bitter words,
ious orations, decked and dressed with scurrilous
it they made the magistrates interdict the people
iting the playhouse, and compelled the King to enforce
ading of this obnoxious act, before Fletcher and his

company could perform their comedies. Alas! for the poor Kirk. Can we wonder that they were so shaken by the ponderous folio of James, the single daily mass of the French Jesuit, and the profane playings and maskings of Fletcher, as to yield not only to the Episcopal commissioners of the next year, but to let—not indeed without many a growl—the new order in parliament pass, and so to pave the way for a real episcopacy, that the King could dare, on his accession to the English throne, openly to renew the succession of the Church from that of England, and raise some of his commissioners into real successors of the Apostles?

We have extracted, at some length, and digested with some minuteness, these continued squabbles between James and the Kirk, from the earliest time that he bore his part in public matters, not so much for the intrinsic worth of the matters contested, as for the light they throw on the real principles of the Kirk and its ministers, and the insight they afford us into the gradual progress of the opinions of the King, which led him eventually to erect the Spottiswoode line of bishops in Scotland in 1610. In this our attempt to embody within a few pages the progress of these many struggles, we have followed almost entirely the pages of Mr. Tytler, Mr. Lawson having passed them by as uninteresting, and in no way contributing to the history of the Church, to which he has confined his subject. The space we have given to these transactions is the best evidence of our own opinions on the point; and now, before we close, in the hope of filling up from Mr. Lawson the vacuum of religious history, from 1610 to the consecration of Archbishop Sharpe and his colleagues in 1661, let us express our thanks to Mr. Tytler for the very able history he has now brought to a close, feeling that we have as much regret in bidding adieu to the old and dear companionship of his successive volumes, as he has to those tranquil pleasures of historical investigation on which his volumes have been founded.

A few Words respectfully addressed to the Bishops on the Preparation of Candidates for Holy Orders, at the Universities and at Diocesan Theological Colleges. By James T. Law, *Chancellor of the Diocese of Lichfield; late Special Commissary of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, &c.* London: Rivingtons. Wells: Ball.

None even of the most violent opponents of the late Oxford Divinity Statute will for a moment contend that it is not desirable that increased opportunities should be afforded to candidates for Holy Orders for their Theological Studies. The question is, how t

may most fitly be supplied; and this it is which we are called upon to answer at once, before the universities have monopolized the right of preparing our young men for the sacred office of the ministry. Convocation happily has refused to make the new professorial system compulsory; but should the Bishops generally, as has already been partially done, sanction such a procedure, there will be no remedy left.* The entrance into Holy Orders will be closed to all who cannot spend this additional year which is demanded of them in the course of study, laid down by the university. Let us be understood once for all, it was the compulsory nature of the statute which was objectionable. Objectionable in itself, because it sought to introduce a new feature into the system of university education, by which it is rendered more difficult of accomplishment, when we should rather desire to see it facilitated; objectionable in its consequences, because it would have prevented candidates for Holy Orders from taking advantage of other means of preparation which are placed in their way.

The university has certainly lost sight of one very important requisite in preparation for ministerial duties—the formation of the character. It may be quite right to give young men opportunities of studying ecclesiastical history, standard works of divinity and pastoral theology; but unless you can in some measure ensure the cultivation of more sober and self-denying feelings, more devotion to the work in which they are to engage, in fact greater holiness than generally characterises the years of an undergraduate's life, you may educate a learned, but not a pious, clergy. We all know that it requires a considerable degree of resolution and firmness of character to break through the habits of an academical life, even when the graduate leaves the university. The luxuries and extravagances, which are so commonly indulged, must be gradually dropped, before the minister can enter, either with satisfaction to himself or profit to his flock, upon the sacred duties of his office. Under the most favourable circumstances, the evils attendant upon a university education (for there must be evils mingled with the advantages, great as these are) are not easily got rid of. Why then should we confirm their influence by continuing them for another year, and this the most important time of all, the very time of immediate preparation? Old associations, and habits of thought, are retained; the same mode of life continued which is the great ground of complaint against our university education in general. The undergraduate has for his first three years of residence his university degree constantly before his eyes; all his energies are directed to the attainment of this object, whether he go up for honours or not, all his studies tend to it, all his hopes depend upon it. At last the object is attained, and he feels that he has emerged into a new

* It is implied throughout that the university authorities are narrowing the entrance into Holy Orders; of course this can only be with the sanction of the Bishops. But it is well known that there is a disposition on the part of some heads of houses to refuse testimonials to those who desire to avail themselves of other means of preparing themselves for holy orders than that laid down by the university.

state of being; freed from all the ties which bound his thoughts to the schools, and privileged to make up as a bachelor for some of the anxieties with which his undergraduate life was overshadowed; for these thoughts of the impending examination have the power of restraining, in some degree, even the most careless of our undergraduates.

On such an one, then, did this new statute design to fix its hold; new-fledged in his bachelor's sleeves, with the very insignia of his triumph constantly before his eyes, he is told that he is to resume his undergraduate feelings, his state of pupillage, attendance upon lectures and prospect of examinations, and this in the very face of many of his friends, who, as they are not designed for Holy Orders, are now enjoying their state of liberty to the full. But the attempt will fail; the bachelor, though now nominally *in statu pupillari*, will never consent with a good will to be practically so; he cannot, so long as he remains at the university, divest himself of the idea that he has himself attained what he sees all his undergraduate friends labouring and toiling after; and, in this happy consciousness he will be most unwilling to return to a similar state. If, however, it be said that the theological examination will take the place of that for the bachelor's degree in his thoughts, since it is to be made the climax of his university education, we may answer, that nothing is more improbable. The degree for which the whole university contends will be the chief object of ambition, and this new theological title will never cast that into the shade.

But again, he will be still kept within the pale of undergraduate society, for the bachelor race will not be so numerous, and therefore will not be able to affect the character of university society, or be sufficient to prevent its members from seeking friends out of it. Relations, too, and schoolfellows, will still form a sufficient inducement to the bachelor to keep up an acquaintance among his juniors, and so the old life will be lived over again for another year, only with greater liberty, and therefore with greater danger. And we need not say that breakfast, wine, and supper-parties, hunting, even boating, billiard, and tennis-playing, are not quite the amusements in which the last thoughts of the candidate for Holy Orders are to be spent before his ordination. We fear that the best theological lectures will be of little advantage, if they are associated with such pleasures; that the mind of the theological student will be scarcely fit for the entertainment of so serious a subject as his pastoral duties, if the rest of his time is devoted to such amusements. And who can estimate too highly the necessity of accompanying all theological study with the cultivation of subdued feelings? How can we expect the seed to take root when the soil is in such an unprepared state? All the evidences of religion which the most learned works supply may be studied and mastered, but unless habits of personal religion are at the same time formed, such study will go for nothing, or worse than nothing. No, we mu-

endeavour to supply our students with means of religious improvement, as well as, if not before, those of intellectual culture.

But it may be said that the results which we have pointed out will not invariably flow from this system; that a great number of the students will be too deeply impressed with the responsibilities which they are about to take upon themselves, to plunge into such a careless manner of life. Grant even that this would be the case with the greater number; yet was the university justified in making such a system compulsory upon all, because some would make a good use of it, while others would receive the greatest injury? Certainly not; this would be an argument for giving young men the opportunity of such a course of study, but not for obliging them to adopt it. It is quite right that the university should afford the means of study, but let it do so as a public benefit, not as an obligation. Let those parents who have the power, and who think their sons likely to make a good use of such a system, have the privilege of placing them under it; but let those who have not the resources, or who believe that they would place their sons in dangers even greater than those through which they have already passed, be allowed to employ some other means for their clerical education. And the question of expense is one of no slight importance. It is one which presses heavily upon many parents in choosing their sons' profession. And has the university any right (legally it may, but has it equitably), to increase the sum which is spent by parents who give their sons the advantage of a university education? They are thus adding another third to what is now a very considerable amount, and is felt as such even by those who possess a large income. What a subject of anxiety is it now to many, who are desirous of seeing their children serving God in the ministrations of the Church, finding in them at the same time a fitness and willingness to undertake the responsible office, whether with their limited means they can give them that education by which alone they can be qualified for ordination. But now in addition to the former expenses, this new one was to be added, which will surely cut off all hope from those who before could only just undertake it.

And thus, at the very time when the fields are white for harvest, when in this country, as well as in our distant colonies, we are crying out for an increased number of labourers, the universities, which we are wont to regard as the handmaids of the Church, are striving to close the doors to those who would willingly enter upon this holy labour. It is indeed most desirable that our labourers should go forth well and sufficiently prepared; but even supposing that this was the most desirable method of preparation, are we justified in effecting our object at so great a sacrifice? For it is numbers which we want, and that we can have them sufficiently prepared, at least for the inferior duties of the ministry, without this additional system, or even without a university education at all, is becoming more and more felt. Unless, then, the universities wish to force the

Church into opening the diaconate, or even the priesthood, to literates, as they are now called, and others, depriving many of a university education who would otherwise have gladly availed themselves of it, let them not make their professorial system compulsory.

But it was rather with the intention of saying something in behalf of the diocesan theological colleges that we commenced this article, than of merely condemning the late divinity statute; its fate has already been settled. The former is the ostensible object of the pamphlet before us, which is written by one who, as the late commissary of the diocese, in which the more flourishing of these colleges has been established, is entitled to some attention. We cannot agree with all that he says on this subject; nor do we think that he has met the question in the right way. There are several matters which he has mixed up with the main subject, which are not only irrelevant, but rather tend to weaken his argument. However, his opportunities of personal observation, and the attention which he has invariably paid to the welfare of the college, as well as the position which, till, very lately, he has held as his father's commissary, give considerable importance to his opinion. Some of the advantages which he believes to exist in the diocesan colleges may be collected from the following passage. They deserve to be considered more in order and at large; here, however, they are stated generally:—

"Diocesan theological professors, located in the cathedral city, are in immediate contact with their Bishop; and preparing candidates for his examination, naturally, as a matter of common prudence, are influenced by his wishes in all that relates to such preparation. By which means the Bishop is able to become—and by what other means can he be enabled?—well acquainted with the life and conversation of each divinity student. And thus the Bishop, whenever applied to by the beneficed clergy of his diocese, can select for them an appropriate assistant. And the youthful minister may thus be sent forth into such a position within the diocese, as is best fitted for his peculiar talents, and such as is most likely to call forth his energies, and make him useful and profitable to the Church, the Lord being his Helper."

The opportunity afforded by diocesan colleges for the Bishop's insight into the character of his clergy, is a most important consideration. It gives him an acquaintance with them which may be of service to him throughout their connexion with the diocese; he learns from the principal of the college their exact capabilities; he not only knows where their talents may be best directed at first, but afterwards, as they become qualified for more important posts, incumbencies and livings, he can never be at a loss for fit persons to appoint to vacant benefices. Those, on the contrary, who have been going through the university course, are ordained to such titles as chance may throw in their way; their qualifications for the particular cure can scarcely be known, because even, supposing the bishop or rector to make application to the university professor, there can scarcely be that knowledge on his part of the peculiar wants of the place, which a principal living in the diocese, and in constant communication

labourers in the vineyard than if they had been taken without such consideration. With Chichester College we are not acquainted; but the reports of it are generally favourable. On the whole then, experience seems on the side of a system which has now been only partially tried; sufficiently indeed to test its merits, but not to ensure that success which is wont to accompany more matured institutions.

Had we possessed no such experience, the probabilities would certainly have been in favour of the success of these Colleges: they seem a fit appendage to our Cathedral establishments, and the seats of our Episcopal residences. They moreover are by no means a modern invention; our Monastic Institutions always supplied such a place of education for our youth, where they could ensure a more retired place of study than the universities afforded; and after their ruin had been accomplished, we find some little return attempted by Cranmer, for the mischief which had been done, by the proposal to establish similar institutions to these Colleges. Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, gives the following account of this plan. After mentioning the foundation of the Bishoprics of Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, Oxford, Bristol, and Westminster, with Deaneries, Prebends, &c., out of the spoils of the Monasteries, he goes on to say,—

"But as all this came far short of what the King had once intended, so Cranmer's design was quite disappointed, for he had projected that in every Cathedral there should be provision made for readers of Divinity, and of Greek, and of Hebrew; and a great number of students to be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in study and devotion, whom the Bishop might transplant out of this nursery, into all the parts of his diocese. And thus every Bishop should have had a College of Clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit. He saw great disorders among some Prebendaries; and in a long letter, the original of which I have seen, he expressed his regret, that these endowments went in such a channel. Yet now his power was not great at court, and the other party ran down all his motions. But those who observed things narrowly, judged that a good mixture of prebendaries, and of young clerks, bred up about Cathedrals under the Bishop's eye, and the conduct and direction of the dean and prebendaries, had been one of the greatest blessings that could have befallen the Church, which not being sufficiently provided of houses for the forming of the minds and manners of those, who are to be received into Orders, has since felt the ill-effects of it very sensibly. Against this, Cranmer had projected a noble remedy, had not the Popish party then at court, who very well apprehended the advantages such nurseries would have given to the Reformation, borne down the proposition, and turned all the King's bounty and foundations another way."—*Burnet*, book iii. p. 546.

The question of supporting such institutions might throw a difficulty in the way, but I think the means here suggested, of endowing the office of Principal, or Professor, with some Cathedral stall, might tend greatly to remove the difficulty, without making any great innovation on our Cathedral establishments. Thus, then, it would seem that an efficient means of supplying our candidates for Orders with a suitable education, might be employed without having recourse to a compulsory university course of study. Diocesan Colleges would furnish far less expensive, more appropriate, and

the other respects which have been mentioned, more effectual places of theological instruction, and religious discipline. In this respect, they desire to be handmaids to the universities; taking their students, well-grounded in the rudiments of religious knowledge, classical, mathematical and philosophical learning, and the other polite and literary acquirements which constitute the education of a gentleman, they desire on this foundation to build that particular superstructure which may fit them for their high calling as Ministers of Christ. The university must supply the general knowledge, the Diocesan Colleges the more strictly professional (if the word must be used), both necessary for the rearing up a body of learned and pious Clergymen. Whether the Diocesan Colleges might hereafter be made the means of affording a sufficient education for an inferior Clergy, of whom a university education would not be required, is not the question: their machinery at present is not adapted for it, nor do they contemplate it in their present state. And here we think Mr. Law has done wrong in mixing up the two questions. He is giving rise to a needless jealousy on the part of the universities, who might thus fear that the Diocesan Colleges would be made the means of depriving them of their exclusive privilege of educating the Clergy of this country. Such a design does not come within their present intention, and therefore it would be unfair to bring such a charge against them. At the same time, we mean no more than to say, that we do not wish to prejudge the question of admitting our superior schoolmasters and other such persons into the Diaconate, and to mingle together the two distinct subjects.

For this reason, also, we think Mr. Law wrong in placing Lampeter and St. Bees on the same footing as the Wells and Chichester Colleges; the former are places intended for the education of those who cannot afford a university education; the latter, for those who have already received it. It might indeed be a matter of consideration for the Bishops of St. David's and Chester, whether they needed any new institutions in their respective Dioceses, seeing that Lampeter and St. Bees already existed, and might be made, by some changes, to answer the same purpose as Wells and Chichester; but still their present object is very different from the more modern institutions. We would therefore wish these Colleges to stand on their own footing; and we think they are most eminently qualified, in constitution, to prepare our youth for the great work for which they are designed, both morally and intellectually.

At the same time, let the universities give those who desire it the means of acquiring a suitable theological knowledge, on a strictly voluntary principle; to those who from circumstances are obliged to reside at the university, such as Fellows, Students, or Tutors, such an opportunity is most desirable. Let them be the Diocesan Colleges for the respective Dioceses of Oxford and Ely, but no more. Let them be the homes of theological science. They may enter into competition with the Colleges of other Dioceses on fair ground, and they will thus form an useful check one to the other. But let not

the interests of the Church be sacrificed to the grasping character of the Hebdomadal Board; let not its members suppose that efficient Priests can only be formed under their especial care, for what can they know of the conduct of the members of their Colleges, in comparison with a Principal of a Diocesan College, who has so much smaller a number under his charge? And let us entreat our Bishops, before they commit themselves to such a system, to weigh well this matter, and consider whether they might not train their rising Clergy in a more efficient method under their own especial care and superintendence, than by the intervention of a system over which they have no control, and whose success must at the best appear very doubtful.

Coningsby; or, the New Generation. By B. Disraeli, Esq. M.P. *Author of "Contarini Fleming."* 8vo. London: Colburn, 1844. Pp. 314.

This, as most of our readers have probably already discovered, or heard, is a very remarkable production, and merits a separate article because of its contents, to say nothing of the interesting and extensive subject to which it naturally conducts us. Mr. D'Israeli possesses nearly all the powers of a good novel-writer, except the highest. He is not creative; but he is a very clever sketcher of the things around him, with just enough, perhaps, of caricature to make his sketches amusing, and, beyond all doubt, sufficient personality to render them attractive to most persons; while his whole subject is eminently that of the day. His chief fault seems to us, that he is still an adherent of the *Silver Fork school.* The amount of splendour wherewith he surrounds us is absolutely intolerable; even his Manchester manufacturer, with his Saxon industry, his Anti-Norman feelings, and his contempt for the peerage, is deprived of half his moral by sending his beautiful daughter to Paris in titled company; where we find her the "observed of all observers," amid luxury and magnificence, such as the mind is strained to imagine. We desiderate poor people, and homely people, "the common growth of mother earth,"—that rough opaque reality on which the daily life of nearly every one, however exalted in rank, must move, and with which all who aspire after great deeds and an elevated life, must be in continual contact.

The story is a very simple one, however remote from simplicity its personages may be. Coningsby, the orphan grandson of the Marquis of Monmouth, has never been seen, and is hard

noticed, by his selfish and profligate grandfather, who lives for the most part in Italy, till that worthy peer, during a political visit to England, finds it convenient to make his acquaintance, and consequently sends for him from Eton for the purpose. Being handsome, intelligent, and bearing an air of success with him, he speedily becomes the object of his lordship's pride, and as much affection as that pride is capable of awakening; and, from the period of his quitting Eton to the year after his quitting Cambridge, enjoys the immunities of a very rich man's favoured descendant, being very much the master of his own movements, and having as much money to spend as he wishes. He is himself of an earnest and superior cast both of mind and desire, as are the majority of his companions, among whom he ranks as chief and leader. One of these, Millbank, is the son of a Manchester manufacturer, with something of that reserve and sternness, which an independent spirit is apt to acquire, from the consciousness of occupying an humbler position than those around him. He early conceives for Coningsby the passionate admiration which not unfrequently renders the friendship of the young as engrossing and overwhelming as the love of the grown-up. The object of this, however, is far from returning the feeling at first, his aristocratic prejudices revolting against Millbank's origin. He saves the other from drowning, however, and the sense of being a benefactor, awakened that regard which such sense seldom fails to do in the case of a worthy object. Millbank thenceforth became one of Coningsby's favoured and esoteric set, and his beautiful sister the object of his passionate love—a love which undergoes precisely the proper amount of jealousy and misadventure, (for there is a strange character, by name Sidonia, between whom and Miss Millbank a strong tie subsists, and of whom Coningsby is, therefore, duly jealous, and then the elder Millbank and lord Monmouth are bitter enemies,) and at last comes to a very prosperous termination. All this is worked out by means of no uncommon incidents: Coningsby's worst misfortune consists in offending his grandfather by refusing to go into parliament on the right and fitting occasion, and, though partially restored to favour, being cut off at his decease with £10,000. He is thus obliged to bid adieu to the dreams of love, and those of present ambition, and betake himself to the Bar. But he is not left long in his misfortunes, such as they are; a happy turn of events at the last general election gives him at once a seat in parliament and the bride of his choice; and, after the approved fashion of novels, a few months more see him in possession of the main body of his grandfather's riches. All this is ordinary enough, nor in the way of incidents are those subordinate ones which help on the main story of any very marked interest. The domestic intrigues in Lord

Monmouth's house are only amusing in so far as they are connected with a Mr. Rigby, Lord Monmouth's man of all work, in whom the literary oracle of a certain section of the Conservative party, is portrayed with little pretence of disguise; with a good deal of cleverness, and with some just indignation, such as at times blinds us to the barefaced personality in which Mr. D'Israeli has indulged.

The novel is an historical one, going rapidly over the events of the present day, and comprising in its plot,—the final struggle against, and passing of, the Reform Bill; the brief Conservative administration of 1834-5; the general election on the accession of Queen Victoria; the Bed-chamber plot,—and the assembling of the present parliament. The directly historical sketches, seem to us more amusing than the fiction; and both they and the disquisitions connected with them are always ingenious, and often profound.

Our author's principal favourite, among the characters which he has grouped together, is the Spanish Jew, Sidonia, who is one of those great capitalists who do undoubtedly exercise no inconsiderable share in the government of all Europe; though, whether any of them are, or could be, at all like this same Sidonia, is a question which, being neither Jews nor capitalists, we must confess ourselves unable to decide. He is presented to us as the most magnificently-endowed man, with all arts, all learning, all experience: at once profound, accomplished, and irresistible; he is withal a devoted Jew, as have been all his Spanish ancestors, though some of them, it seems, hid their Judaism, in the guise of Archbishops of Toledo, and Grand Inquisitors. Mr. D'Israeli's account of the hidden abundance of Judaism for many ages in Spain is interesting, and will, we doubt not, be novel to some of our readers.

"Sidonia was descended from a very ancient and noble family of Arragon, that, in the course of ages, had given to the state many distinguished citizens. In the priesthood its members had been peculiarly eminent. Besides several prelates, they counted among their number an Archbishop of Toledo; and a Sidonia, in a season of great danger and difficulty, had exercised for a series of years the paramount office of Grand Inquisitor.

"Yet, strange as it may sound, it is nevertheless a fact of which there is no lack of evidence, that this illustrious family, during all this period, in common with two-thirds of the Arragonese nobility, secretly adhered to the ancient faith and ceremonies of their fathers—a belief in the unity of the God of Sinai, and the rites and observances of the laws of Moses.

"Whence came those Hebrew Arabs whose passage across the strait from Africa to Europe long preceded the invasion of the Mohammedan Arabs, it is now impossible to ascertain. Their traditions tell us that from time immemorial they had sojourned in Africa; and it is not improbable that they may have been the descendants of some of the earlier dispersions; like those Hebrew colonies that we find in China, and who probably emigrated from Persia in the days of the great monarchies. Whatever may have been their origin in Africa, their fortunes in southern Europe are not difficult to trace though the annals of no race in no age can detail a history of such strang

vicissitudes, or one rife with more touching and romantic incident. Their unexampled prosperity in the Spanish Peninsula, and especially in the south, where they had become the principal cultivators of the soil, excited the jealousy of the Goths, and the Councils of Toledo during the sixth and seventh centuries attempted, by a series of decrees worthy of the barbarians who promulgated them, to root the Jewish Arabs out of the land. There is no doubt the Council of Toledo led as directly as the lust of Roderick to the invasion of Spain by the Moslemin Arabs. The Jewish population suffering under the most sanguinary and atrocious persecution looked to their sympathizing brethren of the Crescent, whose camps already gleamed on the opposite shore. The overthrow of the Gothic kingdoms was as much achieved by the superior information which the Saracens received from their suffering kinsmen, as by the resistless valour of the Desart. The Saracen kingdoms were established. That fair and unrivalled civilization arose, which preserved for Europe arts and letters when Christendom was plunged in darkness. The children of Ishmael rewarded the children of Israel with equal rights and privileges with themselves. During these halcyon centuries, it is difficult to distinguish the follower of Moses from the votary of Mahomet. Both alike built palaces, gardens, and fountains; filled equally the highest offices of the state, competed in an extensive and enlightened commerce, and rivalled each other in renowned universities.

"Even after the fall of the principal Moorish kingdoms, the Jews of Spain were still treated by the conquering Goths with tenderness and consideration. Their numbers, their wealth, the fact that, in Arragon especially, they were the proprietors of the soil, and surrounded by warlike and devoted followers, secured for them an usage which for a considerable period made them little sensible of the change of dynasties and religions. But the tempest gradually gathered. As the Goths grew stronger, persecution became more bold. Where the Jewish population was scanty, they were deprived of their privileges or obliged to conform under the title of 'Nuovos [*Nuevos?*] Christianos.' At length the union of the two crowns under Ferdinand and Isabella, and the fall of the last Moorish kingdom, brought the crisis of their fate both to the New Christian and the non-conforming Hebrew. The Inquisition appeared, the Institution that had exterminated the Albigenses and had desolated Languedoc, and which, it should ever be remembered, was established in the Spanish kingdoms against the protests of the Cortes and amid the terror of the populace. The Dominicans opened their first tribunal at Seville, and it is curious that the first individuals they summoned before them were the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquess of Cadiz, and the Count of Arcos; three of the most considerable personages in Spain. How many were burned alive at Seville during the first year, how many imprisoned for life, what countless thousands were visited with severe though lighter punishments, need not be recorded here. In nothing was the Holy Office more happy than in multiform and subtle means by which they tested the sincerity of the New Christians.

"At length the Inquisition was to be extended to Arragon. The high-spirited nobles of that kingdom knew that its institution was for them a matter of life or death. The Cortes of Arragon appealed to the King and to the Pope; they organized an extensive conspiracy; the chief Inquisitor was assassinated in the Cathedral of Saragossa. Alas! it was fated that in this, one of the many, and continual, and continuing struggles between the rival organizations of the North and the South, the children of the sun should fall. The fagot and the San Benito were the doom of the nobles of Arragon. Those who were convicted of secret Judaism, and this scarcely three centuries ago, were dragged to the stake; the sons of the noblest houses, in whose veins the Hebrew taint could be traced, had to walk in solemn procession singing psalms and confessing their faith in the religion of the fell Torquamada.

"This triumph in Arragon, the almost simultaneous fall of the last Moorish kingdom, raised the hopes of the pure Christians to the highest pitch. Having purged the new Christians, they next turned their attention to the old Hebrews.

Ferdinand was resolved that the delicious air of Spain should be breathed no longer by any one who did not profess the Catholic faith. Baptism or exile was the alternative. More than six hundred thousand individuals—some authorities greatly increase the amount—the most industrious, the most intelligent, and the most enlightened of Spanish subjects, would not desert the religion of their fathers. For this, they gave up the delightful land wherein they had lived for centuries, the beautiful cities they had raised, the universities from which Christendom drew for ages its most precious lore, the tombs of their ancestors, the temples where they had worshipped the God for whom they had made this sacrifice. They had but four months to prepare for eternal exile after a residence of as many centuries, during which brief period forced sales and glutted markets virtually confiscated their property. It is a calamity that the scattered nation still ranks with the desolations of Nebuchadnezzar and of Titus. Who after this should say the Jews are by nature a sordid people? But the Spanish Goth, then so cruel and so haughty, where is he? A despised suppliant to the very race which he banished for some miserable portion of the treasure which their habits of industry have again accumulated. Where is that tribunal that summoned Medina Sidonia and Cadiz to its dark inquisition? Where is Spain? Its fall, its unparalleled and its irremediable fall, is mainly to be attributed to the expulsion of that large portion of its subjects, the most industrious and intelligent, who traced their origin to the Mosaic and Mahomedan Arabs.

"The Sidonias of Arragon were Nuovos [*Nuevos?*] Christianos. Some of them no doubt were burned alive at the end of the fifteenth century under the system of Torquamada, many of them doubtless wore the San Benito; but they kept their titles and estates; and in time reached those great offices to which we have referred.

"During the long disorders of the Peninsular war, when so many openings were offered to talent, and so many opportunities seized by the adventurous, a cadet of a younger branch of this family made a large fortune by military contracts, and supplying the commissariat of the different armies. At the peace, prescient of the great financial future of Europe, confident in the fertility of his own genius, in his original views of fiscal subjects, and his knowledge of national resources, this Sidonia, feeling that Madrid, or even Cadiz, could never be a base on which the monetary transactions of the world could be regulated, resolved to emigrate to England, with which he had in the course of years formed considerable commercial connexions. He arrived here after the peace of Paris with his large capital. He staked all that he was worth on the Waterloo loan; and the event made him one of the greatest capitalists in Europe.

"No sooner was Sidonia established in England, than he professed Judaism, which Torquamada flattered himself, with the fagot and the San Benito, he had drained out of the veins of his family more than three centuries ago. He sent over also for several of his brothers, who were as good Catholics in Spain as Ferdinand and Isabella could have possibly desired, but who made an offering in the synagogue, in gratitude for their safe voyage, on their arrival in England."

But, startling as all this may be, it lags behind the following assertion of the never discontinued sway of the Hebrew race over the rest of mankind, which, we confess, although we were aware of some part of it, was on the whole not a little astounding to us.

"'I am going to Cambridge in a week,' said Coningsby. 'I was almost in hopes you might have remained as long.'

"'I also; but my letters of this morning demand me. If it had not been for our chase, I should have quitted immediately. The minister cannot pa-

the interest on the national debt—not an unprecedented circumstance—and has applied to us. I never permit any business of state to be transacted without my personal interposition; and so I must go up to town immediately.'

"'Suppose you don't pay it,' said Coningsby, smiling.

"'If I followed my own impulse, I would remain here,' said Sidonia. 'Can anything be more absurd than that a nation should apply to an individual to maintain its credit, and with its credit, its existence as an empire and its comfort as a people; and that individual one to whom its laws deny the proudest rights of citizenship, the privilege of sitting in its senate and of holding land; for though I have been rash enough to buy several estates, my own opinion is that by the existing law of England, an Englishman of Hebrew faith cannot possess the soil.'

"'But surely it would be easy to repeal a law so illiberal—'

"'Oh! as for illiberality, I have no objection to it if it be an element of power. Eschew political sentimentalism. What I contend is, that if you permit men to accumulate property, and they use that permission to a great extent, power is inseparable from that property, and it is in the last degree impolitic to make it the interest of any powerful class to oppose the institutions under which they live. The Jews, for example, independent of the capital qualities for citizenship which they possess in their industry, temperance, and energy and vivacity of mind, are a race essentially monarchical, deeply religious, and shrinking themselves from converts as from a calamity, are ever anxious to see the religious systems of the countries in which they live, flourish; yet since your society has become agitated in England, and powerful combinations menace your institutions, you find the once loyal Hebrew invariably arrayed in the same ranks as the leveller and the latitudinarian, and prepared to support the policy which may even endanger his life and property, rather than tamely continue under a system which seeks to degrade him. The Tories lose an important election at a critical moment; 'tis the Jews come forward to vote against them. The Church is alarmed at the scheme of a latitudinarian university, and learns with relief that funds are not forthcoming for its establishment; a Jew immediately advances and endows it. Yet the Jews, Coningsby, are essentially Tories. Toryism indeed is but copied from the mighty prototype which has fashioned Europe; and every generation they must become more powerful and more dangerous to the society which is hostile to them. Do you think that the quiet humdrum persecution of a decorous representative of an English university can crush those who have successively baffled the Pharaohs, Nebuchadnezzar, Rome, and the Feudal ages? The fact is you cannot destroy a pure race of the Caucasian organization. It is a physiological fact; a simple law of nature, which has baffled Egyptian and Assyrian Kings, Roman Emperors, and Christian Inquisitors. No penal laws, no physical tortures, can effect that a superior race should be absorbed in an inferior, or be destroyed by it. The mixed persecuting races disappear; the pure persecuted race remains. And at this moment, in spite of centuries of degradation, the Jewish mind exercises a vast influence on the affairs of Europe. I speak not of their laws, which you still obey; of their literature, with which your minds are saturated; but of the living Hebrew intellect.

"'You never observe a great intellectual movement in Europe in which the Jews do not greatly participate. The first Jesuits were Jews: that mysterious Russian diplomacy which so alarms Western Europe is organized and principally carried on by Jews; that mighty revolution which is at this moment preparing in Germany, and which will be in fact a second and greater Reformation, and of which so little is as yet known in England, is entirely developing under the auspices of Jews, who almost monopolise the professorial chairs of Germany. Neander, the founder of Spiritual Christianity, and who is Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Berlin, is a Jew. Benary, equally famous, and in the same University, is a Jew. Wehl, the Arabic professor of Heidelberg, is a Jew. Years ago, when I was in Palestine, I met

a German student who was accumulating materials for the History of Christianity, and studying the genius of the place; a modest and learned man. It was Wehl; then unknown, since become the first Arabic scholar of the day, and the author of the life of Mahomet. But for the German professors of this race, their name is Legion. I think there are more than ten at Berlin alone.

" ' I told you just now that I was going up to town to-morrow, because I always made it a rule to interpose when affairs of State were on the carpet. Otherwise, I never interfere. I hear of peace and war in newspapers; but I am never alarmed, except when I am informed that the Sovereigns want treasure; then I know that monarchs are serious.

" ' A few years back we were applied to by Russia. Now there has been no friendship between the Court of St. Petersburgh and my family. It has Dutch connexions which have generally supplied it, and our representations in favour of the Polish Hebrews—a numerous race, but the most suffering and degraded of all the tribes—has not been very agreeable to the Czar. However circumstances drew to an approximation between the Romanoffs and the Sidonias. I resolved to go myself to St. Petersburgh. I had on my arrival an interview with the Russian Minister of Finance, Count Cancrin; I beheld the son of a Lithuanian Jew. The loan was connected with the affairs of Spain; I resolved on repairing to Spain from Russia. I travelled without intermission. I had an audience immediately on my arrival with the Spanish Minister, Senor Mendizabel; I beheld one like myself, the son of a Nuovo Christiano, a Jew of Arragon. In consequence of what transpired at Madrid, I went straight to Paris to consult the President of the French Council; I beheld the son of a French Jew, a hero, an imperial marshal, and very properly so, for who should be military heroes if not those who worship the Lord of Hosts.'

" ' And is Soult a Hebrew?'

" ' Yes, and several of the French Marshals, and the most famous; Massena, for example; his real name was Manasseh: but to my anecdote. The consequence of our consultations was that some Northern power should be applied to in a friendly and mediative capacity. We fixed on Prussia, and the President of the Council made an application to the Prussian Minister, who attended a few days after our conference. Count Arnim entered the cabinet, and I beheld a Prussian Jew. So you see, my dear Coningsby, that the world is governed by very different personages to what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes.'

" ' You startle, and deeply interest me.'

" ' You must study physiology, my dear child. Pure races of Caucasus may be persecuted, but they cannot be despised, except by the brutal ignorance of some mongrel breed, that brandishes fagots and howls exterminations, but is itself exterminated without persecutions by that irresistible law of nature which is fatal to curs.'

" ' But I come also from Caucasus,' said Coningsby.

" ' Verily, and thank your Creator for such a destiny: and your race is sufficiently pure. You come from the shores of the Northern Sea, land of the blue eye, and the golden hair, and the frank brow; 'tis a famous breed, with whom we Arabs have contended long; from whom we have much suffered; but these Goths, and Saxons, and Normans, were doubtless great men.'

" ' But so favoured by Nature, why has not your race produced great poets, great orators, great writers?'

" ' Favoured by Nature and by Nature's God, we produced the lyre of David; we gave you Isaiah and Ezekiel; they are our Olynthians, our Philippics. Favoured by Nature we still remain: but in exact proportion as we have been favoured by Nature we have been persecuted by Man. After a thousand struggles; after acts of heroic courage that Rome has never equalled; deeds of divine patriotism that Athens, and Sparta, and Carthage have never excelled; we have endured fifteen hundred years of supernatural slavery, during which, every device that can degrade or destroy man has been the

destiny that we have sustained and baffled. The Hebrew child has entered adolescence only to learn that he was the Pariah of that ungrateful Europe that owes to him the best part of its laws, a fine portion of its literature, all its religion. Great poets require a public; we have been content with the immortal melodies that we sung more than two thousand years ago by the waters of Babylon and wept. They record our triumphs; they solace our affliction. Great orators are the creatures of popular assemblies; we were permitted only by stealth to meet even in our temples. And as for great writers the catalogue is not blank. What are all the school-men, Aquinas himself, to Maimonides; and as for modern philosophy, all springs from Spinoza.

"'But the passionate and creative genius that is the nearest link to divinity, and which no human tyranny can destroy, though it can divert it; that should have stirred the hearts of nations by its inspired sympathy, or governed senates by its burning eloquence, has found a medium for its expression, to which, in spite of your prejudices and your evil passions, you have been obliged to bow. The ear, the voice, the fancy teeming with combinations, the imagination fervent with picture and emotion, that came from Caucasus and which we have preserved unpolluted, have endowed us with almost the exclusive privilege of Music; that science of harmonious sounds which the ancients recognised as most divine, and deified in the person of their most beautiful creation. I speak not of the past, though were I to enter into the history of the lords of melody, you would find it the annals of Hebrew genius. But at this moment even, musical Europe is ours. There is not a company of singers, not an orchestra in a single capital, that are not crowded with our children, under the feigned names which they adopt to conciliate the dark aversion which your posterity will some day disclaim with shame and disgust. Almost every great composer, skilled musician, almost every voice that ravishes you with its transporting strains, spring from our tribes. The catalogue is too vast to enumerate; too illustrious to dwell for a moment on secondary names, however eminent. Enough for us that the three great creative minds to whose exquisite inventions all nations at this moment yield—Rossini, Meyerbeer, Mendelsohn—are of Hebrew race. And little do your men of fashion, your 'muscadins' of Paris, and your dandies of London, as they thrill into raptures at the notes of a Pasta, or a Grisi, little do they suspect that they are offering their homage to the sweet singers of Israel!'"

We have no sufficient access to the facts to judge of the accuracy of all this; but there is much of it which we find it easy to credit. Like Sidonia, or the Mr. D'Israeli who portrays Sidonia, we are, to some considerable extent, believers in the influence of *blood*, thinking it an agent which, after the lapse of centuries and millenniums, often proves more powerful than all calculations, schemes, laws, and institutions. At the same time, be his facts true or not, or whatever be the extent to which they are true, it is not, as we conceive, from them that a son of Abraham, who, like our author, has embraced the Faith of the Gospel, ought to derive gratification, or to feel, as a Jew may, we think, legitimately feel, that he is of the world's truly aristocratic race—the nation which has stamped its uneffaceable impression on the brotherhood of mankind. Mohammedanism, we need scarcely say, is but the concentrated operation of certain elements of the Hebrew faith, and becomes weak just where, like Judaism itself, it has stopped short and cut off the growth of wide, overshadowing fertility. But it is to the

Christian Church, as being, though not by lineal descent, yet by no mere figure of speech, in deed and in truth, the true Israel, that a Hebrew may look with legitimate pride as to the consummation and full universal triumph of his race. He may see in that, how indeed "out of Zion hath gone forth the Law" paramount of all mankind; how the great and glorious Hebrew type has been imprinted on the whole European race, and all the laws and customs of Christendom; how the ancient utterances of the Hebrew mind have been made to lie at the root of all our deepest thoughts, and all our most passionate aspirations; so that whether he look at the venerable fabric of the Christian Law, or the rich solemnity of the Christian Liturgies, or the ample and varied stores of Christian art and literature, the Dantes, Shakespears, Calderons, and Spensers, of Europe, he may trace the expansion of the chosen seed, and exult in the high mysterious bearing of his nation upon the destinies of mankind.

The most amusing parts of this novel are the political conversations; in which the common run of what are commonly called Conservative sentiments, is very well exposed. In fact, the whole work may be considered as directed against the pretensions of the Conservative party. Witness the following conversation at Cambridge after one of its triumphs there, which a certain very accurate Quarterly reviewer may without difficulty prove did not take place at the time alleged; instead of the Conservative Etonian of Mr. D'Israeli, no less a person than her Majesty's Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, having been then returned for Cambridge, with a Radical for his colleague.

"'By Jove,' said the panting Buckhurst, throwing himself on the sofa, 'it was well done; never was anything better done. An immense triumph! The greatest triumph the Conservative cause has had. And yet,' he added, laughing, 'if any fellow were to ask me what the Conservative cause was, I am sure I should not know what to say.'

"'Why it's the cause of our glorious institutions,' said Coningsby. 'A Crown robbed of its prerogatives; a Church controlled by a commission; and an Aristocracy that does not lead.'

"'Under whose genial influence, the order of the Peasantry, "a country's pride," has vanished from the face of the land,' said Henry Sydney, 'and is succeeded by a race of serfs, who are called labourers and who burn ricks.'

"'Under which,' continued Coningsby, 'the crown has become a cipher; the church a sect; the nobility drones; and the people drudges.'

"'It is the great constitutional cause,' said Lord Vere, 'that refuses everything to opposition; yields everything to agitation: conservative in Parliament, destructive out of doors; that has no objection to any change, provided only it be effected by unauthorized means.'

"'The first public association of men,' said Coningsby, 'who have worked for an avowed end, without enunciating a single principle.'

"'And who have established political infidelity throughout the land,' said Lord Henry.

"'By Jove!' said Buckhurst, 'what infernal fools we have made ourselves this last week!'

"'Nay,' said Coningsby, smiling, 'it was our last schoolboy weakness. Floreat Etona, under all circumstances.'

"'I certainly, Coningsby,' said Lord Vere, 'shall not assume the Conservative Cause, instead of the Cause for which Hampden died in the field, and Sydney on the scaffold.'

"'The cause for which Hampden died in the field, and Sydney on the scaffold,' said Coningsby, 'was the cause of the Venetian Republic.'

"'How—how?' said Buckhurst.

"'I repeat it,' said Coningsby. 'The great object of the Whig leaders in England, from the first movement under Hampden to the last more successful one in 1688, was to establish in England a high aristocratic republic on the model of the Venetian, then the study and admiration of all speculative politicians. Read Harrington; turn over Algernon Sydney; and you will see how the minds of the English leaders in the seventeenth century were saturated with the Venetian type. And they at length succeeded. William III. found them out in an instant. He told the Whig leaders, "I will not be a Doge." He balanced parties; he baffled them as the Puritans baffled them fifty years before. The reign of Anne was a struggle between the Venetian and the English systems. Two great Whig nobles, Argyle and Shrewsbury, worthy of seats in the Council of Ten, forced their Sovereign on her death-bed to change the ministry. They accomplished their object. They brought in a new family on their own terms. George I. was a Doge; George II. was a Doge; they were what William III., a great man, would not be. George III. tried not to be a Doge, but it was impossible materially to resist the deeply-laid combination. He might get rid of the Whig magnificoes, but he could not rid himself of the Venetian constitution. And a Venetian constitution did govern England from the accession of the House of Hanover until 1832. Now I do not ask you, Vere, to relinquish the political tenets which in ordinary times would have been your inheritance. All I say is, the constitution introduced by your ancestors having been subverted by their descendants your contemporaries, beware of still holding Venetian principles of government when you have not a Venetian constitution to govern with. Do what I am doing, what Henry Sydney and Buckhurst are doing, what other men that I could mention are doing, hold yourself aloof from political parties which, from the necessity of things, have ceased to have distinctive principles, and are therefore, practically, only factions; and wait and see, whether with patience, energy, honour, and Christian faith, and a desire to look to the national welfare and not to sectional and limited interests; whether, I say, we may not discover some great principles to guide us, to which we may adhere, and which then, if true, will ultimately guide and control others.'

"'The Whigs are worn out,' said Vere, 'Conservatism is a sham, and Radicalism is pollution.'"

In short, Mr. D'Israeli is generally considered a member of that section of public men, which has received the name of "Young England;" and this work is regarded as a literary manifesto from that quarter, an exposition of many of the principles avowed and acted on there; although we imagine that some of the opinions avowed in Coningsby must be taken simply as Mr. D'Israeli's own.

In common with more than one recent inquirer into the true genius of the British Constitution, our author looks upon real monarchy as its essential and enduring element; and as that in which all classes would find their best protection. We are all complaining one way or another of class legislation; whereupon Mr. D'Israeli reminds us that a king is of no class, and there-

fore if he really govern, he is not very likely to govern with a view to class interests. That the unchecked sway of any man must be more or less tyranny is uncontrovertible; but a modern European Sovereign will be not less dependent on public opinion than are Cabinets or Parliaments, nay, will at all times feel a more immediate need of it.

But this best, and noblest, and freest government, has long been obscured in England by the influence of an aristocracy—and that, not as a whole, the ancient one of the country, but one created partly by the plunder of the Church, partly by yet more modern political intrigue. Until the Reform Bill, this aristocracy worked in and through Parliament, to which branch of the constitution it had, for its own purposes, contrived to give an undue prominence. Thus Sovereign, Church, and People, have alike been defrauded of their due position and power in the body politic, the principle of class legislation has reigned supremely; and along with it that of political exclusion; which last our author maintains to be not more inconsistent with the British Constitution than the genius of ancient and genuine Toryism; the Irish Orange party being designated by him (and rightly) as the true Whigs. If to these articles of belief, we add, that Mr. D'Israeli seems opposed to commercial restriction, and indirect taxation, and that he is no lover of Russia, we shall have perhaps completed the outline of his political creed, in the common sense of the word. It may be further observed, that while professing himself anxious for the restoration to the peasantry of its ancient recognition as an order of the State, its ancient privileges, and its ancient enjoyments; he is no sentimentalist on the subject of steam-engines and machinery, considers that "Manchester, rightly viewed, is as great a wonder as Athens," and makes his Socrates, Sidonia, pronounce that "the age of ruins is past."—In short, Mr. D'Israeli's cast of thought may be analyzed into a strong infusion of Lord John Manners, mixed with a tolerably powerful influence of Mr. Urquhart, and flavoured by a dash of Mr. Carlyle.

We have not, it must be observed, been reviewing Coningsby on the whole *as a novel;* and, therefore, our readers must not judge of its power of entertaining them, either from our remarks or our extracts. This remarkable work, interesting though it be in itself, is to us more interesting as a symptom of what is going on, and because of the subjects which it suggests, concerning which we would now say a word or two.

We are not prepared to join in the whole of Mr. D'Israeli's political creed, or to repose undoubting confidence on all his historical sketches and disquisitions on the English Constitution; nor, as we have already hinted, have we any right to implicate the party with whom he acts in all that he has laid down. But

we think he has given us a good text whereon to discourse briefly on that party, or school, or whatever it is to be called.

About this time two years ago, in addition to the three well-known names of Conservatives, Whigs, and Radicals, under which public men were ranged, the title "Young England" began to be heard, though people rather knew to whom than to what they were applying it. Perhaps the latter is not very clear still; nor do we wish it to be so, for we should be sorry to think that the gentlemen who are classed under this designation had adopted a complete and symmetrical creed and code, distinguishing them from all others.

We need not say that your practical Conservative, your man of electioneering tact, of insight into registrations, and erudition in division lists, regards *Young England* with high disdain, so long, at least, as he is able to keep his temper at the thought of it. He is all ready with denunciations of its presumption, its rawness, and its coxcombry. That all its members are young seems to him sufficient condemnation, and that many of them are young men of rank and leisure and fashion, sufficient explanation, of it; inasmuch as persons in these circumstances, must always find stimulus from singularity, novelty, and paradox of some sort. To hint at its connexion with *Tractarianism* is another great advantage which can frequently be used against it. Now, if the idea of *Young England* be that of a party analogous to the others into which public men are divided, a party struggling for Parliamentary preponderance, a party of which it could fairly be demanded what sort of an administration it could furnish, and with what measures it would be prepared, supposing her Majesty saw fit to entrust Lord John Manners or Mr. Smythe, with the formation of a Ministry, most of our Conservative's sneers would no doubt be relevant enough. But we certainly do not regard *Young England* in this light, and we give the gentlemen who belong to it, credit for not doing so themselves. A public man, or set of public men, may surely do much service, and earn their country's best thanks, without being able, or willing, either to furnish a Cabinet, or to constitute a Parliamentary opposition. Again, we frankly admit that most of the gentlemen in question are young, and scarcely any of them experienced in business; that they are, probably, not all equal in earnestness of character and purpose; that some of them may be more men of fashion than grave inquirers; that in all likelihood they are by far too fond of singularity and paradox; and that the principles which they avow, are at present very easily and cheaply avowed. All this may be, and, we dare say, is, true. For the men we care not, as far as our argument goes, though there are one or two of them whom we greatly respect, and from whom we hope for much.

What we contend is, that their appearance is a symptom, a very important, and to our minds, on the whole, a very hopeful symptom. The very name which they have received, however originally given, and whether the full honour of it be or be not due to them, is a symptomatic name, means a good deal, implies not only in the bearer, but in the giver too, a class of thoughts, presentiments, and feelings, not very comfortable to your official man, your regular Conservative, or your lover of things as they are. It is a name that could never have become current had there not been a class of notions and sentiments—undefined and chaotic no doubt, but still existing and in motion—which it partially represented.

In further discoursing of *Young England*, or rather of the symptoms which we think the name and the notion of a *Young England* exhibit, we must observe that we do not confine ourselves to the gentlemen who occupy a particular bench in the House of Commons, and to whom the designation has been formally appropriated. Were this the whole, the matter would be far less important than we are inclined to imagine it. We do not believe that the idea represented by *Young England*, viewed on its best side, is at all limited, even in Parliament, to a particular bench in the House of Commons, and still less in the country at large. We are not prepared to recommend those who most feel the force of the idea on entering Parliament to sit on that bench, or to court the designation. We are sure that if there be a *Young England* indeed, a rising generation of promise and of hope, capable, under God, of rectifying the errors committed, and healing the diseases entailed, by their forefathers, the great renovating thoughts must be stirring far more widely than the confines of any one coterie, however intelligent and however noble-minded; nay, we almost venture to say that the true *Young England* claims some within its ranks who differ very materially in their opinions and their training, and, paradoxical though the notion may seem, we venture to hope that, while it partially comprises Mr. Charles Buller as well as Lord John Manners, it includes many an intermediate gentleman who, young in years, and not committed to any one school or any one system, is yet anxious to fear God and honour his Sovereign within his appointed sphere. We have, therefore, spoken of the party generally styled *Young England*, rather as being the most distinct visible manifestation of what we mean, than as limiting and defining that meaning; and with this previous warning to our readers we now propose saying a word or two on the great symptom in question.

That symptom consists, we think, in two things; first, a strong feeling that neither Conservatism, nor Whiggism, nor Radicalism, as at present developing themselves, are adequate to England's emergency; and, secondly, a feeling that England's true consti-

tution, certain religious developments being taken for granted, is all, or nearly all, that we can want.

For the first it may be sufficient to confine ourselves to the case of the conservative party, for the majority of our readers are not very likely to have *immediate* sympathy with any other. If that be inadequate, they are not likely to turn to the whig or the radical party, as standing them more in stead. Now the inadequacy of the conservative party and the conservative creed may be considered as *Young England's* watch-word, and such inadequacy is deeply felt by many who have no visible connexion with Lord J. Manners and his friends. There is no doctrine oftener enforced by Mr. D'Israeli than this, that the word *conservatism* has been used without telling any one what was to be conserved, and that it has, therefore, been a mere sham, and a screen for some of the worst revolutions which the world has seen. And he is not the first who has said and who has felt this. Men have often lately asked what *conservatism* means, and they have been generally disposed to answer *nothing*; nothing but a good party war-cry.

Now, without feeling thorough contentment in conservatism, we think this is scarcely just. It seems to us to mean something—something intrinsic and positive. For, first, so long as there is a purely revolutionary party, a party anxious for organic change on a large and comprehensive scale, so long will the men who refuse and deprecate and resist such organic change have a positive and intelligible and very valuable meaning, when they call themselves *conservatives*. And, just so far as there is such a revolutionary party, just so far as the great constitutive features of the English state are in danger, either of being destroyed or seriously impaired, does the word *conservative* stand for something positive in the way of principle, and do those who have manfully fought for that principle merit the praise and the gratitude of every true Englishman. For, though we are far from regarding the Reform Bill in the light wherein Mr. Rigby, or other living Mr. Rigbys saw it, as in itself the death-blow to England, we cannot imagine any rational man's denying that, even in the modified form, and still more in the circumstances wherein it passed, the clamours of the press, the black phantom of political unions, the awing of the peerage, the compulsory nets entwined around the repentant sovereign, there were comprised nearly every element of danger with which a great and ancient nation could be assailed. All thanks, therefore, for that vigorous and healthy national constitution which recovered from such danger! All honour to the men who never allowed themselves to lose either heart or hope in the ery worst and wildest of the storm! All honour to the great atesman whose unslumbering eye saw each opportunity of fight- g the battle of *conservatism* against a hungrier and more rabid

revolutionary foe than England had seen since the dark days of 1642! And here let us pause to notice the very becoming way in which Mr. D'Israeli always notices Sir Robert Peel. There is in him none of that idiotic depreciation of a very remarkable and, we are sure, a very honest man—none of that mere swaggering denouncing of Peel as below the staunch Tory mark which any fool can affect and practise; no preposterous denial of his claims to be the first statesman of his time. We are not among Sir R. Peel's votaries; if we have to thank him for much benefit, we must always remember that we have to thank him for a good deal of mischief too. But we hold the ingratitude which refuses to thank him for, only excused by the intellectual stupidity which refuses to perceive, the marvellous manner in which, at the hour of need, he created the Conservative party, and effected a hearing for those who would rally round rather than destroy the institutions around them. This is quite compatible with rejoicing that Sir R. Peel did not retain power in 1835 (for in that case many most precious things would, we are sure, have been cheerfully surrendered with scarcely a warning voice), and also with a very considerable jealousy over his career at present. Much as we are not ashamed to confess that we admire him, we admit his ignorance and misunderstanding of much that is vital to England, and of many of the great principles and questions which are now stirring within her borders. But we venture to ask whether this be a fault chargeable on him especially; whether nearly all the leading men of his generation, inclusive of the ecclesiastics, be not liable to the like imputation.

To return, however, to our main subject. Conservatism, at the point to which we have brought it, has a meaning and a life in relation to an existing revolutionary party, and just in so far as there is such a party in vigorous existence and action. Has it any meaning besides—any intrinsic character, supposing that party subdued—any test whereby the changes which its leaders introduce (and changes they must introduce) may be distinguished from revolutionary ones? Even here we decide in its favour. Even here we recognise the word as meaning something. With or without the presence and the dread of a revolutionary party, there is an abiding principle of Conservatism. Changes, as we have already said, political men must make. But then such changes may be always kept subservient to a law, which we consider the great *conservative* one—the law of *national continuity*. We shall never make them so as to cause a sudden shock; so as to cause a chasm between the new state of things and the old; so as to run the risk of anything crude, anything very unconnected with the past, anything isolated, raw, and uncongenial, being introduced among us. We shall strive to fulfil that idea of the British Constitution which Burke has

beautifully worked out,—in virtue of which the whole is "at no one time either old or young," but the fresh growths necessarily bursting out from a vigorous life, are at once felt to be but parts of the past, and nothing is cast aside till its place is supplied by a successor, filling up the vacancy and the want which would otherwise have been occasioned by its destruction.

We have found, then, a general and abiding principle in Conservatism, and so far we have partially vindicated it against Mr. D'Israeli, and those who view it along with him. But in spite of this, like him, we denounce it as, by itself, inadequate. We have seen in it an exposition of the limits under which we ought at any given time to change, but none—we agree here with our author—of what it is we ought to conserve. And yet this is most needful; for, to be sufficient for all our political wants, our principle must be one which guides us, not merely as to our general wishes, but on each particular occasion. Now, here *Conservatism* utterly fails us. What we have laid down in its favour does, indeed, establish a fixed distinction between it and Radicalism, which longs for great and contemporaneous organic change, but none whatever between it and Whiggism; for there is here no difference in principle between Sir R. Peel and Lord J. Russell. They might differ as to the application, but they would both profess to have the aims which we have described as involved in the Conservative principle. To say that we are to go on the general rule of resisting innovation till we can hold out no longer, is to give us, as English experience has abundantly taught, the most dangerous of all rules. Clearly, it is as much a part of prudence to know when we ought to lead, as when we ought to stem, a movement; and the consequences of ignorance as to the one are not a whit less perilous than those of ignorance as to the other. Wherefore, Conservatism, though a positive and valuable principle in itself, does not supply us with a sufficient guide in any given case.

And this will become still more apparent if we consider that all legislation and very much administration is, in each several detail, unconservative. We say *all* legislation, because, with the unimportant exception of declaratory acts, which very often, however, constitute no exception, the very introduction of a new Law is, as far as it goes, a Revolution. Something was Law previously which has, in consequence, ceased to be Law now; cases would have gone differently, people's rights would have been other than they are before we legislated thus. Free-born Britons had a right three years ago, so long as they were solvent, to keep the amount of their incomes a profound secret,—a right which no man could invade. At present they have not this right. Was it a Conservative action which deprived them of it? Was it not introducing a change; and did not that change consist in an invasion of ancient privileges? So that we are brought now

to Mr. D'Israeli's point. It is good to be Conservative; but pray tell us what we are to conserve—seeing that each individual act of the State is in itself unconservative. To say, change, but see that you do it gradually—see that you do it so as at no one time to break up the National Continuity, is, as we have seen, to assert the Conservative principle; and it is a sound one, but yet by itself insufficient; for when you have carried its adoption by the public opinion and the Legislature of the country, and so insured that your changes shall be small at any given time, and carried out gradually, the question remains, small or great, gradual or sudden, Are they good or bad, wholesome or mischievous, right or wrong?

And the inadequacy of the Conservative principle will still further appear in this, that it is but one pole, so to speak, of a state. Its value consists not in stopping Movement which would be Death, but in regulating and adjusting it. We must make ourselves masters of what is good in Movement as well as what is good in Conservation. Statesmen must learn to lead the Movement not less than the Conservative party. In fact, whether they like to acknowledge it or not, there can be no such thing as a critical period, an epoch of change, without all parties partaking of its influence. Lords Grey and J. Russell doubtless made a change that may well be considered as amounting to a Revolution; let it be granted that it was a very perilous one. But has Sir Robert Peel done nothing of the sort? Where is the historical knowledge, where the Constitutional insight of the man who does not see that the Ecclesiastical Commission involves, and has produced, a greater Revolution than the Reform Bill—has tampered with more ancient institutions, and cut deeper into the roots of the English state? To say that you did it for Conservative purposes, that you destroyed a part to save the rest, is to say nothing. The Whigs said the very same at the time of the Reform Bill, and of every other change which they have introduced. In fact, as we have already said, there is nothing in what we have found to be the sole principle of Conservatism which in the least distinguishes its adherents from the present Whigs.

It comes to this, then, that Conservatism is insufficient for our guidance. It supplies us with one sound principle (a principle, by the way, which was more ably propounded and more powerfully enforced, and has been more widely disseminated by a Whig mind than by any one else); but we want much more; we want a more distinct creed, and more definite objects. Whiggism once had such, Radicalism and Chartism have now. But we suspect that Whiggism, except as an ancestral feeling in the minds of those families which profess it, is on its death-bed; and Radicalism or Chartism are impossible for Christians and Churchmen; impossible, we trust, for England. We say we suspect that Whiggism is on its death-bed, although at thi-

moment the country is governed on Whig principles. This latter fact many a staunch Conservative will privately admit, with a sigh after the good old times of Toryism—that golden age which he seldom throws further back than the administration of Mr. Pitt, but the real date of which is to us a profound secret. If ever a man's mind was essentially Whig, it was Mr. Pitt's. We remember reading, some years ago, a very amusing paper by a very unmistakeable hand, in the Edinburgh Review, wherein a striking contrast was drawn between the *mythical* and the *historical* Pitt—the Pitt whose memory is toasted at Pitt Clubs and by Orangemen, and the Pitt who commenced life as a Parliamentary Reformer, and quitted office because he could not carry Roman Catholic Emancipation. In fact, Whiggism has been the dominant principle in England, by whatever party name our rulers may have called themselves, for well-nigh two hundred years. The great check given to the monarchical principle in the seventeenth century developed the new strength of the now unfeudal aristocracy, and threw the power of the state into their hands; into no unintelligent or unprosperous hands, certainly. The fact that they had supplanted the old power of the monarch, and were induced, by their position, continually to watch and resist the remains of it, led naturally to their connecting their cause with that of liberty; and the events which facilitated their progress enabled them to do so still more. It was as being foes to the Church that they first became foes to the monarch; having risen into power and opulence on the plunder of her inheritance, and being, for a good while, in dread of having to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. Hence their original alliance with the Puritans, and subsequent patronage of Dissent. Other causes, in connexion with those on which we cannot enter, tended to shape the Whig creed and to mould the Whig mind; to make them head the movement of their time, and to render Toleration, Enlightenment, and Freedom their watchwords. But all the while, be it observed, that those watchwords were but stepping-stones in a movement which had for its aim, and which ultimately fixed and consolidated, the power of the aristocracy. We see much to admire in the state of affairs thus produced. It wrought some great and goodly things; so great and so goodly indeed as to fill the mind of a Burke with enthusiasm, and well nigh to satisfy his aspirations after political perfection. But its day has gone; it was reserved for its own children to give it the death-blow. There is something significant and instructive in the Reform Bill, having been the work of those who called themselves Whigs, and who were led to it as Whigs. In doing so surely they sounded the knell of their great party. A whole epoch was then wound up; many good things, doubtless, perished with it; it was a state of affairs which had

great merit so long as it was unquestioned, or questioned only by individuals; but when numbers of all ranks had once denounced it, and declared their determination to forswear, it became untenable. A legal fiction which is unnoticed, on which we proceed almost unconsciously, may do the conscience comparatively little harm; but when its falsity has been once proclaimed on house-tops and from high places, it becomes too late to appeal to the excellent way in which it works; you cannot maintain it without vice. The strange and well-cemented fabric, therefore, which our Whig forefathers constructed, has been removed, though the thoughts and sentiments which it created still remain in the minds of our public men, and though little else be as yet conspicuously heard in our senates. Yet those thoughts and sentiments, deprived of the facts which sustained them, must soon crumble away and disappear. What, then, is before us? By what stars are we to shape our course? That we must hope in a Future, rather than sigh over a Past, is we think sufficiently plain; but have we no principles whereby we can shape our conduct with a view to that Future, and by the following out of which, with God's blessing, its character may be determined?

We believe that we have such principles, and that they are to be found in the intrinsic constitution of our country, in the permanent elements of that constitution. This will seem an idle speculation to many who agree in numbering the British Constitution among the dead, though they differ as to the precise date of its decease; some asserting that England expired in 1828, others in 1829, and the *Rigby* school in 1832. But we believe it to be alive, if not well. We do not think it so easily killed as to be despatched even by a Reform Bill; that, indeed, was the *commencement de la fin* of a particular state of affairs, the admirers of which were apt to identify it with the British Constitution, and to conceive, moreover, by a singular principle of chronology, that it had lasted for a great many ages, and was venerable in its antiquity. But surely no person whose eye is in the habit of travelling any considerable way into the past, can recognise one particular *settlement* of the British constitution, and that but of yesterday, as the British constitution itself. No man who thinks of the English Church as founded, not by Cranmer, and still less by Tillotson, but by Theodore at latest, if not by Augustine; and no man who looks on the English throne as that whereon Edward I., and Richard I., aye, and Alfred, sate, can consent to contract his views into so narrow a compass as this. The fact that the Whig adjustment of the Constitution, which it was reserved for Whigs to disturb, never was received into the text-books of the Constitution, never was part of the preached and expounded theory of that Constitution, testifies to this.

It is singular how much thinkers are beginning to see in the Monarchy the link that connects the present with the past, and promises to connect the future with the present. Sir F. Palgrave, in his delightful "Merchant and Friar," lays down the principle, that England ever was a monarchy, and ever will be a monarchy; that the only liberty she has ever greatly cared for, or ever, for any length of time experienced, is that denoted by her favourite phrase, "the liberty of *the subject*." Coleridge predicted, in his *Table Talk*, that the Reason of Europe seemed tending to a pure Monarchy, as the best exponent and guardian of its Freedom. And our Foreign-relation party seem to find more prospect of their views being understood and felt by the recurrence of men's minds to Royal Prerogative and its ancient privileges and powers, than from any other one influence. Mr. D'Israeli, too, looks forward to a fresh development of the English monarchy, as both the most probable and the most desirable result of the Revolution which we are now undergoing, And probably Strafford, instead of Hampden, will become the heroic and patriotic name of appeal and of rallying to the intelligent youth of the rising generation.

Now, on all this we would say a few words in conclusion. In conversation, among *practical men*, among Liberals, among sober Conservatives, the whole notion of a revival of the English Monarchy will not in the meantime be met by argument, nor assailed by satire, so much as it will be screamed down with laughter. And yet we have just seen, that eminent minds are tending to it seemingly from very different quarters, of all recommendations, of all arguments entitling it to a patient hearing, the very strongest. And wherein, we ask, is it absurd? We agree with Sir F. Palgrave, that the sense and the love of a King and a Throne are indigenous in the English mind, and have shown themselves so in the times when the Sovereign's prerogative has been most obscured, and Loyalty has received least encouragement. How real must be that feature of the Constitution—how deep-rooted the sentiment of reverence towards it, which could survive the tampering of 1688, the draining-off towards the exiled Family of those who most clung to the one and cherished the other; the chill of the first two Hanoverian reigns, and then on the partial removal of these evil influences could reappear as they did in the time of King George the good, giving him so much of the power of an ancient English King, and making his people feel towards him, in spite of Whig Theories, and a Whig aristocracy, so much of the old enthusiastic loyalty. All this has survived the still greater trial inflicted by George the Fourth, who did indeed emperil the Throne on which he sat, and the nation with which he was entrusted, as much as man could do. It has stood the shock of 1832; and we believe that Royal Prerogative has seldom had more favourable prospects, or

been surrounded by more responsive feelings, than at this moment.

But we hear some one, whether Conservative, Whig, or Radical, it matters not; exclaiming, "Will England ever submit again to a real instead of a nominal monarchy—can the varying self-wills which Englishmen have so long gloried in exercising be made subject to one will?" Now, we submit, first, that in point of fact, the English Monarchy never has been the mere sham that some have supposed it to have become. The events of George the Third's reign abundantly show that it has not, as do those that have occurred since the accession of our present gracious Sovereign. Nor can we tell how much the inherent power of the Sovereign has been negatively shown in the somewhat heartless interval between them; how much of good was foregone because of that power not having been legitimately put forth. Next, we remark, that it is in the nature of mankind to be ruled at any given time by an individual. We fancy that we have thrown off such rule, because we have contrived to obscure the Sovereign by the Sovereign's Parliament. But a parliament cannot rule, cannot administer the affairs of a state. Does it, then, control those who do? Let us see; let recent events interpret this part of the question for us. At present an Administration is in power because a majority of the House of Commons has placed it there. But it is seldom that a majority, however great, can furnish two administrations between which to choose; and therefore, if dissatisfied with that which it has installed in power, it has no choice but to do that which every party is most loth to do, give up its party unity, or its party preponderance, or else submit to be governed by, instead of governing, the persons whom it has invested with authority. This is the state of affairs in which we find ourselves at present. A majority of the Legislature obeys the signals hung out by its own offspring, and we along with it are governed by the existing Cabinet. Let us turn then to that Cabinet. We apprehend that it is ordinarily, and certainly it is at present, just as difficult for a Cabinet to furnish two Premiers, as for a Parliamentary majority to furnish two Cabinets. And so we have come to this, that, during the present Parliament, we, obstinate, self-willed individual Englishmen though we be, are governed by one man, Sir Robert Peel. Not, of course, that he is in a situation to do whatever he fancies; the veriest autocrat cannot do that, no Plantagenet or Tudor could do it; but though subjected to all the restrictions and difficulties to which any ruler whatever must be subjected in such a country as England, he is *the one man that rules at all.*

Now what, during one Parliament, Sir Robert Peel can do, in spite of the intractable character of Englishmen, it is surely conceivable that a Sovereign may succeed in doing during his or her

life-time, uniting, as such may do, to all the force of talent and character which is no more denied to Sovereigns than to subjects, whatever is inherently sacred and imposing in the high office. Doubtless the carrying this out will involve a change; but a change, be it observed, which requires no organic revolution. The Sovereign has only to be that which the Constitution already says that he is. True, a Parliamentary majority has been for some time the immediate source of power; but we have made sad havoc of this principle already. Fourteen years ago, a defeat on a vital point in the House of Lords was as fatal to a Ministry as one in the Commons; since then we have seen men in power for years in spite of a continued resistance from the vast majority of the former House. May not a like tacit change subvert the existing rule which demands a majority of the House of Commons, founded as that rule is, on no principle of the Constitution, *pace* Sir Robert Peel, who displaced his predecessors by asserting the contrary? It is true that the House of Commons holds the strings of the public purse, and so can refuse the supplies; but this is notoriously an extreme measure, on which few would wish to venture; and people always forget that moral impossibility and moral difficulty are every whit as strong as physical impossibility or physical difficulty. And besides, what is to influence the votes of the House of Commons—what the votes of those who elect to that House? Something or other most assuredly, nor need that something be degrading or corrupting. Obviously, in proportion as we remove such influences, as we have lately been professing to do, the sentiment of loyalty, of reverence towards, and love of, a great and wise and good Sovereign, will have, to say the least, as clear a stage and as fair a chance as any other.

This, therefore, may be one, at first most unlooked-for, result of the Reform Bill, that, by an approach towards relegating each separate power to its native region, we may have been restoring to each its due prerogatives and functions. And this consideration may do away the dread which the thought of a return to monarchical ideas will inspire in some minds, that Civil Freedom may be thereby endangered. We fear nothing of the sort. We are sure that in that restoration of the English Throne to its due place and preponderance, of which we cannot but think that we see symptoms, there will be involved a restoration of the same to all the orders which have lost such; and that, by the same auspicious event, the Poor and the Church, both of whom have suffered so deeply from the decaying and disappearing state of affairs, will be recognised and respected as they have not been for many generations. Be it remembered that the true idea of British Monarchy, that which the Plantagenets and Tudors to a great extent realized, and for which Stafford struggled unto the death, is as far as possible from that

of an Imperial despot or an Oriental Sultan; that, according to this idea, the King is to assert and exercise his power in and through the other elements of the Constitution—in and through the Laws—in and through Parliaments—and, hereafter, also, must he do so in and through that new and most mighty element, the Press—in and through that Public opinion which the Press so greatly stimulates, and which, like the air around him, is the invisible but beneficent preserver of the very humblest man to whom it has penetrated.

To return to *Young England*, and to those of whom we have already said we believe *Young England* to be but a sample; if we be right in imagining that they are thus looking to the Constitution in its essential elements, and not merely its accidental and transitory adjustments; if they be meaning to do their duty in the light of such convictions like men, if they really are purposing to fear God and honour the Sovereign, and not to "despise the cry of the poor," we cannot but hope well of them. Just in proportion as they sink to the level of a mere Parliamentary party will they become weak, weaker than all other parties in proportion as their creed is at present less tangible and more remote. Just in proportion as they cultivate a spirit of coxcombry and paradox will they become weak; because coxcombry and paradox are disgusting in all but the very young, and most disgusting when the subjects on which they are displayed are sacred ones. Just in proportion, too, as they show themselves mere men of fashion, tolerating the unchristian practices which have received the sanction of a world that is not subdued unto the Father's will, such as duelling and the like, will they become weak; for little as it really apprehends higher things, the world has a keen eye for inconsistency in those who profess a regard for them. But if, having felt that party has been the bane of England, they will resist the temptation to make themselves a party; if from a sense of the grandeur of those principles to which they have given in their adherence, they will feel bound to be sober and simple and earnest; if from a sense that those principles mean nothing unless they give their votary power to overcome the world, they will set their faces against that world's ungodly maxims and heathenish code,—if, eschewing everything that may mar their profession and vitiate their practice as Christian men, they will go on in firm Faith that God will bless their efforts in His cause, that Blessing will, we cannot doubt, accompany them; and their country will owe them a debt of gratitude equal to any she has incurred to Warrior, or Patriot, or Statesman, for many generations.

1. *Two Exercises for the Degree of B.D., read in the Divinity School, Oxford, April* 18 *and* 19, 1844. *By* Richard Gell Macmullen, M.A., *Fellow of Corpus Christi College.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: J. Burns. 1844. Pp. 64.
2. *An Appeal to the Statutes.* Oxford: Baxter. 1844.
3. *Copies of the Correspondence in the case of the Regius Professor of Divinity and Mr. Macmullen.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: J. Burns. 1844.

In settling a question of injury, the only debateable point is, of course, as to the responsibility of the offending party. And it is an axiom in ethics, that this can be established only by proving ignorance or malice. No pleasant dilemma this; but we never heard of a *tertium quid* in morals. Now we propose—and it is with unaffected pain—to show how this distinction applies to the present state of the University of Oxford.

Anticipatory expressions of sorrow go for little; we get but slight sympathy, when we proclaim what self-inflicted miseries we are about to undergo; and a voluntary immolation meets with but few tears. True as this is to a proverb, we must beg our present professions to be construed as something more than a vague conventionalism: it is from no trick of the sophists' trade that we parade ordinary sentimentalities; if we say little or much, it must not be taken for an adequate expression of what we sincerely feel. But we do think that an answer is required to certain sarcasms, launched—with what feelings we will not inquire—against the course which a majority, unparalleled, as to numbers and rank, in the annals of the University, has felt itself, on a recent occasion, compelled to pursue. That the preachers of obedience should practise faction; that the upholders of authority should contemn and oppose constituted government; that the advocates of theoretical submission should inculcate it in every case but their own; this is the triumphant *reductio ad absurdum* which is to prove us at once inconsistent and malignant,—which is to fix upon us the contradictory attributes of ruffianism and hypocrisy, and which is to annihilate a whole school of divines, because some who are said to belong to it are to be proved as personally vindictive as they are discovered to be morally irresolute. The chimeras dire of romance, we are told, are now more than realized in our own persons. The familiar theological centaur, "half Jesuit, half Orangeman," at once subtle and noisy, stalks High-street some twenty score strong: Hildebrand and Tartuffe, the Inquisition and the Conventicle, contribute their irreconcileable attributes; and new compounds must be devised, as new affinities are discovered, for relegating, to a strange classification, the paradoxical incongruities which, like the Flora of the Orchideæ, or the Fauna of Australia, create surprise rather than delight, by their grotesque combinations and impalpable varieties, defying at once type and definition, induction and comparison. Every image

of contradiction is exhausted—every τόπος of inconsequency is appealed to,—every common-place of contrast is worn threadbare. *Quis tulerit Gracchos*, &c.; the "steep and thorny way which we show," "the primrose path" which we tread, are rhetorically and pathetically opposed; and never was so complete a show-up of the reckless folly—to say no worse—of our professions, as proved by our deeds. "He recks not his own read" is fastened on our brows by the turbulent opposition displayed towards "the Governors" of the university by the Masters of Arts. So runs the objection to our recent conduct in convocation.

And we own that there is much in this. It is a startling thing to find ourselves, from whatever cause, opposed to legitimate authorities. No more threatening sign than to find confidence so far destroyed, as that we are compelled to look with suspicion where we would gladly tender love and affectionate submission; it is, indeed, an inauspicious omen for State or Church, or for any government to forfeit the respect of the governed. We frankly acknowledge the majesty, the divinity of Law. Authority does stand, to us, as in God's own place. Government, in whatever hands, and even however exercised, has awful sanctions: apart from its conduct, it possesses inherent sanctity. It were safer rather to endure the sneer of maintaining the divine right of a parish constable, than to derogate from the innate holiness of subordination and rule. And if this be so in the abstract, how much is such reverence for station increased, in the case of a University! Here, if anywhere, in the Church's chosen home, might we expect filial submission, on the one hand,—on the other, fatherly love; here might we anticipate the absence of strife and anger and evil tempers; but where these are at work—and such confessedly is the case at Oxford—we are bound, for the Church's sake, to show that a state of things, as disastrous as humiliating, entails the very heaviest censure upon the party in fault; and also to point out where the fault lies.

We frankly admit, therefore, with whatever humiliation, that the University of Oxford presents, at the present moment, a spectacle to the Christian world, at which even a heathen would blush. School—Academy—the Seat of the Muses—the Walk—the Grove—the Porch—why, the very simplest notion which such names recall, even as connected with philosophy, apart from religion, is surely that of peace and order. And if to these, the merely literary characteristics of college life—we add all those inexpressibly sweet and endearing associations which have hallowed the University system, in its social and domestic phase: the *common*-hall—the *common*-prayers—the brotherhood—the "Society"—the "House"—the "Fellowship"—(holy names these!)—the mutual surrender of tastes and selfishnesses—the many bands, unfelt elsewhere, which serve to knit together by daily discipline, the many peculiar influences which must blend in one, varying ages, ranks, accomplishments, pursuits, and ministries;—these, as they are the result, so do they also form the type, of the

household of God. A family is the very image which best sets forth University life. It is something nearer and dearer, more of the inner man, than a State, or Society, or Convention. And if the conduct of a single household is set forth in Scripture, as the test of fitness for apostolic rule, surely it is not too much to expect that the government and order of a Christian University should be as the expansion of a holy family, should serve to all men as the very model of imitation,—in some, and that no fanciful sense, should visibly display the epitome of the Church, the realization of the communion of saints, the impersonation to all its members of that Divine law in which are found "men of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring HER as the mother of their peace and joy."*

We have pitched a high note; but the world does require much of such places as Oxford; and the Church requires much. And there must be great faults somewhere, into which it behoves us to inquire. Oxford strife is now all but a bye-word; it is not so much that Oxford reflects, or, it may be, concentrates, the *odium theologicum* of a divided Church; she has peculiar and private bitternesses of her own: she has domestic and intestine seditions. On every possible question which can arise, on matters apparently the most indifferent, some fatality seems to attend her. Honey turned to poison in the acrid herbs of Sardinia; but corn and meal may lose their proper nature of food, if they ever come before an Oxford convocation. We dread the appointment of a Clerk of the Market. Even in the marshal and policemen, some "ism" may become suspected, and strife may arise. And it comes to this, that for all this rancour responsibility is *not* divided. We cannot, with quiet Sir Roger, say, that "much may be said on both sides:" it is not so. One of the two parties must be quite right, and the other quite wrong. We cannot consent to divide the scandal. *Either* petulance and arrogant insubordination, which would disgrace a school-boy of the fifth form, must be charged on the one party, *or* upon the other must be fastened the charge of ignorance of their high duty and responsibility, and a culpable confusion between right and wrong, which is itself criminal. We see no middle course: it is not a mere infirmity of temper; it is not a mistaken view of what is expedient and politic. Impatience of control, on the one hand, overweening claims to it on the other, are not enough of themselves, bad as such excuses would be in such a quarter, to account for our present troubles in the University. Such might be, as they have often been, the all but natural encroachments and heavings of the flux and reflux of rule and ruled. These jealousies, however we might regret, we might count upon; but agencies more subtle and dangerous than these are at work. It is a question of morals, not of local and temporary soreness and exasperation. There is great sin somewhere, to have produced a strife so unnatural as we are called upon to witness.

* Hooker.

There is offence, and woe to those by whom the offence cometh! It is on this ground that we would have the question treated with all gravity: it is no light thing that the character of the whole University of Oxford is thus compromised; the blame, therefore, must be fixed upon those who deserve it; and if we desired to approach the subject as partisans, the device would be rather too transparent on our part.

First, then, be the constitution of the Convocation borne in mind. All legislation emanates from the Upper House. The Hebdomadal Board originates every measure, whether of new enactment, or of change in or repeal of the existing statutes. Upon its members therefore rests the sole and undivided responsibility of proposing such measures as, from the mere fact of their enunciation, involve a principle. Apart, then, from the truth or necessity or expediency of the proposition, whatever it may be, in one body alone is vested the right of mooting any subject. The Masters of Arts can do literally nothing: their hands are tied; to a man they may be unanimously convinced of the propriety of this or that measure; but in no possible capacity can they, one or all, bring it forward. And if they are thus by the constitution shut out from a privilege, they are at the same time relieved from a responsibility. Anyhow, *they* cannot be charged with agitating for agitation's sake. All that they can do, whatever they may wish to do, is simply to say Yes or No to the proposition of their superiors. If, then, scandal arises from the naked fact of originating any measure, it can attach but in one quarter—that of the parties bringing it forward; viz. the Hebdomadal Board. And it is in this light that we must view the recent conduct of the Heads of Houses. We confine ourselves to the single point of the propriety of raising the question in any shape. On other subjects, we refer to the unanswerable "Appeal to the Statutes," which we have reprinted elsewhere. We are not called upon to discuss the principles of the late theological statute; we say nothing now of the surrender of the ancient form of exercises in the Faculty of Divinity, which it sought to legitimatize; we pass over the trick by which it sought to change an examination, submitted to as voluntary, into a compulsory doctrinal test; this subject is alluded to in a previous paper of the present Number; we waive the questions as to the propriety of subjecting half the fellowships in Oxford to the theological *dicta* of certain nominees of the State, now no longer of the Church; we will not pause upon the side-wind which invested, with new and extraordinary powers, one burthened with the severest and most solemn censure which the University could inflict: all these matters we may pass over. We are concerned, we say, only with the general question of proposing the new statute at all. And it comes to this: either the Hebdomadal Board proposed it fairly, believing it to be a good and useful measure, and with an honest and honourable wish and hope that it should be carried;—or the contrary, *i.e.* they knew it to be a contemptible and revolutionary enactment; but, in obedience to some external and

twenty-one; but we take purposely the lowest ground; and, as we said before, we will assume its integrals to have been the barest majority of the twenty-six. The majority of twenty-six is just fourteen. Fourteen from twenty-one leave seven. Seven independent members of convocation against 329; for here again we deduct from the majority in convocation the minority of twelve against the statute in the Hebdomadal Board. Exactly forty-seven to one of the general academical body against the statute! And here we will meet an objection which may possibly be raised against our calculation, that the Heads of Houses who voted in favour of the statute at the Hebdomadal meeting did not vote for it in convocation. What? did the "grave and serious discussion," the "inquiry and consultation, for the good government, credit, and advantage of the University" come to this? Has the ballot and secret voting such fautors among our "governors," that they will undergo the grave responsibility of possibly disturbing the peace of the whole Church by hazarding the private patronage of a measure which they dared not defend by their presence and votes in public? What? refuse the solemn sanction of their open adherence to a statute upon which they spent months of "grave and serious" deliberation in Cimmerian conclave? Will the Hebdomadal Board avow this line of defence? Because upon no authority less than their own declaration will we believe that any excuse, short of life or death, could have detained the *majority* of the Delegates' Room from their place in the *minority* of the convocation of 2d May.

It comes, then, to this, upon the most favourable assumption, most favourable, that is, for the dignity and sincerity of the members of the Hebdomadal Board, that they proposed in congregation, and presented to convocation, a certain statute—intrinsically good, bad, or indifferent, is utterly immaterial—in their estimate of which SEVEN Masters of Arts agreed with them. Of course, if the majority of the Hebdomadal Board were right in their estimate of the statute, never was such heroism. Of course they must have been at some little pains to ascertain, even among the resident Masters of Arts, how far public opinion went with them. If, save in a single far-seeing College, they met with averted looks in every quarter,—if the heavens were hung with black from Addison's Walk to Friar Bacon's Tower,—if ominous silence prevailed from Worcester to Magdalene,—then the world never witnessed such exalted self-devotion as that of the Heads of Houses. Curtius immolated himself, *pro salute rei-publicæ*, in the gulf which he found yawning; but the Hebdomadal Board spontaneously dug their living grave in the midst of the forum of the Convocation house. The one Roman devotee but answered the solemn appeal of the infernal gods: Oxford heroism created at once the demand and the supply of the patriotic victims.

But in this cold world these exalted sacrifices meet with but inadequate applause: we are too philosophical for Sutteeism; such sacred temerity receives in these days an inglorious reward. Either the Oxford

Curtii are the most self-denying of men, the most rigid upholders of right against might since the days of Athanasius, or—so the vulgar word it—the weakest of legislators. Between the forlorn hope of the Church and the most blinded obstinacy there is no middle term.

> "Cuncta terrarum subacta
> Præter atrocem animum Catonis."

This is, indeed, a noble picture. The good man struggling against the adverse waves and storms of prejudice and ignorance is a character which we so rarely see in real life, that poetry and romance have usually had the grand ideal to themselves. Oxford, it may be, has realized the beautiful dream. If so, the world, sooner or later, will tender its sympathies. Such disinterested virtue must meet its reward: it may be in the consoling guise of stalls and mitres; or, if not this, in the more ennobling form of the praise and honours of all good men. And then words cannot be too strong with which to reprobate the blinded folly of the tyrannical and besotted majority. By them authority, and peace, and pocket were alike sacrificed to the paltry satisfaction of a victory which after all has covered them with disgrace and ignominy.

For we are loth to take the other horn of this cruel dilemma; we cannot fasten upon the Hebdomadal Board the alternative of disregarding their solemn commission. It may not be that the Heads of Houses acted from sheer folly and incapacity, or that from lack of all discussion and consultation either among themselves or with the subordinate members of their several societies, they took upon themselves the onerous charge of proposing a statute which they were not at the pains even to understand. Who shall say that a majority of such a body is intellectually incapable of calculating the results of a move, remarkable only for its recklessness and folly, and which really was so radically bad and vicious, that 341 of the most highly-educated and highly-principled men in England concurred in indignantly rejecting it?

And yet we cannot see, upon the supposition that the Hebdomadal Board were sincere in their patronage of the late statute,—and any other hypothesis is highly dishonouring to them,—how they can escape the choice between the reputation of inflexible virtue, on the one hand, or blindness all but judicial, on the other.

For the sake of completing the argument, we must, with whatever reluctance, put the other case; viz. that the Heads of Houses, when they set forth the theological statute, never meant it to be carried.

This is, we own, not an over creditable theory. But it recommends itself in one way, as serving to explain what is otherwise unaccountable. The scanty number of the minority took every one by surprise: it was not that we were agreeably disappointed in the amount of the true-hearted majority; but where were the friends of the statute? The whole thing wears a very suspicious look: there is something untold somewhere. 341 members of convocation formed the majority on

the 2d of May last; in June 1842 the non-placets on the Hampden question were 334. No great difference here; this was about what was calculated upon by those, if such there be, who took the trouble to hazard a conjecture upon the probable number of non-placets. Certainly no very extraordinary measures were adopted to defeat the statute: no committees were formed: no circulars, that we ever heard of, were issued from any quarter: even the copious spring of Oxford pamphleteering flowed but sluggishly on the occasion: the

"Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face,"

in the galling missiles which sometimes turn Mr. Baxter's press into something like a pyrotechnic establishment, scarcely scintillated: the Dodonæan leaves fell thin and rare: the colleges did nothing in the way of official musters; the residents, as is their wont, talked sententiously and enigmatically, but very costively, and took the usual credit of thinking the more. Of the public remonstrances against the statute, vehemence was not the characteristic: the *Times* thundered once; the *Morning Post*, we believe, inserted some communications on the subject; the *English Churchman* alone directed a steady fire upon the proposed enactments. Of the more ambitious journals, our pages stood alone—we were literally single. A Quarterly, conducted by one of the best-known names in Oxford, written in Oxford, and avowedly established for the sake of showing what true Anglicanism is, though published at the most critical period of the discussion, took no side. On a subject of intense interest, where guidance was looked for by some, and an opinion demanded by all, it was significant that none was hazarded. If prudence prescribed this course, at least it cannot be said that the majority was driven up by literary excitement. If it was right in the 341 to veto the theological statute, it surely was a subject of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the successor of the *British Critic*. In other quarters adherence to the statute was less disguised, and—shall we say it?—more manly. The *British Magazine* (ubi lapsus? quid feci?) openly told its readers,—we use the term as an ordinary conventionalism,—in its April number, p. 458—

"The measure in question is one *which promises many blessings to the Church*, and will create no inconvenience to any candidate who has a sufficient motive to take his B.D. degree, unless, knowing he has to deal with a professor of suspected orthodoxy, he proposes some thesis, which will bring on a collision."

Elsewhere, either undisguised approval, or the absence of objections prevailed universally. Nobody, therefore, on May morning could guess which way the matter would go: to be sure on that eventful day there were unexpected greetings of friends long separated: it was pleasant to find a kindred spirit animating those who were known to each other under far different auspices: a decade of years had ripened the ardent scholar or the light-hearted debater into the earnest priest; and those who had left each other, they knew not what as Bachelors, now found themselves one, in the sacred fellowsh-

of the one Faith and the one Truth. There was a comforting unanimity of purpose in the non-residents: they came with that cheerful gravity which augured well. They came early, and they came from far: something had done its work: young and old, the curate and the dean, the steady old Bampton lecturer, the examiners and proctors of thirty years ago, and the ardent prizemen who had just escaped non-regency, the town rector wearied from the feverish toil of cities, and the unexcitable village parson from his quiet pastures, the divine and the lawyer all bowed to the same influence—the Bar and the Church, the Courts and the Cathedral, these were alike for one day deserted: distance, time, expense, and for once, other duties, were foregone: it must have been a strange delusion which seized at once upon so many hearts; could it have been mere fatuity which united all, at such sacrifices, in so determined an opposition? If the 341 had been all young men, or all old men, all high men or all dry men, all hot or all cold, or all lukewarm, or if they could have been found to unite in so serried a phalanx for any other conceivable object: if they were known to constitute a school or a party, the thing might have been got over: but it could not be for nothing that they met in reprobation of this devoted measure. Either the statute was the most studied insult upon the whole academical body—and so their votes declared—or some delusion the most unaccountable since the days of Panic Terrors, and Popular Insanities startled the world from its propriety. The concealed magic of the statute was like that of the fiddle in the fairy tale, which "at the first note set judge, clerk, jailors, hangmen, and all the market people, capering to the same tune." It struck some note which found an echo in the most opposite quarters: it shot through the length and breadth of the land like a bale-fire:

"From Eddystone to Berwick bounds, from Lynn to Milford bay,
That time of slumber was as bright and busy as the day;
For swift to east and swift to west the warning radiance spread,
High on St. Michael's Mount it shone—it shone on Beachy Head.
The fisher left his ship to rock on Tamar's glittering waves,—
The rugged miners poured to war from Mendip's sunless caves;
O'er Longleat's towers, o'er Cranbourne's oaks the fiery herald flew;
He roused the shepherds of Stonehenge, the rangers of Beaulieu.
* * * * * *
Till Skiddaw saw the fire that burned on Gaunt's embattled pile,
And the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle."

Still all this was not conclusive; and it is a remarkable fact—remarkable in more points than one,—that, up to midday on 2d May, nobody seemed to know which way the matter would go after all. On the previous day (May 1st) the British Magazine (p. 578) had spoken of the statute as one "which appeared to give a fair prospect of preventing collisions in the future, and which nothing but the love of conflict in one or both parties, overbalancing every feeling of ·ency, could be likely to turn into an instrument either of agita- ! or oppression," referring to Mr. Macmullen and Dr. Hampden.

With such sentiments in so *safe* a quarter was it not very reasonable in the non-placets to anticipate either victory or defeat? For ourselves we thought the issue very doubtful. We could not have believed that the Heads of Houses, and our contemporary the organ of similar bodies, would have spoken so complacently of a measure which a single score of D.D.s., D.C.L.s., M.A.s alone could be found to approve by their votes. The British Magazine and the 21 think it a measure which "promises *many blessings to the Church*," the 341 reject it with contempt as significant as decisive. *Utrum horum*, &c.

But somehow all this must be accounted for: a face must be put upon it: the thing began to look awkward: few and stern words passed between those who composed the majority, but they were all of one ominous import; and the sentiment which, we will undertake to say, influenced nine out of ten of the non-placets of May 2d,—and which they only who shut their ears could avoid,—was this: "The Heads of Houses have been for years tampering with Dr. Hampden and his Rationalism; they have been doing their best to establish unlawful tests in doctrine; they are coquetting with state intrigues; one of their number, the Vice-Chancellor, has thought proper to insult us in the most marked way for venturing to express our opinion on *his* persecution of Dr. Pusey; this is the very first occasion we have had of showing the Hebdomadal Board what confidence we have in them; we have come here to repudiate, as distinctly as we may, the doings of the last two years, as far as the Heads of Houses are concerned. —The Macmullen case; the six doctors; the professorial board; Mr. Everett's degree; the Bampton Lecture appointment. The day of retribution for all these unforgotten and unforgiven things has arrived; this miserable statute is at the worst but mischievous nonsense; but, by rejecting it, we mean to place the executive under a censure which, if they mistake, it shall be no fault of ours; it is for this that we have travelled two hundred miles; it is for this that we have sacrificed time and peace and other calls."

The force of which must be blunted at any desperate remedy: it would not tell well in Downing-street that the mitre-seekers had contrived to alienate the love of their university so completely, and yet had done their patrons' cause so little substantial good. No character so unpopular, even with his employers, as an unsuccessful oppressor. If the Heads of Houses had tried the cold-water system, the silent system, the solitary confinement plan, the gruel and skilly diet for the Church, with a wholesome exhibition, now and then, when they dared, of a little more decided *peine forte et dure*, just when the popular howl was up against an individual, and *all this to no purpose*, then of course the world,—that is, the world of patronage,—would see in them the very unenviable character of malice and weakness combined, that of a man who has done his worst to be mischievous and has failed: a position from which, as it meets small sympathy from friend or foe, the Hebdomadal Board must be extricated by any shift. And a singular device was adopted:

when the thing was, as they say, "past praying for," a very strange rumour was set afloat; one or two, whose line was tolerably well known, were observed—

"spargere voces
Per vulgum ambiguas, et quærere conscius arma,"

to express surprise at the unwonted fulness of the Convocation House—to wonder what possibly could have brought Mr. A. from Durham, and Mr. B. from Cornwall—to hint that all this trouble was thrown away—that *everybody* was opposed to the statute—that Dr. Hampden disliked it—nay, it was said that he meant to vote against it, &c. &c., and therefore that a majority, *composed of such materials*, was not quotable either way. And this the *Oxford Herald* put into print next day; and the *Standard* and *Record* copied it. Of course this would have been just the conclusion which would, at first sight, seem to save the credit of everybody, except of the majority: it would be balm to the bruised Heads, by taking off the force of the censure; it would be a compliment to the fairness and impartiality of Dr. Hampden, and it would set all straight at the Home Office. But these extempore moves at chess argue more brilliance than depth; for the moment such a manœuvre might, like a smart charge of lancers, throw up a good deal of dust, but it left the flank terribly exposed. Into what a position did it fling the Hebdomadal Board! Well might they say to Dr. Hampden, "Save me from my friends;" for how did the matter now stand for the legislators? That they had contrived, with an ingenious perversity, which came very near to genius, to originate a measure, and to pass it by a majority of their own Board, and to pronounce it to be a "blessing to the Church," and to offer it to the acceptance of Convocation, which had the singular ill fortune, as Dr. Hampden thought proper to put it, of uniting against it the suffrages of every man of every shade and school in Oxford, which combined against it the Professor of Hebrew and the Professor of Divinity, and which for once, *as was said*, found Mr. Newman and his bitterest opponents side by side. This certainly was an odd proof of Hebdomadal capacity; however, it might disarm the severity of the protest as against Dr. Hampden. But, to do the Heads of Houses justice, there was not a word of truth in this, as far as the alleged composition of the 341 goes. Dr. Hampden and Dr. Hampden's friends did *not* vote against the statute: they might have remained neutral, as many others did; but we repeat it, there were not six persons in the majority who were favourable to Dr. Hampden,—not one who was favourable to the Heads. So let the two parties settle it between themselves as they best may. The non-placets were unanimous, *both* against Dr. Hampden by implication, and against the Hebdomadal Board avowedly. The Heads of Houses had not, in the new statute, been guilty of the miracle of evil genius which could array against itself such discordant elements; but only, *if they were in earnest at all*, they had produced a measure hich was, and which was felt to be, a boon to latitudinarianism; d THEREFORE was rejected.

But hitherto we have only looked at the Hebdomadal Board as sincere. We have tried to make them out incapable of legislation: we have sought to show them utterly unfit for their office of originating measures: we have seen that, in whatever way it is put, they proposed a statute so ludicrously bad, that nobody would stand sponsor to it. But this is an intellectual fault, not a moral one; a mistake, not a sin, whichever a Talleyrand might think the worse. Hitherto we have been content to admit that the Heads meant well, however weak and unlucky their attempts. But there is another view of the matter, which, as we did not invent it, we are only called upon to examine. It is tolerably rife, and it does involve very serious considerations: and it looks very plausible we must admit.

It is said, and such as have mixed much in Oxford society must have heard it stated with sufficient confidence, that the Vice-Chancellor is a High Churchman, *i. e.* after a fashion familiar to such officials; that the Heads of Houses have *really* no sympathy with Dr. Hampden's theology, or indeed with anybody else's theology; that they, as far as they are themselves concerned, have no wish whatever to commit themselves to the Evangelicals, or to Dr. Hampden, or to Dr. Pusey, or to the King of Prussia, or to the Pope; that whether a statute is rejected or not matters very little to them, only that since something in the way of legislation is expected from them in certain quarters, *therefore* they originate measures, such as the late Theological Statute, which they neither expected nor *wished* to see carried. In other words, *it is said* that the Military Chancellor and the Premier, with the wholesome dread of Lord Radnor, and Mr. Christie, and Mr. Joseph Hume before their eyes, have, as friends, recommended the Heads just to pretend to be alive;

> "To assume a virtue though they have it not;"

to patch and tinker away, and make a noise, and look like business, and then all the blame of failure will fall upon the impenetrable and impracticable M.A.'s, while the D.D.'s are to reap the golden honours of their simulated zeal in behalf of expediency and the march of mind and university reform, and free trade in creeds and degrees, and *Pinakotheks** and Professors of Exegetic and Pastoral Theology. Hence new statutes just to talk about; hence in the Hebdomadal Board avowed reforms, and at the same time secret rejoicings at their defeat; *i. e.* open professions one way, and hidden sympathies another.

If this be the key, and it does explain many inconsistencies, and fits into many of the perplexities, of the present state of things, and

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* We have not left ourselves space to expose this extraordinary scheme of the appointment of Teachers in the modern languages: it is more than enough to say that the plan is a faint reflex of a Mechanic's Institute of the most vulgar description: and one of the rules for the guidance of an *University School*, is taken word for word from your Brummagem Literary and Scientific φροντιστήρια, "Discussions on Political and Religious subjects strictly excluded!" And this in Oxford.

this in a way which no other explanation can do, for it relieves the Hebdomadal Board from the imputation of being the very weakest and incapable body in England, although, at the same time, it attaches to them the imputation of a quality very different from folly, we have no care to pursue the subject further. It is just simply a question of morals, too distressing to talk about, so we leave it; only to get at an approximation to the real standing of Oxford and its Governors, we must illustrate our theories by testing them in the way of facts; and for this matter the case of Mr. Macmullen is too important to be passed over.

We are not desirous to re-write the Macmullen case: the siege of Syracuse is not more wearisome: and were it not that our pages ought to contain a report of this *Cause Célèbre*, we should have contented ourselves to refer to a very clear sketch of the matter contained in the *English Churchman*, No 71, which we have however subjoined. Indeed, our present business is neither with the Regius Professor, nor with Mr. Macmullen, nor with the Divinity Statute as such, but only with the "Governors" of Oxford: with the executive, not with their politics: as the Hebdomadal Board figured with such credit as we have seen in the one dispute, so we must see how the individual who calls himself "resident governor of the University," (Dr. Wynter's Letter to Mr. Badeley) has shown himself worthy of his office, which *is* a very responsible one, and of the function which he has thought proper to claim. And here let us disclaim any intention of being disrespectful to Dr. Wynter: his friends tell us that he is a "most gentlemanly man;" admitted: that he is a High Churchman; for aught we know he may be: though his extremely uncivil reply to an address on Dr. Pusey's suspension, is a slight drawback from the one, and his appointments of select Preachers constitute a very considerable abatement from the other, of the only two qualifications which are said preeminently to rank him above criticism. High Churchmanship is a very indefinite characteristic: its ample folds embrace the Margaret Professor, we believe: and Dr. Hampden himself we have heard called a High Churchman; and so he is, of *a* sort: nay, we do not conceive that the Standing Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge claim to be other than High Churchmen: and yet this is hardly the cast of divinity, though maintained in all these distinguished quarters, which the Church of England has learned to reckon of the highest. But be the President of St. John's high Church or low Church, *a* Church or no Church, as the rhyme has it, we are not concerned with this; nor with the amenity of his smile—

"——————— sævior illo
Pompeius tenui jugulos aperire susurro,"

nor with the suavity of his bow, nor with the music of his voice, but very much, indeed, with his actions as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Dr. Wynter is, we are assured, a most amiable man: but all these are private virtues—we have to do with his public conduct, and with this alone.

"About this time two years ago, one of the Fellows of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, informed the Queen's Professor of Divinity there of his intention to dispute in order to proceed B.D. It seems the candidate for admission into the theological faculty was not aware that persons in his circumstances sent in their own questions to the Professor, who always allowed them. In this instance, the Professor was requested to give the questions himself. An opportunity like this was not to be thrown away, and the Professor's zeal outran his logic: the following sentences being put forth by him as propositions which the candidate was to defend in the schools.

"*The Church of England does not teach, nor can it be proved from Scripture, that any change takes place in the Elements at Consecration in the Lord's Supper.*

"*It is a mode of expression calculated to give erroneous views of Divine Revelation to speak of Scripture and Catholic Tradition as joint authorities in the matter of Christian doctrine.*

"Mr. Macmullen declined them, and there ensued a correspondence* more curious than creditable to those persons who are called the authorities of the University. Dr. Hampden, in the course of the long vacation, wrote to Mr. Macmullen to say, that he, the Professor, did not prescribe the line of argument. This was, of course, an after-thought, for Mr. Macmullen was Respondent, and as such bound to maintain his challenge against all comers in this scholastic tournament. Mr. Macmullen offered to proceed to his degree according to the Statutes, which, by-the-bye, nobody has done for nearly a quarter of a century: this was denied him; and, indeed, perhaps it is no longer possible. He then offered to dispute in Latin, but upon a different question; and two opponents were found, according to one part of the Academic law. He gave the statutable notice in the statutable places; but the Vice-Chancellor refused his permission to the disputants to proceed otherwise than in the presence of the Queen's Professor. This individual, of course, declined to attend. Mr. Macmullen then tried the question in the Chancellor's Court. The learned Assessor, since made Professor of Common Law by unanimous vote of Convocation, decided in his favour; and the Delegates of Appeals, not more learned than the Assessor, reversed the sentence, but without giving a single reason. One of them has since, in private, given it as his opinion, that the action ought to have been brought against the Vice-Chancellor, for prohibiting the disputation, which would in that case have been conducted in the presence of any Doctor in Divinity. Mr. Macmullen, upon this, having also to pay his adversary's costs, took the sentences given him by the Professor, and appeared in the School of Divinity on the 18th and 19th of April, Dr. Hampden acting as moderator. Mr. Macmullen, instead of defending the Professor's notions, opposed them; thereby showing, that if the Queen's Professor could choose the subjects of disputation, the candidate for the degree might take what side himself might choose. At the close of the first day's reading, Dr. Hampden uttered some words, the last of which are supposed to have been, *non sufficit pro formâ;* what their meaning is he has not explained, and as they were never heard there before, there is no tradition in the University to throw light upon the matter. Some people, shrewder than their neighbours, have ventured upon an explanation, which is this: that Dr. Hampden meant by them to disqualify Mr. Macmullen for his degree.

This view is, perhaps, the true one; however, the President and Fellows of Corpus do not admit it, and they have granted to Mr. Macmullen their grace of the college to proceed. On Thursday last, May 2, he appeared before the proctors, and subscribed the Articles. The necessary dispensations were granted him by Congregation, to qualify him to supplicate for his degree in the usual manner. The Dean of Corpus read the supplication, and the proctors collected the votes, beginning with the Vice-Chancellor, and ending with the masters,—they returned to their seats, and sat down in silence: which is the mode of

* Since published.

showing that the particular grace sought for had been refused by some one of those present. Who the dissentient was is known only to the proctors themselves."—*English Churchman*, No. 71, pp. 294, 295.

(Much to our delight, our sequel to this Thucydidean history of the biennial war of Oxford bears only a Xenophontine proportion.)

The dissentient, however, became known on Mr. Macmullen's second presentation: the Vice-Chancellor refused the degree. Mr. Macmullen was presented a third time with precisely the same result; and on Saturday, May 25th, at the fourth congregation, the Dean of Corpus having again read the usual College declaration, that the candidate had performed all the exercises required, the Vice-Chancellor summoned the Proctors to him, and they immediately, *without taking the votes of the House*, declared, "*Gratia negata est et sic pronuntiamus negatam.*"

The case then passes over from Macmullen *v.* Hampden, and resolves itself into the power and statutable conduct of an individual, viz. Dr. Wynter. It was observed, on Mr. Macmullen's *first* supplication, that some communication passed between Dr. Hampden and the Vice-Chancellor. This could, as far as we can conjecture, have been but of two kinds;

I. Either an assertion by Dr. Hampden of a *fact*, viz. that Mr. Macmullen had *not* performed the exercises required by the statute;

II. Or the assigning of a *reason* why, in Dr. Hampden's opinion, Mr. M. ought not to have a degree; viz. a difference of views on a particular doctrine.

1. Did the Vice-Chancellor act upon Dr. H.'s assertion of a *fact?* In a sense this allegation was quite true; Mr. M. has not performed the exercises as the statute requires, and for the best of reasons, because his prosecutor, or persecutor, Dr. H., would not permit him: Mr. M. has not performed the opponencies. But he has performed the exercises as much as anybody is allowed to perform them; as much as hitherto has satisfied Dr. H.; he has done the thing, though not in Dr. H.'s way. Besides, the Dean of Corpus stated distinctly, on the formal authority of the society, that Mr. Macmullen *had* performed the exercises: Dr. H. says that he has not.

Why should the Vice-Chancellor accept the *ipse dixit* of one gentleman in a red gown, before the *ipse dixit* of another gentleman in a black gown? If issue was joined between two parties on a question of *fact*, the Vice-Chancellor was bound to go into evidence, and not pronounce judicially on an *ex-parte* statement.

2. We will assume Dr. H.'s whisper to the Vice-Chancellor to have been that Mr. Macmullen had not performed the exercises, because Dr. H. did not like them: a statement about as logical, as if a child should say, that he had not eaten gooseberry-pie, *because* it ·d given him a stomach-ache. Will the Vice-Chancellor condescend state upon what statute he acts, which makes the Moderator's currence in the views advanced by a respondent essential to *performance* of such respondency? The case of Heylyn and

Prideaux has been mentioned;* Prideaux liked neither Heylyn, nor his theses, nor his way of defending them: Prideaux was divinity professor, and Heylyn candidate for a B.D. degree: the cases are exactly parallel; but Prideaux could not, and did not, stop the candidate's grace. What right has the Vice-Chancellor, in the teeth of the College testimony to the fact of the performance of the exercises, to assume either the truth of the Professor's counter-statement, or that official's gloss, entirely at variance with the custom of the University, on the word "performance"?

But, further: the statutes, after recognising the power "cujusvis magistri" of stopping a grace *three* times "pro arbitrio suo," direct (Tit. 9. § 7.)—

"Quod quotiescunque gratia aliqua tertiò petita vel ab uno vel ab pluribus denegaretur, denegationis causa Vice-Cancellario et Procuratoribus eodem die ostendetur; et probationes coram eisdem summariè proferentur: QUÆ CAUSA ET PROBATIO EJUSDEM, celato nomine objicientis, in proximâ congregatione publicabitur; et si Vice-Cancellario, Procuratoribus, ET majori parti Regentium justa videbitur, tum gratia denegata censebitur; et—qui supplicavit, per annum integrum ad denuo supplicandum inhabilis reddetur."

How far is the Vice-Chancellor's conduct legal, according to this statute?

1. *Who* objected to the supplication? Was it the Vice-Chancellor in his autocratic power, with his irresponsible veto? It could not be this; unless Dr. Wynter be a tyrant as capricious as Domitian. What could he, as Vice-Chancellor, know about Mr. Macmullen, or his exercises, or his orthodoxy, or heterodoxy? Somebody must have told Dr. Wynter something, and this somebody and this something were the true objector and objection. If Dr. Wynter rejected the grace upon no ground, he is, we suspect, liable to an action at common law: if, on any ground, he is bound by statute to publish it for the concurrence or rejection of congregation.

2. But we deny that this statute gives the Vice-Chancellor any greater privilege than any other regent. His absolute veto has no place here: if it had, he would at once have stopped the grace on the first supplication, without allowing it to go to the votes of the House. The Vice-Chancellor does not veto upon his dictatorship: he vetos upon the statute which we have recited; and this is clear, because he *denies* the grace on the *fourth* supplication, which was not done at the first *three* supplications. On these three occasions, it was put to the House, and simply *not* granted *sub silentio*; on the

* On July 6, 1633, Heylyn disputed on the following questions *selected by himself:*

Ecclesia auctoritatem habet in Fidei controversis determinandis:

Ecclesia auctoritatem habet interpretandi Sacras Scripturas:

Ecclesia potestatem habet decernendi Ritus et Ceremonias.

And if it be said that Prideaux accepted these subjects, he did; but so did somebody else, whose authority has been strangely forgotten. In his retractation or explanation addressed to the Chancellor Laud, Prideaux tells his own story:—

"These questions I approved when they were brought unto me, and wished the Bedel that brought them *to convey them to the congregation to be allowed according custom.*"

the original objection; which, in the Macmullen instance, has never been done: and the Vice-chancellor has no right to act upon this *latter* authority without *first* observing all the prescribed preliminaries.

Such is the conduct of the "resident governor of the university:" he tramples upon law, precedent, and the rights of congregation, in an arbitrary and unstatutable spirit of mere partisanship, only to defend the questionable and usurped authority of an official, who has been solemnly, on two occasions, pronounced unworthy of the confidence of the University, and still remains under its ban.

And, as though to place the Governors of Oxford under the most degrading character, another circumstance connected with these melancholy disputes has just come out. Mr. Macmullen is objected to because he has not performed the Exercises according to the statutes: well; be it so. Has anybody done so, according to the letter of the law? Has any one disputed? Will any one be allowed to dispute? Until they do dispute, there is a technical right in some quarter to refuse the degree. Let Mr. Macmullen, then, lose his degree upon this ground: he, to be sure, is victimized, because he has once and again claimed to dispute: but because as a fact he has *not* disputed, he must lose his degree, and *so must every other candidate;* and within the last week or so it has been distinctly intimated that every future candidate will have his supplication refused on this intelligible and statutable ground. The members of the Hebdomadal Board are alarmed: and on Monday, May 20, they intimate, that, in future, the forms of the statute will be strictly adhered to, and every candidate for the B.D. must oppose and respond and dispute according to statute!! Why, the very thing that Mr. Macmullen has all along claimed to do: the very cause which he litigated at such distressing expense and misery: the very dispute between him and the divinity professor. If this course is right and honest and legal now, it was right and honest and legal two years ago. If the Hebdomadal Board are so jealous for future candidates, why did they not throw their ample shield over Mr. Macmullen, when illegally, as they now are forced to admit, oppressed by Dr. Hampden? A clearer case of gross injustice both upon the part of the Professor and of the Board could not be made out. At the eleventh hour the Heads of Houses own it; they make a virtue of necessity; they yield when the consequences of their partiality are about to be administered upon themselves with equal justice: others are to gain the fruits of the tyranny exercised upon an individual—he alone who has successfully fought the battle is to be visited with the disgrace of defeat—

"Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

This is one instance in which, by a just and holy law of moral retribution, injustice is visited in all its awful consequences upon the guilty. But another remains to be told. The *arte perire suâ* is coming out in every direction;

"'Tis sport to see the engineer hoist by his own petard."

The Vice-Chancellor has set one perilous example in refusing Mr. Macmullen's grace, which others would not have been slow to follow: but yet more; he established a precedent in Dr. Pusey's case, which he *must* carry out fairly on the other side. Another conclave of six doctors must sit. A few Sundays ago Mr. Garbett preached a sermon at St. Mary's,—we have not seen it, neither do we care to see it: throughout this paper we have abstained from the theological doctrines involved: we have argued the several questions simply on university law. This sermon was delated by one of the most prudent members of the University—Mr. Marriott, of Oriel; and it remains to see whether what was granted in the case of the Hebrew Professor will be refused in the case of the Poetry Professor. We will not anticipate any unfairness; as yet we have no right to do so; but the matter will fix the eyes of England once more upon Dr. Wynter; and had we any personal pique against that gentleman, in the bitterest hatred we could not wish him a position more perplexing and embarrassing than that which he has voluntarily thought proper to occupy.

And here for the present we quit Oxford and its Governors. The governors are in very good hands; the 341 are not extinct. Convocation has rights and duties. If a Vice-Chancellor prefers that unamiable character, the *plagosus Orbilius*,—"examining-master plus a proctor," as somebody bitterly termed another class of rulers,—he will not have it quite his own way. Railroads have revolutionized everything, from cotton and corn down, or up, to convocations; and as Hebdomadal Boards have yielded once to the stern appeal of public and outraged justice, they will have to yield again. The avenger is on their steps,—

πράσσε, πιαίνου, μαίνων τὴν δίκην· ἐπεὶ ΠΑΡΑ.

So we leave Oxford's rulers to the easy task of "Boards of Heresy" and scholastic disputations; and as a slight guide to the due performance of the latter exercises, we take occasion,—and it is a pleasant conclusion to a disagreeable subject,—to remind all parties concerned of certain cautions which, when these formidable disputations were the custom, Laud, who drew up the statutes, thought it needful to make to his dearly-beloved Vice-Chancellor.

"I am glad that the *divinity disputations* in course go on. I hope now that thing's mastered, other difficulties will be past the better over. But in any case give continual charge concerning the *speaking of Latin*. For if that be not followed, it will be a heavy business to many of the younger sort, when they come to take their degrees, &c.

"*May* 26, 1637. "W. Cant."

—*Wharton's Remains*, vol. ii. p. 133.

"I pray take care of the disputations,—and, further, I would have you speak with the principal of Brazen Nose, that he would *command their cellar better looked to, that no strong and unruly argument be drawn from that place.*"—*Ibid.* ii. p. 173.

We trust that the Martyr-Archbishop's grim pleasantry is not now needed: but *we* say look to the cellars of—Apsley House and Whitehall Gardens; champagne and claret may be as "unruly topicks" as the redoubtable Brazen-Nose beer.

We owe Mr. Macmullen an apology for not giving a more detailed notice of his excellent exercises; but the line which we have taken, seems to preclude such. Will he, in the ungracious form of a postscript, accept our sympathy for trials to which he has submitted with great prudence and discretion? His Exercises are alike creditable to his reading and forbearance; he has managed subjects prescribed for the sake of entanglement, with very great controversial skill and temper; he has avoided the temptations alike of overstatement and recrimination; he has sought to make no theological discoveries, but rather to witness to the doctrine of the Church as delivered by the best divines of all ages; and, apart from the interest with which circumstances have invested them, these Essays are a contribution to our dogmatical theology which we would fain see increased, and treated with the same caution and ability. They want no recommendation at our hands: they will be generally read; and they have already received commendation in unexpected quarters, which renders our praise superfluous rather than excessive. They would, but for an accident in their transmission, have been noticed last month.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Arnaldo da Brescia; Tragedia di Giovanni Battista Nicolini. Florence. 1843.

Neander's Life and Times of St. Bernard. London: Rivingtons. 1843.

SEVEN centuries have nearly elapsed since the earliest of papal opponents, the friend and pupil of Abelard, was executed at Rome, and his ashes cast into the Tiber, lest the people should invoke him as a saint. In these days, one of the modern illuminati of Italy has striven to recall the spirit of Arnold, and to awaken his countrymen to the baneful effects of the temporal rule of the papacy, by recalling the former glories of Rome, and deifying the contest between the pope and the monk of Brescia. Little, in all probability, would have been the effect of this political pamphlet, had it not been advertised as dangerous, and therefore, as the profane would say, readable, in the damnatory list of his holiness. The effect has been, that even round the very walls of the Vatican, nearly 2,000 copies have been circulated.

The Church, at the time of St. Bernard, was divided into two parties; the Contemplative Mystics, who believed in and revered the Church

proceedings forwarded by the bishops, the champion of faith sent a letter of warning to those before whom the cause was now to come. He warned them of the tendency of Abelard's daring inquiries, his boldness, with which he led mere tyros into the mysteries of the holy Trinity, and made such doctrines the subjects of disputation for not the learned alone, but boys, ignorant men, yea, and fools, who were attracted by the flowers of his oratory.

There can be but little doubt that Abelard had been led, by his course of reasoning, to doctrines essentially Socinian; and that whilst, as he said, arguing merely logically, he was really promulgating that most deadly of heresies. His doctrine, that the object of the incarnation, of the life and death of the Saviour, was to enlighten men by the light of His wisdom, and to inflame them by His love, "goes at once to the putting aside of the great truth of our reconciliation by the Saviour's death; whilst his more open denial, that by the death of His Son, God could be reconciled to man, and his argument, that such a sacrifice could but increase God's anger more and more against us, destroys the entire frame of our faith, and strikes out from the book of our belief the mercy and loving-kindness of God." Heard or not heard, debated or not debated, the papal council were quite right in condemning such doctrines, now that they had become a common word in the mouths of all people. It may seem overbearing, unfair, to condemn a teacher unheard, or to make him answerable for the common report of his doctrines. Let him keep the remedy in his own power. Let him explain the truth in clearness, if he will be a teacher; or, if he can be but a mystic, let him confine his mysticism to his esoteric disciples, and not infect the unthinking people by a teaching that requires the greatest human talent to prove, not its error, but its correctness.

The papal sentence of condemnation found Abelard a repentant occupant of Clugni, once more reconciled to his opponent, St. Bernard, through the mediation of the peace-loving Abbot Peter. Three years he remained at Clugni—may it be hoped, a sincere penitent—dying, not indeed at that convent, but at the Monastery of St. Marcel, near Chalons; whither he had gone in the vain hopes of restoring his shattered health. "Every moment of his time," writes the Abbot Peter to Eloisa, "was employed in reading or writing, or in prayer. In these blessed occupations he was found by Him who visiteth all men, not asleep, but watching, and led by means of a short illness to his end." Thus did Abelard pass away, but his influence went not with him. Many were they among the thousands who had listened to his lectures, who yearned in secret for the further teaching of the master; and held his opinions in their heart, whilst they conformed outwardly to the popular belief. One alone of his hearers aspired to be his successor, and dared to continue his master's teaching. This was Arnold of Brescia, in the Tyrol, of the lowest order of the Church; a reader. He had sought France as the seat of knowledge of that age, and there imbibed the doctrines of Abelard. The tendency

mind of Arnold was more practical than speculative: he held
theoretically, the teaching of his master, respecting the Trinity,
morality of actions; but the bent of his feelings and of his

teaching was against the practical working of the Church of his day, against the power assumed by the pope and the Church, the lives of the clergy, the ceremonies of religion. Austere and ascetic in his own life, he ceased not to hold up to ridicule and disgust the lives of the worldly among the clergy; calling upon the prelates to resign their temporalities and live as the apostles lived, if they would be their true successors. That Arnold should find even more hearers than his master, is not to be wondered at, when we consider the admitted corruptness of the Church in those days; and the advantage practical grievances always have over theoretical, in the ears and hearts of a popular assembly.

Driven from Italy by the papal mandate, Arnold returned to France, hoping to shroud himself under the protection of the papal legate, Guido, who was infected with the teaching of Abelard. Here he found a bold, ceaseless, unrelenting adversary. St. Bernard, the conqueror of Abelard, hesitated not to lay open to the Church her errors, her luxuries, and her faults. But he was equally ready to defend her, when, under the veil of combating her defects, he saw that the entire system of the Church was attacked. All his energies and his influence St. Bernard gathered against the Tyrolese monk; denouncing his errors, combating his arguments, until he drove him from France, and forced him to the refuge of his native place. There, too, his opponent followed him; urging on the Bishop of Brescia, until Arnold was driven from the Tyrol, and once more returned to Italy, now distracted with the quarrels between the pope and his Roman subjects. Pope Lucius was dead from his wounds; and Eugenius, the pupil of St. Bernard, expelled from his city and his chair, by the people and senate of Rome, when Arnold entered the holy city. He went about among the excited populace; recalled to their recollections the glories of the Consulate; the days of Rome's empire; and bade them emulate the deeds of their ancestors. The public feeling was aroused; and the people were driven on to deeds of frightful violence. The houses and palaces of the papal supporters were ransacked and burnt; and the would-be Romans divided among themselves the spoils of the city.

Arnold's harangue to the disaffected Romans forms the chief point in Battista's tragedy. It is not to be wondered that the pope should have favoured Nicolini, by placing his play in the index, when the following is a specimen of a little of the abuse to be found in it, against Rome and the Church. This is the commencement of Arnold's speech :—

> "For God, for liberty.
> From the bright east, from the dark cloudy west,
> From the loud echoes of the open tombs;
> From deserts drear, a voice of accusation
> Against The Harlot.
> Drunk with the blood of saints—thy harlotries
> Are with Earth's kings.——Mark her! on high she sits,
> Enwrapped in purple, and down-weighed with gold,
> 'Broidered with gems, o'erhung with glittering chains;
> The snowy robe—the robe of innocence—
> The sole delight and honour of her Spouse,
> Now ris'n to heav'n—she tramples in the dust.

> Long is her list of titles; and her mouth
> Is full of cursings, blasphemies, deceits;
> And on her brow is graved—'Mystery.'"

There is a great deal more of this ultra-protestant raving in the tragedy, interspersed with very grand, eloquent passages, of what Italy would do if united; which, with sundry diatribes against "old musty precedents," "wolves in sheep's clothing," "the air which Brutus breathed," "the proud coursers of the Austrian," and such like, make up a very lively book for the present state of Italian feelings.

But to return to Arnold; the riot for a time appeased, the senate, through the monk, offered the imperial city to Conrad, and when he did not deign to reply to their grandiloquent offers, once more went to war among themselves, for ten long years devastating the pontificate with anarchy and petty feuds. At last, Adrian the Fourth succeeded to the papal chair, in 1154, and soon showed the Romans that at length they had a pope of spirit and determination. Shortly after the accession of Adrian, a cardinal fell a sacrifice to the violence of the people, during a riot in the capital. The pope acted immediately; he excommunicated the holy city; the first city of Christendom was placed under the papal anathema. This broke the spirit of the turbulent Romans; and they gladly drove away the idol of the people, the Monk of Brescia. The exile of Arnold was the best peace-offering to the pope; and on his flight to the strong-hold of a friendly noble in Campania, Rome was reconciled to her lawful governor. But, though expelled, the form of Arnold still haunted Adrian; and he felt that as long as his enemy lived he could not be at peace. The coming of the Emperor Frederic to the holy city, to receive the crown from the pope, was too good an occasion of revenge to be lost. He besought Frederic to rid him of his enemy. The Emperor gave his commands, and it was so. The Margrave of Campania delivered Arnold to the prefect of Rome. There was no need of trial. The Monk of Brescia was strangled; his body burnt, and his ashes cast into the Tiber, within one year of the consecration of Adrian. So passed he and his master from the world.

Poems; by the Rev. JEDIDIAH HUNTINGTON, M.D. New York. Wiley and Putnam: 1843.

IT is difficult to review some Poetry, of which our praise, though sincere, may not come up to the wished-for mark. How far Mr. Huntington's aim at greatness may reach, we know not, or what may be the standard of poetical excellence which he sets before us; but if he set any store by *encouragement* of ours, he is most welcome to it. He is obviously a very superior man, and may, we think, prove a no less superior poet; but we cannot but hold that he has still a good deal to learn. His ear is not, we think, sufficiently tutored for some of the experiments he has made in versification; and, altogether, he is a [illegible] *too fantastic*. But he can write well:—witness the following

Sonnet on Her Majesty's Coronation, the sentiments of which, though uttered by a denizen of the Washington Constitution, might become the mouth of a loyal Briton.

> " How dazzling flash the streams of coloured light,
> When on her sacred brow the crown is placed;
> And straight her peers and dames with haughty haste,
> Their coronets assume, as is their right,
> With sudden blaze making the temple bright.
> Does man's enthusiasm run to waste,
> By which a Queen's investiture is graced
> With deafening demonstrations of delight,
> That from the cannon's roar protect the ear?
> We may not dare to think so, for His sake
> Whose word has linked king's honour and God's fear.
> Nor is it servile clamour that we make,
> Who, born ourselves to reign, in her revere
> The kingly nature that ourselves partake."—P. 39.

Rome and the Reformation, &c. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley. 1844.

This is a letter from M. Merle d'Aubigné, to the Rev. Mr. Burgess, who adds to the honourable designation and office of Rector of Upper Chelsea the more dubious rank and function of " Honorary Secretary to the Foreign Aid Society." The difference of principle between ourselves and M. d'Aubigné is too marked to render avowal of it necessary at present, and too wide to make any reasonings or remonstrances, that we could urge within our present limits, of the least use. We therefore confine ourselves to the literary aspect of the question, and must protest against all such onesided exhibitions of history as are made in this tract. Doubtless, Petrarch described many an enormity as habitually practised at Avignon, and doubtless, because of such, much guilt was incurred by the Pontiffs who successively ruled there. But such arrows fall blunt against the Roman scheme, and, by reason of their extreme absurdity, prejudice all men of high literary aim and attainment against the people who make use of them. Doubtless Mr. Digby's " Mores Catholici" is a onesided book, and as such, singularly absurd in a controversial point of view; but not one whit less so is M. d'Aubigné's present tract, with this disadvantage in comparison, that if one is to be onesided and absurd, one would rather be so by seeing only the good, than by seeing only the evil, of the state of affairs which we are discussing.

We have already said that we consider the difference between ourselves and M. d'Aubigné too wide to attempt filling it up at present; and we are disposed to make all allowance for his feelings, ancestral it would seem no less than personal, as a foreign Protestant. We have no word moreover to offer in palliation of the cruelties which accompanied the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But we fear that the argument from cruelty is worthless to us all, because nearly equally true to us all. And in England (and be it remembered that this

tract, in its present form, must be viewed as designed for England), a passage like the following may suggest recollections of something more sacred than "splendid drawing-rooms" being similarly and as much outraged by very different parties than the emissaries of Louis XIV. :—

"They would then turn their splendid drawing-rooms into stables for their horses, and give them pails of milk or wine for their drink, and for litter, bales of wool, of cotton, of silk, or of the finest Holland cloth."—P. 51.

There seems to be quite a *glut*, as the economists call it, of new Quarterlies, though the supply seems to exceed the talent. The "North British Review" is a hybrid between the Free Church and the Anti-Corn-Law League. It contains, however, a review of Sewell's Christian morals, much above the average; and the writer does justice, though *toto cœlo* opposed to it, to one of the most remarkable books of our day.

A second Quarterly, which in some respects is to be recommended, is the "Archæological Journal," No. 1. It emanates from a new body, a sort of minimized and popularized Society of Antiquaries, whose object is to be the conservation of all monuments and antiquities, civil and ecclesiastical, pagan and Christian. To such a scheme, our chief objection is its extent, and its consequent (possible) merging of the reverence due to holy things in a mere hard technical literary spirit. Such as is the society, such is its journal: it would be better if confined to ecclesiastical matters; and of much which appears in a review of a foreign work on Christian art we would gladly see the omission: the mediæval delineations of the Most Holy Trinity of course ought to be found somewhere, but not in a popular journal. We dread the frightful things which, in some quarters, would be, and will be, said about these illustrations. To us they are simply shocking, and we deprecate the spread of a spirit to which, with our associations, they must conduct. Indeed we are afraid that the Society is not under the influence of the best spirit.

The work to which we alluded last month as expected from Dr. Jarvis, of America, is advertised as a "Chronological Introduction to Church History, being a new inquiry into the true Dates of the Nativity and Passion," &c. Cleaver publishes it. It is quite pleasant to find the daughter-Church rearing chronologers and scholars; and we commend Dr. J.'s undertaking to the candid estimate and patronage of the learned.

"The Novelties which Disturb our Unity" (Appleton, Philadelphia), is a polemical and very sufficient reply, by Rev. E. Waylen, to "The Novelties which Disturb our Peace" from one of the American prelates. The disputants are concerned with all such matters as are angrily discussed in all sorts of places in England. Mr. Waylen is, for the most part, master of his subject; but we have small sympathy with his taste and style. Transatlantic standards, in such matters, must vary from our own; but we doubt whether it can be right anywhere to say, "No novelty this, Bishop Hopkins!" (p. 6;) "Is this a novelty, good Bishop of Vermont?" (p. 7;) and page 9, "a novelty, quotha?" Many writers among ourselves have had to object to episcopal doctrine in the very strongest terms, but we trust that the day is far distant when this sort of language will be used in England.

"Instrumenta Ecclesiastica" (Van Voorst), is the first number of a collection which we have long wished for; the plan seems perfect. It is to furnish orking drawings which any mason, or carpenter, or smith, can execute, for ch church furniture, fittings, adjuncts, &c. as come under the Latin term *pellex, or instrumentum* (the singular would have been rather the Ciceronian

form, *nostro judicio*). When we say that the Cambridge Camden Society is responsible for the general execution of the work, and that Mr. Butterfield's taste and knowledge have furnished the designs and plans, we cannot award higher praise. The work appears not before it was wanted; the revival of Catholic feeling has called forth so many miserable attempts in imaginary Christian art, that we earnestly caution our readers against indulging in their own vagaries this way. In the way of altar-plate and decorations a complete revolution has already been effected under the same auspices to which we owe the series before us; and if ladies and gentlemen would pause before they concocted designs from churches, down to fonts, letterns, bindings, chalices, and basons, memorial brasses and crosses, carpets, frontals, candlesticks, iron-work, alms' chests, illuminations, stained glass, and the like, all out of their own ignorance, our eyes and feelings would not be pained by the multifarious monstrosities which are springing up in every quarter. Correct designs may be procured, at a saving both of trouble and expense, by going to the right sources. Not the least practical use of this work will be in the colonies; though caution is required. What suits England will not suit India; and Canada wants something different from either.

"The Remains of the Ancient Monastic Architecture," by Joseph Potter, Architect, (Walters, Rugeley,) is a beautiful, and at the same time instructive, work, to which we wish every success. This first number gives promise of great excellence: is it too much to hope that it may yet have a practical value, and that the day will come when the "working drawings" for religious houses will once more be wanted? Such undertakings teach more of real Christian art than all the showy tracts and manuals of architecture with which we have of late been overwhelmed.

Alike to be commended is Part I. of the "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Great Britain, from the Conquest to the Reformation," by Messrs. Bowman and Hadfield (J. W. Parker). The title is over ambitious, as would be the execution if carried out according to its first impression: it consists, however, of plans, sections, and elevations of the best churches of the various periods; the drawing, colouring, and minute attention paid to those characteristic details, such as mouldings, upon which the value of such a work depends, is very creditable to the architects engaged in it. Not the least recommendable thing about the series, is its cheapness. With all these helps about us, we shall attach the very strongest blame, in the highest quarters, if our bishops any longer permit the Church of England to be disgraced by the abominable "brick parallelograms" with which the rage for new churches has inflicted us.

But far beyond anything we have yet seen, is Mr. Pugin's most glorious work, the "Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament" (Weale): it is really one upon which we can scarcely trust ourselves to speak with moderation; so gorgeous and rich are its illuminated pages; one perfect blaze of mediæval gold and purple. We have not yet had time to examine the letterpress: indeed the fascination of the illustrations, except in very sober critics, must prevent this. We cannot give the faintest idea of the beauty of this book; nor of the talent for combination alike and invention in ornament which that very great artist, Mr. Pugin, has displayed in it.

"The Hierurgia Anglicana," (Stevenson) has reached a fifth number. Its conductors are quite right in issuing this work slowly; its importance in the way of documentary proof as to the working of our Church, we are disposed to rank very high.

We cannot see our way so clearly as Mr. Mason Neale in his "Letter on the re-introduction of a System of Private Devotion in Churches," (Walters, Rugeley.) To the thing itself we can see no valid objection; but a problem is a thing to be *done*, we fear that this subject must take rank, at present, as a theorem only.

The Correspondence in the case of the Regius Professor of Divinity and Mr. Macmullen, (Oxford, Parker; London, Burns; 1844,) has been fully alluded to elsewhere. It brings out no new facts; but the whole case deserved to be put upon record. We observed one or two typographical inaccuracies, which being in the way of dates, are of some importance.

Archdeacon Sinclair's "Primary Charge," (Rivingtons,) is not very remarkable. *Safe* is the epithet which both its admirers and opponents would concur in affixing to it.

"How can the Church Educate the People? &c., in a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury," (Rivingtons,) is a well principled view of things in general, as connected with the teaching of the people. The author, one of the most active friends of the great cause of instruction, proposes as a remedy the incorporation and endowment of middle colleges. The pamphlet deserves an attentive perusal, but it is rather discursive. It shows that we have hardly got the right principle at work in the National Society.

"Some Account of the Life and Death of Kettlewell," (Burns,) is prefixed to "Directions for a Holy and Happy Death;" extracted from his works. It is not only beautiful, but useful. Apparently it emanates from the same quarter as other Helps in Sickness, which we have recently had occasion to commend.

For once Mr. Molyneux, of Woolwich, has published sentiments, in most of which we coincide. He has put forth a pamphlet, entitled, "Lent Usages," (Seeley & Burnside,) in which he says, that merely to change the diet is not to fast, and that "fasting, whenever practised for private ends—that is, for individual profit as distinct from an act of general humiliation, is to be a strictly private exercise." Most true, but we cannot go on to our author's inference from this latter proposition, and with him condemn or discourage the practice of fasting at the stated periods appointed by the Church, they being, though not unconnected with "individual profit," "acts of general humiliation." And as to the former point, while we cheerfully admit that an epicure may contrive a fish meal, the participation of which is the reverse of self-denial, and therefore no fast at all; yet to eat fish unadorned, without sauce and without variety, and further, to decline stimulants of any sort, though no very great act of mortification, will be found, we suspect, a little more unpleasant to a beginner, accustomed to "goodly legs and shoulders of mutton," than is commonly imagined before trial of the experiment. We further fully agree, and we anticipate the concurrence of all our readers in the assertion, that we must not "mistake ordinances, forms, self-denials, and observance of times and seasons, for vital godliness;" and we hold with Mr. Molyneux, that the former are "useful so far, and only so far, as they serve to promote" the latter. Mr. M. fights, like many others, with a shadow; for he would find, did he take pains to inquire, that even Roman Catholic preachers often teach the same far more powerfully than he has done.

We have not yet had time to examine the main body of Mr. Trench's new work, an "Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, drawn from the writings of St. Augustine" (J.W. Parker); but his prefatory observations are very interesting and admirable; and his well-known powers and attainments render his name sufficient guarantee for the rest.

Mr. Haweis's "Sketches of the Reformation" (Pickering), consists, in great part, of a reprint from the *British Magazine*. It is a book which may be described as of *the school of Mr. Maitland*, inasmuch as it presents us with a very candid selection of facts and documents not commonly known, and from which we are at liberty to draw our conclusions. It is a useful book.

...ong single Sermons we desire to call particular attention to that preached ... consecration of Bishop Feild (Newfoundland), by Mr. Davies, of ... n (Rivingtons), admirable for its matter, affecting in its subject.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[*The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.*]

MR. MAURICE'S KINGDOM OF CHRIST. (LETTER II.)

SIR,—In my former letter I confined myself to a simple analysis of Mr. Maurice's preface to his "Kingdom of Christ," without making any remarks upon the work itself. In his preface he states the nature and design of his work. If I rightly understand Mr. M.'s theory, it is, that *all* persons,—Catholics, heretics, and schismatics, alike,—have hitherto been partially wrong, and only partially right, in their views of the Kingdom of Christ; that nowhere, and by no one, has the true idea of the Kingdom been fully held and exhibited. That Scripture and the Church, of course, contain and express the true idea,—and *so* it has ever been in the world,—but that no individual teachers, or bodies, have ever gathered it in its fulness from the words and forms of Scripture and the Church; that ALL, whether Fathers, Reformers, or modern divines, have only held *a portion* of the truth, and, mistaking this portion for the whole, have fallen into the error of denying and opposing other portions equally true, from not being able to reconcile and combine them with their own. This, I say, is Mr. Maurice's theory; and his object and design in this book is to exhibit that one true and adequate idea of the Kingdom of Christ, which shall comprehend in itself, reconcile, and harmonize, all the different, partial, and apparently conflicting opinions of Churchmen and Dissenters, Fathers, Reformers, Evangelicals, Quakers, and others. His view is that all are wrong, and all are right; his object, to separate the truth from the error in each system, and to give each its proper place in that one full system which alone satisfies the scheme, spirit, and letter of Scripture, the form and language of the Church, and the experience and the wants of human nature. For the truth of his own view, he appeals to these tests; his view is the true view because it alone fulfils them. The truth does not lie with any school or party, is a favourite saying with him. It lies in the Scripture, and with the Church as a whole; but if we ask, Have these no expounders? he seems to reply,—hitherto, at least, *none but themselves; all* expounders are *parties* and *schools*, one taking one part, another another part of the whole. My exposition claims to be the true one, simply *because* it does satisfy, reconcile, and harmonize all the parts. Whether Mr. Maurice be right or wrong in this view; whether it be a Catholic, reverential, and modest position, are distinct questions; certain it is that this is his theory and profession in this book, and if he is to be defended and admired, it must be in spite of these, or rather for these very opinions and views. I now proceed to give your readers a specimen of his reasoning in accordance with these views, and may safely pledge myself to make good every word I have said, by simple extracts from his own words.

For this purpose I take his Second Letter, that on Baptism. In this letter he begins by observing that Quakers have rejected baptism because they consider it inconsistent with the idea of a spiritual kingdom which Christ came to establish; and affirm that their witness for the spirituality of this Kingdom has, in consequence of this very rejection, been feeble and ineffectual; this he undertakes to show. On the other hand, he asserts that "for want of the belief in an established spiritual kingdom, the notion of Baptism which prevails among the sects, and among most (if not all) "Churchmen, is a confused and carnal notion;" and goes on to prove "that they who have practised the rite have yet overlooked its power and meaning."—Pp. 70, 71. He then alludes to the differences of opinion existing within the Church on the subject of Baptism, which he classes under the three heads of High Church, Evangelical, and the followers of Mr. Budd; and in reply to a supposed objector, that he must either adopt one of these, or set up some other fourth opinion of his own, he says,—"With submission, I will do neither of these things; I will consider each of these opinions; I will attempt to show how and wherein each seems to have denied the truth of the others. I will attempt to show how that which each really prizes, that which he feels he cannot part with, *will unite in a principle—larger, deeper, more satisfactory than any of the three, yet freed from the perplexities and contradictions which each has felt in the opinion of the others, and occasionally in his own.*" Thus, he says, he will avoid "*choosing* any of the opposing notions," but "will account for them all, and justify them all." This, he says, will not be "setting up a crotchet of his own in preference to the opinions of wiser, better, and more experienced men;" but will be "refusing to set up his judgment against any of them; refusing to determine to which of them he shall not render the respect and homage which he feels that all have a right to claim from him." If it be objected, again, that still he must on his own authority determine this his view to be that of the Church, he replies:—"Not until I have brought you to confess that *each of these parties was right* in reading its own view in the forms of the Church; not till I have shown you that *each has failed, palpably failed,* in identifying its own views with those of the forms of the Church; not till I have shown you, that it is by the forms of the Church, and not by my own wit, that I have been led to see how truly *each of these views includes a portion* of the meaning of Baptism, how its full meaning is expressed only by *the union of them all.*" If, again, it be objected that he must still assume the Scripture view and the Church view to be the same, he replies, confidently, "*not if you can find another* that coincides equally with the *letter of Scripture, the spirit of Scripture, the scheme of Scripture.*" If, again, it be asked, But is this view to be forced upon you? he answers, "not unless you *want it.* If there are no wants in your mind and heart which require such an idea of Baptism, and will not be content without it, I may allege *the union of discordant opinions, the authority of the Church, the consistency of Scripture,* in vain. In your case (that of his Quaker friend,) I know there are such wants."—Pp. 75, 76.

In another place he says, to the same purpose: "I have now set before you *my idea* of Baptism, *portions* of which are acknowledged by each of the parties in our Church, the acknowledgment of which (*my idea*) in its completion, would, I believe, lead to the *reconciliation of all these differences.*"—P. 107.

Can words be stronger and plainer in proof of what I have ascribed to Mr. Maurice? On this subject of Baptism, at least, on his own showing, is he not alone right, and all others only partially so, and partially wrong? He alone is in possession of that "large, deep, and satisfactory principle, which is free, and frees from all perplexities and contradictions; the only view which reconciles discordant opinions, satisfies the forms of the Church, the whole of Scripture, and the wants of human nature." I am not saying now that this is necessarily a conceited and presumptuous position; Mr. M. thinks he protects himself from this charge by the observation that "he *has been led* to this view by the forms of the Church, *not by his own wit.*" Although how it happens that other persons have not been led by these same forms to this same view, or to what these forms speak except to our understandings, or wits, he does not say. I wish, chiefly, that Mr. Maurice's position should be fairly understood and admitted; and I say that, as he himself states it in the strongest way, it is, that all existing views of Baptism are partially wrong, and each of them contains only a portion of that view which is the true view, the Scripture view, the Church view, and of which he is the expounder.

And here it will be of consequence to notice the sense in which Mr. M. uses the expression "the Church's view," or similar expressions. He does not mean by this the expositions of any individuals and authorities within the Church, or of any *catena* of them; all these come under his term schools or parties. He means by it, the truth which the Church, in all its parts, forms, and ceremonies, taken together, is *designed* to teach. According to him there has never been a particular, accredited, and complete *Church view* in the sense of the view of the Church's authorities and divines. According to him, the Church, as a whole, apart from any opinions or expositions by her children, is the only witness of the Church's view, and *all* its expositors are "*schools*" within the Church. I say, there never *has been such a witness,*—for *now* Mr. Maurice distinctly professes to have collected from the forms of the Church that view which is co-extensive with them all,—comprehending and expressed by all. This will more fully appear by what follows: "You have heard," says Mr. M. "of a progressive Christianity, a Christianity for the nineteenth century, superior to and destined to supersede the Christianity of all previous centuries. The whole style of these letters will, I presume, acquit me of entertaining any such notion as this; but there is hardly any notion so absurd or dangerous that has not its foundation in an important truth."—P. 108. And what is this important truth? It is this: that the Church has an infancy, a boyhood, and a manhood; that the age of the Fathers was its infancy, the age of the Reformation its boyhood, and this work, the Kingdom of Christ, is the harbinger of its manhood.

Again, let the appeal be made to Mr. M.'s own words: "High-Churchmen," he says, "appeal in support of their view of Baptism to the Fathers of the Christian Church." And the principal notion which the Fathers held concerning Baptism, he says, was the general one "of being adopted by God into His family. Now this seems to me (Mr. Maurice) just as it should be,—this feeling, I think, is the one which God would communicate to His *infant* Church. The truth that men are constituted in Christ, and that they must exert a direct faith in Christ, if they would enjoy the privilege of being children of God; this truth, it seems to me, *was intended* to be brought into distinct consciousness at a *later period*, and was brought out *at the Reformation. Then first*, it began to be clearly understood, that Baptism is a sacrament which applies to all stages of life, and not merely an act instituting a man into a position from which he falls afterwards." "The Evangelical party set up the doctrines of the Reformation against that of the Fathers; and are right so far as this, that the Reformers did see some things that their predecessors did not see." "*If the age of the fathers was the infancy, that of the Reformation the boyhood*, we need not fear *to call the time when this truth*" (*my idea of Baptism*) "*shall be realized, the manhood of the Church.*" And then he adds, "I have not shrunk from explaining to you what I consider is the imperfection of *each existing sect or system* in our Church, and even of the views prevailing *in each age of the Church.*" Again, I say, can words make Mr. Maurice's position and profession plainer than these words make it? He distinctly says that all persons, parties, and ages of the Church, Fathers, Reformers, ancient and modern divines, have been only partially enlightened on the subject of Baptism; that each held only a portion of the truth; and that all the different portions united in one make up that true and full idea of it, which is *his idea*. From this it is clear, as I have said, that "the Church view" does not mean, with him, the view of the Church held and taught by any of her body, but that view which the whole Church system was designed, *according to Mr. Maurice*, to teach, and which he alone, as yet, has realized. According to this view of the matter also it follows, that Evangelicals, Dissenters, and Quakers, have, in the same way as High Churchmen, Reformers, and Fathers, "a portion" of this his idea. Each—in much the same way, some more, some less—contributes his share to Mr. M.'s "Church view."

Now all this may be true, and deep, and philosophical, and Catholic, in Mr. M.'s sense of the word; only let it be fairly understood what it is we are holding up to admiration when we are praising Mr. M.'s work on the Kingdom of Christ. Let him not be confounded with Fathers, Reformers, or modern High-Churchmen: these are all parties within the Church, according to him. He belongs to none. He belongs to the Church in no sense that others do. He stands alone in his exposition of its doctrines. His view is absolutely his own view, so far as it is comprehensive and satisfactory; and every one else's, inasmuch as every one may find his own view somewhere or other in it, and somehow or other "accounted for and justified."

Mr. Maurice may be right, and every one else may be wrong; but, unless he is so, then surely with such pretensions as his, he is very conceited and very presumptuous. There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, in this, as in other cases. These pretensions are either very true and sublime, or very ridiculous. Be Mr. Maurice what he may, be his talents what you will, be he altogether right, or altogether wrong, *he claims* to be altogether, and *alone* altogether, right, and imputes imperfection, defect, and error, to "all sects and systems, and even ages of the Church." This is his position; he has none other. By this he must be tried. It is Mr. Maurice against the world. We must make our choice.

But, further, I think it is but fair that we should know what Mr. Maurice's opinion concerning the modern advocates of High-Church —or, as they profess, ancient Church doctrines, is. If Mr. M. is right, the modern assertors, or expositors, of these opinions are most wrong. It seems to me most inconsistent to praise both in the same breath, or in the same work; it is positively a contradiction in terms. I am not saying which is right; I only say both cannot be. I assert, then, that, in apportioning the different parts of his one "deep, large, and satisfactory" idea of Baptism to the different sects and ages of the Church, the modern High-Church divines have, according to Mr. M., the least share of truth, the greatest of error. I declare that of no system within, or sect without, the Church, does Mr. M. speak in terms of such severe censure, as of Dr. Pusey, for instance, and his friends. Kind and liberal to dissenters of all kinds, thanking them for the share they have contributed to the preservation and discovery of truth,—to Dr. Pusey, and his friends, he deals out the strongest reproofs that are to be found in his book. Hear, again, his own words: "I now turn to the High-Church view of Baptism," he says.* "I mean to show wherein I think it inconsistent with itself, and with the idea of a Church." (P. 91.) "The doctrines of this party are nowhere so ably and so eloquently expressed as in the tracts of Dr. Pusey, entitled, 'Scripture View of Baptism.'" "These doctrines," says Mr. M., "turn upon the principle that God does, in the act of Baptism, change the nature of the person partaking that ordinance. "No other idea of regeneration," he says, "except that which is implied in the words 'change of nature,' has ever struck Dr. Pusey as possible." He then reasons out the conclusion that this notion goes "*to destroy the idea of the Church*, and to introduce a *Genevan* individualizing notion in place of it." He first makes Dr. Pusey consider Baptism "as an act done in an instant, and accomplishing its purpose in an instant; *not* as the sacrament of constant union, the assurance of a continual living presence;" and then drives him to the conclusion that those who, after Baptism, wander into sin "must be content, by much prayer and fasting, to seek for God's mercy,

* An omission of some laudatory terms in the text in this place may seem unfair; but I cannot, on consideration, think it so. I rather think these laudatory terms calculated to deceive. Mr. M.'s opinion of Dr. P.'s opinions is as I have given it. Does it make it any better that, in the same page, he speaks of him in high terms, as a most able and excellent man?

which may, perhaps, *though there is no certain promise* to uphold the flattering expectation, once again redeem them out of sin and hell." "Where is the minister of Christ in London, Birmingham, or Manchester, whom such a doctrine, heartily and inwardly entertained, would not drive to madness?" All he can do is to tell wretched creatures who spend eighteen hours out of the twenty-four in close factories and bitter toil, corrupting, and being corrupted, that if they spend the remaining six in prayer, he need not add fasting, they may, perhaps, be saved. How can we insult God, and torment man, with such mockery?" "If we are to believe Dr. Pusey, we have now a *worse than Calvinistic* message to deliver to our hearers."

Now place this language in contrast with the following:—"The Friends, in support of their principles, may have declared themselves at war with everybody, and everybody with them. With this conviction on their minds, they may have *denounced* opinions, as inconsistent with their theory, to which I most inwardly and heartily subscribe. They may have used language respecting persons who maintained these opinions, which I think most extravagant and unreasonable. But, through all this confusion, I perceive certain great truths maintained by these Friends, with a power and vigour which have scarcely been surpassed, and *for the sake of which*, I, for my part, can well forgive all the hard language used by them *against institutions that I believe to be not only of incalculable benefit but of divine appointment.*" (P. 7.) Again: "William Penn did indeed make war *in a most furious and reckless manner upon that belief, of the distinct personality of the Father, Son, and Spirit, without which the doctrine of the Trinity is mere mist and vapour*," but because he did, as Mr. M. thinks, shake some other false notion of the Trinity, he is "*not disposed to believe that he did harm to the Church or the world*, by the very wild language he used." (P. 52.) That is, although the Friends derided and persecuted the Church, denied and denounced the most sacred doctrines and divine institutions,—though they railed in the most furious way against the true doctrine of the Trinity, yet, because they taught, in their way, some fragment of truth, and destroyed, as Mr. Maurice thinks, some erroneous notions, they are to be recognised and claimed as doing more good than harm; and then, practically, while Dr. Pusey's name and teaching is so brought forward as to leave a most painful impression of them, the Friends are brought forward as useful agents in the cause of truth, in spite of the most open heresies.

It must not be imagined that I write this to convince or convict Mr. Maurice to himself. I do not suppose that he is in the least ashamed of all that he has written, nor have I hope that he will become so. He glories in this patronage of heretics and censure of Catholics; it is his boast; it is peculiarly the distinctive mark of his theory. All heresies point to a truth—involve or contain a truth; therefore heretics are witnesses for truth; witnesses, too, in a more decided way for *their truth* than the Church itself. This is one of Mr. M.'s theories. Again, all opinions and systems, whether of men, parties, or ages, are *schools* only within the Church; are only

partially right, and partially wrong; and therefore are to be set right: this is another of his theories. But, though I have no hope, of course, of convincing Mr. M. that he is wrong, when I am only quoting his own language, and drawing out his peculiar views, I have hope that some who may have been led to think of Mr. Maurice as a Catholic and Churchman, in the ordinary sense of those words, from finding him praised in your Review, and classed (as he has been several times,) with the names of Mr. Newman and Archdeacon Manning, as if of the same school of thought and theology (I am not ashamed of the word "school" in this sense), and of the same rank of intellect, I hope that some persons may be led to doubt the propriety of such praise and such a classification. For my own part, I am utterly at a loss to conceive on what principle any one can put together the names of Newman, Manning, and Maurice, except on the principle of contrast. Mr. Maurice himself disclaims the connexion. He is no more one with them than with Luther or Penn, except in the accident of belonging to the same ecclesiastical polity. I have read the works of all; and while I feel the greatest reverence and admiration for the former, I feel repelled at every point from the latter. This does not determine who is right; I am quite aware of that: Mr. Maurice may be very right, and all the others wrong; but it shows the inconsistency of praising both in the same breath, and classing them together. And, be it observed, the occasion and object of my writing these letters, is not so much to prove Mr. Maurice wrong, as to prevent his name and works being circulated under false colours; as if he were what he most certainly is not,—a Catholic or Churchman, in the sense in which those words are and must be understood by the readers of your pages. Let Mr. M. be praised as the advocate of a *new idea* of Baptism; for instance, differing from that of the Evangelical or of the modern High-Churchmen. Let him be praised as *denouncing* elements of the teaching of both these schools, and most particularly the latter, and I have no objection; but let him not be classed and confounded with Churchmen, in the ordinary sense, and with such Churchmen as Newman and Manning. It is most unjust to him, for he disclaims it. It is most unjust to them, for, I am sure, they, too, disclaim it.

In conclusion, Sir, I would ask Mr. Maurice himself, or any of his admirers, what is his rule of faith? what his measure of truth and error? Is not his book the most extraordinary instance of the exercise of private judgment on record? It is private judgment exercised upon the whole body of the Church, as well as upon heretics and schismatics, from the beginning till now. The Bible is the ordinary subject for private judgment with ordinary men; but the Bible *and the Church*, the opinions of all ages and all men, are the materials of Mr. M.'s private judgment. He surveys, and examines, and analyzes all; detects the truth and error of each; severs them, and then combines the truth of all in one "large, deep, and satisfactory" idea. What is this but an exercise of private judgment? What is to prevent my differing from Mr. M.? and to what authority can he refer me for his opinion but himself? Why should not I have "*my idea*" of Baptism as well as he? Why may I not think "my idea" larger and

deeper than his? Why may it not seem to me to reconcile Scripture, the Church, and human nature, better than his? Why may I not deal with Mr. M. as he has dealt with Dr. Pusey? On his own principle it is a mere contest of intellect, and an appeal to popular opinion. I repeat, then, that Mr. Maurice's Kingdom of Christ is so far from being a Catholic book, that it is most anti-Catholic in this, if in no other, sense: that it is the most extravagant instance of the exercise of private judgment, having no other ground to rest on, nor principle to appeal to, that can be produced.

Apologizing for the length of this letter, into which I have been led by my desire to give full specimens of what I object to in Mr. Maurice's writings,

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant.
G.

SEES OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

In a paper issued by the Clerical Committee of St. Asaph, which is reprinted in the *British Magazine* of last month, reference is made to a document signed by a large proportion of the clergy in the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, the purport of which was to declare that the union of these last-mentioned dioceses "has never had their consent, and that they believe it to be disadvantageous to the Church in these dioceses."

This document has never yet been made public; but as there seems to be now some degree of misapprehension on the subject, it appears to be due to the Bishop, and to the Church at large, to make known the real nature of their declaration; and they have reason to believe that such a statement will be satisfactory to his lordship.

It will be seen that the document in question is addressed *not to the Primate*, but to *their Proctor in convocation*, as the most proper organ of communication with their Bishop, and with the Right Rev. Prelate and noble Duke, from whose statements, as reported in the public prints, they felt it their duty to express their dissent.

And it should be observed, above all, that the clergy took occasion to express to his lordship, "their most dutiful and lasting obligations for his lordship's constant, laborious, and self-denying exertions to encounter the heavy responsibilities imposed upon him."

Copy of a letter from the Rev. R. W. Huntley *to the* Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.

My Lord,—Your lordship is probably aware that a paper, a copy of which I enclose, has lately been circulated in your lordship's dioceses. As there is nothing in it with which I do not concur, I have no hesitation, now that it has obtained a large number of signatures, in begging permission to lay it, in my official capacity, before your lordship. I have added to it the names of those clergy, arranged in alphabetical order, who have supported the views of the original requisition. Your lordship will find that they amount to 150 in the whole. Since I have made the list, however, a few more names have dropped in, consequently the number is rather greater than that presented. I am able to say that it is the wish of the clergy who have affixed their names to the

enclosed statement, that the Duke of Wellington and the Bishop of London should be apprized, in a respectful manner, of the contents of it; they would have requested me, in the first instance, to have taken this step for them, had they not felt that they would have appeared to have passed by your lordship if they had so done, while they would have deprived themselves of an opportunity of expressing what, in common with their brother clergy, they most sincerely feel, their dutiful and warm affection to your lordship, personally, for the pious, judicious, and fatherly guidance with which your lordship has constantly laboured to preside over the sees to which Providence has called you. I shall be obliged by being informed whether your lordship will take upon yourself the charge of laying the contents of this communication before the two peers in question, or whether, with your permission, I shall do so, in a concise and formal manner. I am invited by my friend, Mr. Estcourt, to have the honour of meeting your lordship at Estcourt, on the 21st instant; but I cannot yet say whether my engagements will permit me to accept the invitation; in case I am there I will ask your chaplain whether it will be agreeable to your lordship that I should then take your commands, and if I am prevented waiting on Mr. Estcourt, I will take the liberty of sending over a servant with a note on the subject. I am, my lord, with great truth,

Your lordship's obliged and obedient servant.

R. W. Huntley.

P.S. I ought, possibly, to add, that, of the clergy who, in their letters to me, from various reasons, decline to sign the circular, the whole, with the exception of about three, consider the union of the sees to have been disadvantageous.

Boxwell Court, August 10th, 1843.

To the Rev. R. W. Huntley, *Proctor in Convocation, for the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol.*

We, the undersigned, clergy of the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, have seen with great pain a statement attributed to the Duke of Wellington, as made by his Grace in the House of Lords, that "since the union of the sees of Bristol and Gloucester, he had not heard of any complaint whatever of any evil arising from it; and yet both these were very important dioceses, and the government of the Church was there carried on to the general satisfaction of the inhabitants."

We have seen, also, with similar feelings, a statement of the Lord Bishop of London, that "the legislature had united the sees of Gloucester and Bristol with almost the unanimous consent of the Church."

We feel it to be an imperative duty to express, in some way, our decided dissent from these statements. We therefore request you, as one of our proctors in Convocation, to take the earliest opportunity of waiting upon the Lord Bishop of these dioceses, associating with yourself such of the clergy as you may think it convenient, and of stating respectfully to his lordship that this union never has had our consent, and that we believe it to be disadvantageous to the Church in these dioceses, notwithstanding his lordship's constant, laborious, and self-denying exertions to encounter the heavy additional responsibilities imposed upon him, by which he has deserved the affection and gratitude of the Church in general, and for which we also beg of you to express to him, particularly, our most dutiful thanks, and lasting obligation.

Signed by 168 of the clergy of the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol.

Copy of a letter from the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol *to the* Rev. R. W. Huntley.

Estcourt, Aug. 19th, 1843.

My dear Sir,—Allow me to acknowledge your very obliging letter, accompanying a paper relative to certain statements attributed to the Duke of

Wellington and the Bishop of London upon the union of the sees of Gloucester and Bristol, with the list of the clergy by whom it is subscribed.

Whatever were the words spoken by these personages on the occasion referred to, in neither case did they originate in any communication from me.

As, therefore, I am not personally involved in the question, it may, perhaps, be superfluous in me to do more than return my cordial thanks for the kind and favourable expression regarding myself which this paper contains. Of the good opinion here expressed by so many of my clergy I earnestly wish that I were more worthy. I can only say that I will, with the blessing of Providence, labour to deserve such approbation by the discharge of my diocesan duties in the best way that my ability admits. Under these circumstances, since you allow me an option, I had rather decline being the channel to convey their sentiments to the Duke of Wellington and the Bishop of London. I believe that the clergy are all aware of the fact, that the union in question was far from being a measure sought or desired from me. After an Act of Parliament, passed about seven years ago (without any expression of dissent or remonstrance that I know of), had legalized that union, circumstances over which I could have no control, led to an application being made to me to undertake the care of the united diocese. At that time I apprehended greater inconvenience from the union than has actually been experienced, though I did not anticipate the affliction of impaired vision, which befel me in the following year. But when it is considered that my refusal to undertake the charge would have postponed for an indefinite time, what is, I believe, admitted to be a most beneficial measure to the Church, the erection of the see of Ripon, and that it would have subjected me to great suspicion and censure, I cannot believe that any one of my clergy would have advised or wished me to act differently.

Believe me to be, with the greatest respect,

My dear Sir,

Your most faithful brother and servant,

J. H. Gloucester & Bristol.

Copy of a Letter from the Rev. R. W. Huntley, *to the* Lord Bishop of London.

My Lord,—I have the honour, with the consent of the Bishop of the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, to beg permission to place the enclosed paper in your lordship's hands. It relates to certain words said by the Newspapers to have been used by your lordship, in the debate on Lord Powis's motion, relative to the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor. The paper has received 129 signatures in addition to those of the requisitionists, and I am daily receiving more; while of the clergy who have by letter declined signing the document, all, with the exception, I believe, of three only, agree in considering the union of the two sees as disadvantageous. So that already, as I am informed, more than half of the clergy of the dioceses have pronounced against the measure. The clergy are fully prepared to hear that your lordship's language has been misreported; because it is notorious to the kingdom at large that the consent of the Church has never been asked, either to this, or to any of the measures of the Church Commissions, except, in a general way, in Convocation in 1841, on which occasion it was withheld. As regards the present arrangement of these dioceses, I believe I am correct when I say that the whole of that part of the Diocese of Salisbury, which the state has placed under the guidance of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, protested against the transference. As regards the deanery adjoining myself, and lately under the Bishop of Salisbury, I have a correspondence which then passed between the Rural Dean, the Bishop of Salisbury, and the present Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the then Bishop considers the transference "an innovation without an improvement;" and the Archbishop kindly promises to lay the

case before the commission, and leaves the Rural Dean in the impression that that part of the measure would be reconsidered, so that neither in the lawful way in convocation, nor in any particular manner in these dioceses, does the consent of the Church appear ever to have been obtained.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your most obedient servant,
R. W. HUNTLEY.

Boxwell Court, Dunkirk, Gloucestershire,
August 22, 1843.

Copy of a Letter from the LORD BISHOP OF LONDON *to the* Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY.

Tunbridge Wells, 4th September, 1843.

Rev. Sir,—I have to acknowledge the favour of your letter, and the paper by which it was accompanied. Upon referring to Hansard's Debates, I find that I am reported to have said, on the occasion of the Earl of Powis's motion, "The principle of the scheme now proposed in respect to these Bishoprics was one which had already been adopted in respect to other Bishoprics, with success and general approval. The Commission had recommended that the Bishoprics of Gloucester and Bristol should be united, and they were united by general consent."

Not having any notes of my speech, I cannot speak positively to the precise expressions which I employed, except that I am sure I said nothing about "the consent of the Church." If, however, I *had* used those words, no person hearing me would have understood me to mean anything more than that tacit acquiescence, which was to be inferred from the absence of objection at the time, it being, as you observe, notorious to the kingdom at large that the consent of the Church had never been formally asked to the measure in question.

Permit me to remark, that the transfer of a Deanery from the Diocese of Salisbury to that of Gloucester, is a question quite distinct from that of the union of the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol.

I have the honour to be, Rev. Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
C. J. LONDON.

The Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY.

Copy of a Letter from the Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY *to the* DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

My Lord Duke,—I have the honour, with the consent of the Lord Bishop of the Dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, to ask permission to lay the enclosed paper before your Grace. It has been lately circulated in the above-mentioned Diocese, and has already obtained 168 signatures; while of those clergy who have by letter to myself declined signing it, from various reasons, the whole, with the exception of about three, consider the present union of the two Dioceses to be disadvantageous to the Church. So that more than half of the clergy of the Dioceses have now pronounced against the measure, while I am yet receiving additional signatures.

The clergy of those Dioceses can readily understand that your Grace "had never heard of any complaint," and that, therefore, your Grace would naturally infer that the union was generally satisfactory, because we feel ourselves under no common obligations to our Bishop. He is a Prelate who, in addition to an administration of his Sees marked by great kindness and judgment, in times not unembarrassing, has also, by increased personal exertions on many most important points, and in sacrifice of income to a large and unusual annual amount, claimed from us great personal gratitude to himself, and thank-

fulness to that Divine Power who has set him over us. These feelings have kept us silent under an arrangement which has always vexed us, lest we should appear in any, even the slightest, manner to cast a reflection on our Bishop, whom we so highly reverence and value. But we feel sure that your Grace's sense of justice will permit us to apprize you that this silence on our part does not arise from acquiescence in the union. It is our wish, as the Church feels great grief at the result of Lord Powis's motion, to avoid any course on this occasion which shall, in any way, create agitation; therefore this paper has been delayed till its present date; and I am requested to place the enclosed in the hands only of your Grace, the Lord Bishop of London, and the Earl of Powis, with such a short and general notice of it in some of the papers as may suffice to inform the clergy of these Dioceses, that their feelings have been forwarded to the parties interested.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord Duke,
Your Grace's most obedient servant,
R. W. HUNTLEY.

Boxwell Court, Dunkirk, Gloucestershire,
August 22, 1843.

Copy of a Letter from the DUKE OF WELLINGTON *to the* Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY.

London, August 24, 1843.

F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Huntley.

The Duke mentioned, in debate in the House of Lords, a fact of which he could himself alone have a knowledge: viz. that he had never heard of dissatisfaction with a particular arrangement. The paper transmitted by Mr. Huntley gives no contradiction to that fact as stated. He is now informed of the dissatisfaction therein stated. But, having no control over the arrangement in question, which is in truth beyond that of the signers of the paper as well as of himself, the question requires no further attention from him.

The Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY.
Boxwell Court, Dunkirk, Gloucestershire.

REVIVAL OF CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS.—No. IV.

(*Testimonies continued.*)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

SIR,—Will you do me the favour to insert, by way of Appendix to the authorities in behalf of the modified revival of Conventual Institutions, the following account of the present state of Mary Wandesford's Charity, (see CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, Feb. 1844, p. 260,) with which the kindness of a distinguished correspondent in the north has supplied me; and also another communication with which I have been favoured, as well as additional testimonies from writers of the day.

"*April* 11, 1844.

"The Charity of Mary Wandesford is still prospering under the trusteeship of the Archbishop and a select number of the Chapter of York. A convenient [house], without Botham Bar, is assigned for the residence of the ten single [women], as described by her will, which commonly goes by the name of the Maids' Hospital. It seems to be *a valuable institution, which might advantageously be enlarged*, as there are said to be always a number of candidates for vacancies. They have a Chaplain, a respectable old Clergyman, who is

one of the Minor Canons of the Minster; but, whether from the smallness of the endowment, 10*l.* per annum, being insufficient to secure the object of daily service, or from any other cause, it is said that the service is now performed only on Sundays at the hospital. The Chaplain has enough to do with his other preferments, a populous parochial cure in York, and a distant chapelry in a village a few miles off, besides the Cathedral service; so that it would be scarcely possible for him to officiate daily at the hospital. The endowment being so small is probably the reason why the trustees have found this impracticable. In other respects the Charity appears to be faithfully administered; and care is taken to secure the appointments to persons of that class who are designed by the terms of the will."

I would fain hope that the time is drawing on when, from deeper and more enlightened views of Christian charity, an increase of such foundations, both for men and women, and *especially for the aged and infirm Clergy*, may be looked for; and I would trust, that in the settlement of such institutions, effectual provision may be made, by suitable liberality of endowment, to secure for the inmates the services of a resident Chaplain, and the daily offices of the Church.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

THE COLLECTOR OF AUTHORITIES, &c.

16, *Lansdown Place East, Bath,*
May 15th, 1844.

SIR,—I beg to send you an extract from the preface to the 2nd part of "The Reformed Monastery," a small 18mo, bearing the following on its title page—"The Reformed Monastery, or the Love of Jesus; a sure and short, pleasant and easie way to Heaven; in Meditations, Directions and Resolutions to love and obey Jesus unto death. In two parts. The 4th edition, revised and enlarged. London: printed for Charles Brome, at the Gun, in St. Paul's Churchyard, the west end, 1649." It is dedicated to the Rt. Rev. Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Oxford, and is signed L. B. I have no idea myself who is the author in question, and should be glad to know. The following remarks, however, are very much to the purpose; and, perhaps you may think them worthy of being introduced into any future catena on the monastic system and institutions.

I am, Sir,
Your very obedient Servant,
WILLIAM LONG.

"Not that I would deny that places for religious retirement might afford many great advantages, in order to greater devotion and heavenly-mindedness; for I bewail their loss, and heartily wish that the piety and charity of the present age might, in a first and primitive measure, restore to this nation the useful conveniency of them. Necessary reformations might have repurged monasteries as well as the Church, without abolishing of them; and they might have been still houses of religion without having any dependence upon Rome. All men are not inclining to, nor fitted for, an active life. Some would be glad to find a place of rest and retirement for contemplation: some, who by melancholy, or by the 'terrors of the Lord,' are frighted from their sins, and from the civilized world, into Quakerism, into an unhappy sullenness and apostasy, would perhaps exchange their silks and laces for the coarser garments of mortified professors of a monastic life; and find among them that happiness

and peace of the soul, which they vainly seek for in their wretched and deluded brotherhood. Some, who, upon great afflictions and sudden changes of fortune, fall into a state of sorrow and tedious sadness, and are left in the world to struggle with the temptations of a discontented mind, would perhaps take sanctuary in a religious house; and give themselves up wholly to Jesus; and forget their temporal sorrow by heavenly joys and meditations; and, at last, bless that storm and shipwreck which cast them into that unknown land of rest and safety. Some, that are forward, and ready to promise well, and take good resolutions, have not strength enough to keep them; but are prevailed upon by the importunity of those temptations they meet withal in the converse of men; they, perhaps, being fled from those occasions of sin, might, by the good example and good instructions of a religious society, secure themselves, and stand to their holy engagements. Some, who never loved the world, or that are grown weary of it, or have passionate longings for Heaven, would willingly free themselves of the cumbrances and distractions of worldly business, to enjoy the leisure and opportunities of meditations, devotion, and other spiritual exercises. And some, that are much taken with the strict lives, and beads, and orisons of Papist friars, would look home, and spend their commendations on the purer religion, and better ordered lives and devotions of those, in this Church, that should wholly devote themselves to God. However, 'tis not to be denied, but that men are much affected and influenced by the place, the company, the way of living, and the outward circumstances wherein they are engaged; and I believe it might be now as true a proverb as ever—Benè vixit, qui benè latuit; He lives best and most safe who is least acquainted with the world, and lives farthest from it.

"I might add further, that such pious foundations or restitutions might be so ordered as to afford a very great advantage to our Church and religion. For thence, persons of good parts and great piety, devoted to the advancement of the true Christian faith, and free from those cares and cumbrances that are upon others, might be sent as missionaries, to make it their business to reclaim persons of all sorts from schism, errors, and heresies, and even from looseness and irreligion.

"Not but that we have an abundant supply of persons, very well fitted for that blessed employment, from our great seminaries of learning. But their necessary attendance upon their ministry, and particular cures, besides other avocations, deprive them of the leisure and opportunities of running after their strayed sheep. They can well guide and feed such as duly keep within their folds; but such as break out and wander, they have not time to seek after. And yet great is the number of these, especially about great towns; where small encouragements and stiff opposition are a great hindrance to the gaining of converts. This excellent and charitable work could be best done by them that should have nothing else to do."

"We are, perhaps, too apt to judge of these (Monastic) Institutions by their issue, and by the aspect they wore when in their decline, they were brought into contact with an increase of knowledge, and under a searching and no friendly inquisition. But it is impossible to overrate the blessed effects which, under the special guidance of God, they were the means of producing, in keeping alive and diffusing the light of Christian truth during these (the middle) ages of ignorance and social disorder. For *they presented to the eyes of men the Kingdom of Christ as a visible body and form of society;—they exhibited that society held together by a spiritual rule;—men's hearts and consciences controlled by an invisible influence, and by faith in an unseen power, which enabled them to overcome themselves, live in obedience and peace, and be active religious service. They at once asserted and embodied the existence of a ritual authority apart from, and far above the reach of temporal power. thin them Christians of more pious and thoughtful hearts sought a home, secure*

from the storms of the world around; mind was brought into contact with mind; all that remained of learning and philosophy found there a sanctuary, and by being allied to religion, was saved, and became its hand-maid in civilizing and converting. The solemn and stated ceremonial, and unceasing round of services, impressed the pagan mind with the reality of unseen things, and formed a powerful contrast with the savage sacrifices offered to those beings whom superstition had invented.

"Besides this, the inmates were not mere solitaries; but the numerous brotherhood found their allotted tasks in the practice of all the arts, the production of manufactures, the education of youth, the copying of the Scriptures, the cultivation of learning, and the active offices of charity. It could not be, too, but that the holy austerity they exhibited, the spirit of obedience, the power of the Christian Faith, the blessings of civilized life, should attract the unsettled tribes amongst whom the convents rose, and to whom they became the present dispensers of light, as indeed they contained in germ the civilized advancement of subsequent ages. Within them, moreover, was found an asylum for the oppressed and injured, for orphans, for redeemed slaves, for helpless infirmity. Within them schools were formed for the instruction of the young, and of the newly converted; here was nursed the spirit of Christian enterprise, and native missionaries were trained and sent forth, sometimes into the surrounding country, sometimes into distant lands, to bear the knowledge of the Redeemer. Thus were gathered together all the main instruments for evangelizing a heathen country; hence, under God, tribes were converted, and the kingdom of Christ extended; until what religious men founded in piety, princes afterwards established on worldly policy for the civilization of their dominions."—*Grant's Bampton Lectures*, 1843, pp. 123—5.

"Study what a Bible Christian is; be silent over it; pray for grace to comprehend it, to accept it; and next ask yourselves this question, and be honest in your answer. This model of a Christian, though not commanding your literal imitation, still is it not the very model which has been fulfilled in others, in every age, since the New Testament was written? You will ask me, In whom? I am loth to say: I have reason to ask you to be honest and candid; for so it is as if from consciousness of the fact, and dislike to have it urged upon us, we and our fore-fathers have been accustomed to scorn and ridicule these faithful obedient persons, and in our Saviour's very words, to "cast out their *name* as evil for the Son of Man's sake." But if the truth must be spoken, what are the *humble monk* and the *holy nun*, and other regulars, as they are called, but Christians after the very pattern given us in Scripture? What have they done but this, contemn in the world the Christianity of the Bible? Did our Saviour come on earth suddenly, as He will one day visit, in whom would He see the features of the Christians He and His Apostles left behind them, but in them? Who but these give up home and friends, wealth and ease, good name and liberty of will, for the Kingdom of Heaven? Where shall we find the image of St. Paul, or St. Peter, or St John, or of Mary, the mother of Mark, or of Philip's daughters, but in those who, whether they remain in seclusion, or are sent over the earth, have calm faces, and sweet plaintive voices, and spare frames, and gentle manners, and hearts weaned from the world, and wills subdued; and for their meekness meet with insult, and for their purity with slander, and for their gravity with suspicion, and for their courage with cruelty; yet meet with Christ everywhere,—Christ, their all-sufficient, ever-lasting portion, to make up to them, both here and hereafter, all they suffer, all they dare, for His name's sake."—*Newman. Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, pp. 327, 329.

THE ANCIENT CATHOLIC AND MODERN SOCIETY SYSTEM OF CHURCH ENDOWMENT CONTRASTED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

SIR,—The very great importance of the subject must be my apology for calling your attention to the accompanying document; and perhaps the following questions and considerations may serve as an introduction to its contents.

Has the Church been provided with any legitimate system of endowment, which, by Divine appointment, will increase with the increasing number of her children? or is she dependent on the guinea subscription list; or on what the State chooses to give her? As the Gospel is to be preached to every creature, common sense seems to require that every creature should pay proportionably for its propagation and support. High authority has fixed a *quota* as the amount of contribution. Ancient Christendom—and, as a part of it, ancient England—submitted to this appointment, and it is confirmed by English laws. Is the Catholic rule now to be neglected, when he who runs may see the want of it? Is private judgment to rule the question, and is every man to do that which is right in his own eyes? Again,—Are there no sacred principles which are the common birthright of the Clergy and the poor? Have we no scriptural protests against consigning the poor to the State, or supporting them on secular views? Have we no ancient statutes enforcing the payment in full of a sacred tribute to the Church, and assuming or providing that a portion of it should be assigned to the poor? Are not the poor, as, in one sense, the representatives of their Elder Brother, entitled to a share of the sacred tribute, which is due primarily to Him who is a Priest FOR EVER after the order of Melchisedec?

Such questions as these may, perhaps, suggest that there are some parts in the sacred system of the Church which are yet in abeyance; and that it is only by their practical adoption that we can cure our social evils, or provide for the spiritual wants of the masses of the people. We might, indeed, as well hope to pay off the national debt by voluntary subscription, as expect that any of our modern schemes should bring the one hundred and thirty million souls of the English empire within the pale of the English Church. When we have principles laid up in the Church and constitution of England to do this mighty work, how sad it is that, instead of developing them, the Bishops and the Clergy should be forming associations, and supporting societies which are nothing but the voluntary, or private judgment system in disguise!

But, what is far worse than all this, we are going backward, instead of forward. We are pulling down, with heedless and (but for our ignorance) sacrilegious hands, the model system of Church endowment which the piety of former ages had constructed, and which laws of a thousand years' duration have secured to us. If it were not a certain truth, it would not be believed, that, at a time when the want of Church endowments is most deeply felt, the Primate of all England would be giving his sanction to a Commission which goes to destroy that sacred system to which all the Bishops and Clergy owe the revenues of their bishoprics and livings,—a Commission which abro-

gates those ancient statutes that contained in themselves seeds, by the propagation of which the Gospel would be *effectually* planted in England's metropolis, in England's manufacturing towns, and in England's colonies.

Too many of the Clergy have been caught in the tempting trap which has been unconsciously laid for them. They must use all fair means to extricate themselves; but they must not hope for a remedy by any alteration in the assessment-book; but rather they must go back to early times, and reconcile their flocks to a second adoption of their old endowment deeds. The Clergy who are still free must, on no account whatever, accept any award, but throw themselves upon the consciences of the people—take their stand on sacred ground—appeal to the oath of their Sovereign. The constitutional law is still on their side; and if that is to be respected, no commutation of tithes is valid without their free consent. Meanwhile, they must be careful to show, in every possible way, that, in their opposition to this measure, they are not actuated by any spirit of faction or of filthy lucre, but solely by a determination not to betray what they know to be the truth. Nor should they suppose that by adopting this course, they are embarking in any visionary crusade, or joining any forlorn hope; but rather, that they are attaching themselves to a band SURE of victory, because its watchword is, THE SUPREMACY OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OVER A MODERN ACT OF PARLIAMENT, AND RESPECT AND REGARD TO PRINCIPLES HELD SACRED THROUGH THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF ANCIENT CHRISTENDOM.

Yours faithfully, C. M.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The Humble Petition of CHARLES MILLER, M.A. Clerk.

Sheweth,

That your Petitioner is Incumbent of the Living of Harlow, in the Diocese of London.

That your Petitioner desires to call the attention of your Right Honourable House to an Act, called an Act for the Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales, 6 and 7 of William IV., c. 71.

That your Petitioner cannot but acknowledge that this Act of the Legislature is quite in accordance with the present feelings and habits of the English people, who, perhaps, may be ready to form themselves into Religious Societies conducted upon the Voluntary principle, yet are, nevertheless, quite averse to give Tithes, or to adopt any fixed proportionate system of Contribution in the service of true religion.

But that the Tithe Commutation Act is quite at variance with the religious character and spirit of the English Constitution, and that wise and statesman-like policy, which, regarding the universal practice of Ancient Christendom, and looking to the real origin of Church Endowments, and the real means of increasing them, has hitherto secured to the English Church the enjoyment of her revenues by attesting with civil sanction the sacred principle on which they were granted.

That your Petitioner earnestly entreats your Right Honourable House not to be influenced in this question by any modern prejudices, or by any modern school of theology or politics, but to regard existing wants, to examine the Constitutional Law of England, and other authorities, in favor of this petition,

to mark the evil which is resulting from the neglect of its principles, and the good which has resulted from the practical adoption of them.

That Bishop Andrewes has observed that two Patriarchs—as many Prophets—Christ—His Apostles—the whole Church—Fathers—Councils—History—both Laws, civil and canon—reason—the imperfect pieces and fragments of the heathen, and finally, experience itself have brought in their evidence for Tithes. (*De Decimis*, 1629.)

That, either these authorities must be disregarded, or that to give Tithes of all is obligatory upon all, as an essential part of Christian Worship,* and as the appropriate practical thanksgiving for that Divine blessing through which "the earth brings forth her increase," and our trade prospers.

That Spiritual Destitution, with all its concomitant evils, prevails to an alarming extent in those parts of the Metropolis and Manufacturing Towns which have been built since the true doctrine of Tithes has been exploded.

That to build Churches and to provide Pastoral superintendence with Parliamentary Grants of Public Money is a practice, which, though recently defended and partially adopted, has no sanction, either from natural religion, or from the patriarchal, or from the Jewish dispensations, or from the practice of the Christian Church, or from the Constitution of England; that Church Societies are utterly inefficient; and that the real remedy of existing evils is to be found in the practical development of that ancient system, which requires from every Christian a proportionate contribution in the service of true religion, and which provides for the infirmity of human nature by fixing a quota as the minimum of its amount.

That the appropriation of the Tithe of the produce of the earth and the tenth of every Christian's income, for the use, not of the Clergy, but of the Church, is a part of that Divine scheme which would make provision for preaching the Gospel to every creature, and that, where this practice has prevailed, every Christian has been provided with a Church, an Altar, and a Minister, and every Minister with the means of subsistence.

That though the sacred principles which the piety of former ages has bequeathed to us are forgotten, yet that, through the wholesome operation of our ancient Tithe Laws, in most of our villages, in our old towns, and in parts of our metropolis, we may even yet see substantial proofs of the value of the institution of Tithe as the basis of Church Endowment; but that, if we would rightly estimate our forefathers' wisdom in upholding it, we must compare the fruits of their system with the miserable results of our own endeavours, by Societies, to raise adequate funds for the support and effectual propagation of the Gospel; and that this comparison must of itself predispose your Right Honourable House to a favourable consideration of the prayer of this Petition.

That it appears, from a Report of the Commissioners appointed by his late Majesty King William the Fourth, that in the year of our Lord 1831, the net annual income of the Incumbents of England and Wales amounted to the sum of three millions, four thousand six hundred and thirty nine pounds; and that these are the fruits of that system which the piety and laws of our forefathers have bequeathed and secured to us; that it appears from a recent Report, that the income of the Society for promoting Additional Curates in populous places for the year 1842, amounted to ten thousand three hundred and eighty-five pounds, five shillings, and one penny; that the income of the Pastoral Aid Society for the year 1843, amounted to seventeen thousand five hundred and sixty-two pounds, nineteen shillings, and eleven pence.

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* We are not only to worship God with our lips, and give him praises with our tongue, which is but an inferior and contemplative worship; but He has required that we should pay Him an active worship,—that is, worship Him with our substance. This is a necessary part of that glory which we must give to God, and as ...ch preferable to verbal praises as deeds are more than words. The Psalmist ...bes this plainly, Psalm xcvi. 8. "*Give unto the Lord the glory due unto His* ... *What is that* glory? The next words show it.—"*Bring an offering, and come* ...*courts.*"—*Leslie*, vol. ii. 819. 1721.

That one of these Societies enjoys the patronage of Her Majesty the Queen, the two Archbishops, and other Bishops; that the other Society has also extensive support, and that, if it be considered, at the same time, that there is an immense mass of property practically exempt from all Ecclesiastical Taxation, it must appear to your Right Honourable House, from the small sum collected by these Societies, that the system of contribution adopted by them is essentially erroneous; that it can neither remove the existing deficiency in Church Endowment, or be in conformity with any Scriptural rule or principle, or with any practice which either the ancient Catholic Church, or the Church and Realm of England have received.

But that the Church and Constitution of England are provided with a principle to meet the growing evil; for that, as the present Bishop of Llandaff* has observed, the Church of England was not endowed by carrying about the box for contributions, but by the piety of our forefathers dedicating and by law confirming to her service a portion of the produce of the land, and that to increase her endowments, this great exemplar must be copied by the miner, and by the manufacturer, (and, as your petitioner would add,) by the lawyer, by the physician, by the tradesman, by all according to their means who would acknowledge that it is the Divine hand that maketh rich; and who would conform to that sacred ordinance which requires that they who preach the Gospel should not only live by the Gospel but of the Gospel.

That Sir Robert Peel has observed that offerings made to Him, through whom our affairs prosper, and to uphold His ordinances, are natural expressions of piety and thankfulness; but that Tithes are offerings, and that the *unconscious* declaration in favour of this petition, by this distinguished statesman, proves the native force of truth, that the sacred principles of the Tithe system find a home in the natural workings of the human heart, and that they commend themselves to the protection of your Right Honourable House by their origin as well as by their results.

That, at a meeting held on the 4th day of April, A.D. 1837, at Chelmsford, in the county of Essex and diocese of London, Lord Rayleigh in the chair, Sir Brook Brydges observed, that "If we, as a nation, or as individuals, did not honour God with our substance, and give to Him the first-fruits of our increase, we must expect a curse not a blessing;" that this solemn warning may serve to remind your Right Honourable House of the true protective principle, the basis of all sound legislation, as assuredly it tends to vindicate the claims of this petition, by adding to the unconscious testimony in its favour.

That your petitioner is fully sensible that it is the especial office of the Church, by the charges of her Bishops, by the teaching of her Clergy, and by the due and prescribed use of the offertory service, to call forth and to keep in continual action those sacred principles which the present Bishop of Llandaff, Her Majesty's Prime Minister, and Sir Brook Brydges have so truly declared to be the proper basis of Church endowment and national prosperity; but that the laws of this country, for a thousand years' duration in their defence, prove that they are proper subject matter for protection by civil legislation, and also, in the judgment of your petitioner, that it is alike the wisdom and the duty of your Right Honourable House still to uphold them.

For that Tithes have in this country been made over to the service of God and the Church, by a deed of endowment, presented and consecrated at the Altar; † that this is the sacred groundwork of the laws of Edward the Confes-

* Speech at Abergavenny, 1839.

† In the year 855, King Ethelwolf did renew this (a former) grant in a more solemn manner, dedicating and vowing the tithe of all the lands in England, *in Sempiterno Graphio in Cruce Christi*, as it is expressed, and was the manner, at that time, of the most solemn vow; and tendered the charter by him signed, upon his knees, offering it up and laying it upon the great Altar of St. Peter's Church, in Westminster; the Bishops receiving it from him on God's part. And this was done, not only with the consent of both Lords and Commons, of whom an infinite number was present, but all the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and Nobles, did subscribe it, with

sor,* and of succeeding statutes; but that the Tithe Commutation Act arranges the Clergyman's income or views merely secular, and that it does not show either any regard to the sacred principles of Tithes, or to the sacred charters and sacred laws which dedicated and confirmed the use of them to the Church.

That your petitioner, however, cannot but acknowledge that the Tithe Commutation Act, in its disregard of sacred principles, has a precedent in that statute of King Henry the Eighth, which impropriates Tithes to laymen; but that your petitioner would remind your Right Honourable House that that statute has proved as disastrous in its effects as it was unholy in its origin.

For that, to compensate the Church for this loss of her sacred patrimony, the charge of her poor was made over to the state, and this compromise has been followed by a progressive increase in poor rates, a progressive decrease in charity, and a progressive estrangement of the several orders of society from each other.

That moreover, since the fatal sanction given to lay impropriations, the sacred principle of Tithe has been less and less regarded, and no such additional contributions have been cast into the Treasury of the Church, as to enable her to maintain a sufficient number of clergy to administer the sacraments and to preach God's Holy Word to the people.

That the Tithe Commutation Act perpetuates and increases these evils, for that it obliterates from the English laws every vestige of the ancient Catholic system of Church endowment, and thereby, as far as can be done by a human statute, cuts off all hope of any substantial increase in Ecclesiastical Revenues, and all prospect of a return to that Apostolic rule which requires the Church to provide for her poor.

That your petitioner, in pointing out these grievances, is praying your Right Honourable House to defend a great principle; that he is not seeking protection for any vested interest; that he sees fully the justice, the wisdom, the necessity of such an appropriation of the Tithes of the Church as may best promote the purpose of the Church, and that he would gladly see such a division of Church Revenues as has been proposed at Leeds, made compulsory in his own parish, and other parishes, by the law of the land.

That your petitioner also suggests that a fund should be created for the redemption of Lay Tithes to the Church by requiring the payment of tenths in full from every Bishop, and from every incumbent, that the Tithes so redeemed might be appropriated to increasing the number and amount of existing endowments; and that, independently of this advantage, the entire appropriation of Tithes to the Church, the payment of tenths by the Bishops and the other Clergy would very materially tend to reconcile the Laity to the payment of the sacred tribute.

That your petitioner will cheerfully submit to any such tax upon his income as will promote, either within or without the precincts of his parish, the pious purposes for which his living was endowed; but, although he is fully sensible of the hostile spirit against Tithes, and that neither the Bishops nor the other Clergy of this age have as yet said or done anything in defence of them, yet that he knows also that the sacred principles for which he is contending are incorporated in the religion of which he is minister, and in the constitution of the country of which he is a citizen; and that he has learnt from history the danger and impolicy of buying off the approach of an enemy by the surrender of that which is sacred.

That he cannot, therefore, be a voluntary agent in this matter, and that to give, as in the Tithe Act, the Primate of all England power to nominate

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* greatest applause of the people. And it was sent and published in every parish-irch throughout the kingdom."—*Leslie, Works*, vol. ii. 848. 1721.

† These laws ordain that tithes of all productions of the earth must be paid, *ause they are due* to God; and that tithes of all our increase are to be paid to *n who gives us the* nine parts with the tenth.

a member of a Commission which goes to destroy forcibly the sacred system on which the Church of England was endowed, is manifestly at variance with the principles of the English Church; and that to give power to Her Majesty's Secretary of State to nominate two other members of such Commission, is to deprive the Clergy and their churches of those rights which are secured to them in the Coronation Oath, especially as that oath is to be interpreted by the oath taken by the sovereigns of England previous to 1688, and in which express mention was made of the laws of Edward the Confessor.

That your petitioner earnestly entreats your Right Honourable House not to be misled by the apathy and silence of the Bishops and the other Clergy, but carefully, deliberately, and impartially, to examine the merits of this petition, and to judge of it by the authorities which your petitioner has adduced, and to show, either by the immediate dissolution of the Tithe Commission, or by some such substantive enactment, that your Right Honourable House, acting upon precedents of a thousand years' duration, neither abandons, nor calls upon others to abandon, that sacred system of Church endowment to which the Bishops and the other Clergy owe the revenues of their bishoprics and livings, and which, if duly developed, will produce funds for the Propagation of the Gospel in every corner of the British Empire.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

Harlow Vicarage, April, 1844. CHARLES MILLER.

KING EDGAR'S PROCLAMATION.

"Here is manifested in this writ, how King Edgar considered what might be for a remedy, in the pestilence that greatly harassed and diminished his people widely through his kingdom.

"This is then, first, what he and his *witan* thought, that this unfortunate state of things was earned by sins, and by disobedience to God's commandments; and chiefly by the subtraction of the bounden tribute which Christian men should yield to God in their tythe-payments. He bethought and considered the divine course by that of the world. If any agricultural tenant neglect his lord's tribute, and render it not to him at the right appointed time, one may think, if the lord be merciful, that he will forgive the neglect, and take his tribute without punishing him. If he then, frequently, through his messengers, admonish him of his tribute, and he then hardeneth himself, and thinketh to hold it out, one may think that the lord's anger will wax to such a pitch, that he will allow him neither property nor life. So, one may think, our Lord will do, through the boldness with which common men resist the frequent admonition which our teachers have given about our Lord's bounden tribute, which are our tythes and church-shots. Then bid I, and the archbishop, that ye provoke not God, nor earn a sudden death in this present life, nor, what is worse, a future one in everlasting hell, by any subtraction of God's rights: but let every one, whether poor or rich, who has any cultivated land, render to God his tythes, with all pleasure and liberality, as the act teaches, which my *witan* enacted at Andover, and now again at Wihtbordestane with a pledge confirmed. Moreover, I bid my reeves by my friendship, and by all that they possess, that they punish every one of those who pay not this, and break the pledge of my *witan* with any prevarication, even as the foresaid enactment teaches; and in the punishment let there be no forgiveness. Whether a man may be so poor as to be tempted into encroachments upon that which is God's, to the ruin of his soul, or so hasty-tempered as to think little of that which he does not consider as his own, that surely must be more his own which lasts for ever, if it be done with a truly cheerful mind.

Then will I that God's rights stand everywhere alike in my dominions; and that God's servants, who receive the payments that we make to God, should live clean lives, that they should through their purity intercede for us to God. And I and my thanes enjoin our priests what is taught us by the pastors of our

souls, that is, our bishops, whom we should never fail of hearing in any of the things that they teach us for God, that we, through the obedience that we yield to them for God, may earn the everlasting life which they persuade us to by teaching, and by the example of good works."—*Soames' Anglo-Saxon Church*, 3d ed., p. 305.

KING'S OATH.

Episcopus.—"Sir, will you grant and keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England, the laws and customs to them granted by the kings of England your lawful and religious predecessors, and, namely, the laws, customs, and franchises granted to the Clergy by the glorious King Saint Edward, your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom, and agreeable to the prerogative of the kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this realm?

Rex.—"I grant and promise to keep them."

Episcopus.—"Sir, will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely (according to your power) both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergy, and the people?"

Rex.—"I will keep it."

Episcopus.—"Sir, will you (to your power) cause law, justice, and discretion, in mercy and truth, to be executed in all your judgements?"

Rex.—"I will."

Episcopus.—"Sir, will you grant to hold and keep the laws and rightful customs, which the commonalty of this your kingdom have; and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?"

Rex.—"I grant and promise so to do."

Then one of the Bishops reads this admonition to the King, before the Bishops, with a loud voice :—

"Our Lord the King, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant and to preserve unto us, and to the Churches committed to our charge, ALL CANONICAL PRIVILEGES, and due law and justice; and that you will protect and defend us, as every good king ought to be protector and defender of the Bishops and the Churches under his government."

The King answereth,

"With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and to the Churches committed to your charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice; and that I will be your protector and defender to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good king in his kingdom in right ought to protect and defend the Bishops and the Churches under their government."

Then the King ariseth, and is led to the Communion-table, where he makes a solemn oath, in sight of all the people, to observe the premisses, and, laying his hand upon the book, saith,

THE OATH.

"The things that I have here promised I shall perform and keep, so help me God, and the contents of this book."

This oath is to be found in the records of the Exchequer, and is published in his (King Charles) Majesties answer to a Remonstrance of the *26th of May*, 1642.

The same oath, for matter, you may read in an old manuscript book, containing the form of coronation, &c., in the Public Library at Oxon.—*Extract from Basire on Sacrilege*, p. 170. London, 1668.

The following vow, made by Charles I., concerning the restoring the Church *Lands, is extracted* from Nelson's "Address to Persons of Quality and Estate," *(Appendix 6, 1715)* by a correspondent in the British *Magazine* :—

"I, A. B., do here promise, and solemnly vow, in the presence, and for the service of Almighty God, that if it shall please His Divine Majesty, of His infinite goodness, to restore me to my kingly rights, and to re-establish me in my throne, I will wholly give back to the Church all those impropriations which are now held by the Crown; and what lands soever I now do, or should enjoy, which have been taken away, either from any Episcopal see, or any cathedral or collegiate church, from any abbey, or other religious house; I likewise promise, for hereafter, to hold them from the Church, under such reasonable fines and rents as shall be set down by some conscientious persons, whom I promise to choose with all uprightness of heart, to direct me in this particular. And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my vow, and to bless me in the designs I have now in hand, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Charles R. Oxford, 13 Ap. 1646."—*The Progress of the Reformation in England, by the Rev. Francis Fulford*, pp. 26, 27 (*a note*). Rivingtons, 1844.

Right views of tithes expired with the non-jurors. Queen Anne's churches were built and endowed by a tax upon coals. The Church in Canada was endowed with reserved lands, which, from want of cultivation, have been called reserved wildernesses. Guinea subscriptions and casual donations are but developments of the voluntary principle; and until we can learn that the payment of tithes is a positive duty, there can be no hope whatever of any effectual propagation of the Gospel. Happily, on the principles of the constitutional law of England, the Tithe Commutation Act is not worth more than a piece of waste paper, though it serves as a veil to intercept from our eyes the brightness of truth. The obvious course for the Clergy is, to protest and to petition; on no account to avail themselves of any award of the Commissioners, but to appeal to the consciences of Englishmen, and to the *ancient* laws of England. The Church is here forsaken by her Bishops. It is melancholy, indeed, that the Primate should be seeking for contributions for foreign missions, while he is sanctioning a Commission which is sapping the foundation of Church endowment at home.

But notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, the English Church and Constitution are provided with weapons to meet existing evils. Time will develope what Bishops and Clergy have been tempted by modern prejudice to suppress. Truth will avenge herself, and put those to the blush who have dared to compromise that sacred system of Church Endowment which was universally adopted through ancient Christendom, and which it was the glory of the English Constitution to uphold. C. M.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of London, *June* 2.
Bp. of Chichester, *June* 2.
Bp. of Exeter, *June* 2.
Bp. of Hereford, *June* 2.
Bp. of Lichfield, *June* 2.
Bp. of Lincoln, *June* 2.
Bp. of Peterborough, *June* 2.
Bp. of Salisbury (for B. & W.) *June* 2.
Abp. of York, *June* 9.
Bp. of Ely, *June* 9.
Bp. of Durham, *June* 30.
Bp. of Winchester, *June* 30.
Bp. of Worcester, *July* 21.
Bp. of Norwich, *Aug.* 25.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Adams, H. G.....	Cornwood, v.....	Exeter.....	Bishop of Exeter	£105	1080
Barrow, G. S.....	Thorpe next Haddiscoe, R.....	Norwich....	Lord Chancellor	175	101
Betts, W. K.....	Ch. Ch., Norwich, P.C..	Norwich....	R. of St. Clements	...	621
Burdon, J.	English Bicknor, R.....	G. & B.....	Queen's Coll., Oxford..	300	576
Carter, J.	Glaisdale, P.C.	York.....	Archbp. of York	79	1021
Clowes, T.	St. Lawrence, Norwich, R.	Norwich....	Lord Chancellor	82	2783
Darell, W. L.	Fretherne, R.....	G. & B.....	Rev. R. C. Christie.....	282	242
Dugdale, R.....	Ivegill, P.C.	Carlisle.....	Trustees	46	124
Escott, G. S.....	Barnwood, v.	G. & B.....	D. & C. of Gloucester...	195	383
Everard, E.....	Bishop's Hull, P.C.	B. & W.....	Rev. H. Rawlings	122	1263
Fellowes, T. L. ...	Lingwood, P.C.....	Norwich.....	Rev. E. Goddard.....	55	473
Fox, J.	Hayle, P.C.....	Carlisle.....	.....	...	...
Golding, H.....	Stratford, St. Mary, R..	Norwich.....	Duchy of Lancaster.....	296	647
Gunton, J.	Marsham, R.....	Norwich....	Earl of Lichfield	281	698
Hopper, R. L.....	St. George, Bristol, v...	G. & B.....	V. of St. Augustine's ...	285	8318
Hughes, H.....	Manorbear, v.	St. David's.	Christ's Coll., Camb.	...	691
Hutton, C. G.....	St. Paul's, Manchester, P.C.	Chester.....	Manchester Coll. Ch. ...	293	...
Jackson, T.	Wadworth, v.	Peculiar	W. Walker, Esq.....	110	681
Jeune, Dr.	Taynton, R.	G. & B.....	D. & C. of Gloucester...	321	634
Jones, C. W. J. ...	Loddiswell, v. *w.* Buckland	Exeter.....	Col. W. J. Jones	286	1069
Lamb, T.....	St. Mary, Preston, P.C..	Chester.....	Trustees.....	290	508
Lendon, C.....	St.John's,LacyGreen, P.C.	Lincoln	P.C. of Prince'sRisboro'	90	910
Longlands, W. D.	Gerrans, R.	Exeter.....	Bishop of Exeter	258	816
Maude, T.....	Hasketon, R.....	Norwich	.....	...	...
Mayers, M. J.....	Langham Bishops, v....	Norwich....	Bishop of Norwich.....	146	383
Napier, C. W. A...	Evercreech, v.	B. & W.....	Hon. J. Talbot.....	226	1449
Phillips, J. B.....	St. Andrew's, Manchester	Chester.....	.....	...	...
Pitt, J.	Readcomb, R.	G. & B.....	J. Pitt	373	248
Powell, R	Bury, v.....	Chichester..	Lord Chancellor	59	611
Richardson, B....	Egton, P.C.....	York.....	Archbp. of York	33	1128
Robinson, T.	Muncaster, P.C.....	Chester.....	Lord Muncaster.....	97	337
Woodgate, G. S...	Pembury, v.	.....	Rev. S. Woodgate	353	1093

APPOINTMENTS.

Brine, E. ..... Second Master of the Free Gram. School of Charles I., Kidderminster.
Harvey, R. ..... Rural Dean for the County of Middlesex.
Heurtley, C. A. B.D. ..... } Bampton Lecturer for 1845.
Senior, J. LL.D.. Campden Lect. at Wakefield.
Wall, R. ..... Vice-Princip. of the Training College, Chester.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Bailey, J., Ceylon.
Buckoll, J., Vicar of Great Limber.
Dineley, G., B.D., Rector of Churchill, Worcestershire.
Garnett, W., of Barbadoes.
Kendall, J., Vicar of Budbrooke, Warwickshire, & Master of the Earl of Leicester's Hospital.
Kendall, N., M.A, Vicar of Talland.
Leighton, Sir John H., Bart., of Trinity Coll., Cambridge.
Powell, J., Vicar of Bitteswell, Leicestershire.
Richardson, B., Incumbent of Glaisdale, Egton, and Goathland, near Whitby, Yorkshire.
Slingsby, H. J., Rec. of Stour Provost, Dorset.
Still, P., Rector of Cattistock.
Syer, B., Rector of Kedington, Suffolk.
Vicars, G. C., late Curate of Barlaston.
Thomas, E., Rector of Morfil.
Turnour, E. J. M.A., at Cranley.
Whitty, W., Curate of Rathvilly.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING, AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

REPORT read at the Annual General Court, May 21st, 1844, being the Sixteenth after its incorporation, and the Twenty-sixth from its formation. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair:—

In presenting to the General Meeting of the Society the Report for the past year, the Committee desire, in the first place, to mention, with deep regret, the severe sufferings, and fatal termination of them, by which the Society has been deprived of its late Secretary, the Rev. William Johnson Rodber. They cannot omit the opportunity of expressing to the members of the Society at large a feeling, in which they are convinced all will share, of grateful remembrance of the assiduity and single-heartedness with which he laboured in the service of the Society from its first establishment, for a period of nearly six-and-twenty years.

From paying this tribute, most justly due, to the faithful and devoted service of one who had deeply at heart the Society's interest, and gave his best exertions to its cause, the Committee will proceed to report the operations of the past year, and to state the present circumstances and prospects of the Society.

The number of applications received in the course of the year ending March 31, 1844, was 201, a number greater by 43 than the applications made in the preceding year; and greater also, with a single exception, than the number of cases brought before the Society in any one year since its institution; the number of applications in 1840 having alone exceeded those of the present year by 4.

The number of Grants made during the past year is 119, exceeding by 23 those of last year, which, however, from several causes, explained in the Report, were below the usual average. Of the Grants made during the past year, there have been for building *additional* Churches and Chapels, 49; for enlarging or otherwise increasing the accommodation in existing Churches and Chapels, 47; and for rebuilding, with enlargement, 23. The number of additional *Churches* towards the building of which Grants have been made during the past year exceeds by 6 those of the year preceding; which again exceeded those of any former year. And this is a circumstance to which the Committee cannot but call attention. During the first ten years of the Society's operations, the number of new Churches for which application was made never exceeded 2 in any year; in some years there was not one: within the last seven years it has risen from 15 to 28, the number reported last year (27) equalling, as was observed in the Report, the total number during the first six years of the Society's existence. It must never be forgotten that, in the first institution of the Society, as indeed its very name bears witness, it was the "enlargement" of existing Churches that was chiefly contemplated, and that the growing necessity, and the conviction of that necessity, which have led to the efforts to build new Churches in so many populous districts, while it is a most gratifying and encouraging fact to those who have at heart the interests of their country and of religion, entails at the same time heavier charges upon a Society like this,

and calls for a great increase in the means placed at its disposal.

The sum voted in Grants made during the past year, amounts to 22,020*l.*, being an increase of between 5,000*l.* and 6,000*l.* upon the expenditure of the year preceding. The additional accommodation is for 38,020 persons, of whom 32,896 will be provided with the means of attending public worship without expense. It will be observed how very large is the proportion of free sittings thus provided, being little less than 33,000 out of 38,000; a larger proportion than in any former year, though, indeed, it has been, throughout, the invariable rule of the Society that no aid should be granted where half the accommodation provided was not entirely free and unappropriated.

Beside these new cases, additional aid has also been granted, in some few instances, in which improvements had been suggested during the progress of the work, which were approved by the Committee, and by which a considerable increase was made in the accommodation provided.

Among the cases which have been brought before the Committee during the past year, and to which Grants have been made, may be mentioned, in the Diocese of London, one parish, with a population of 42,000, with church-accommodation only for 3,800, of which 850 only were free, where a new Church is to be built, capable of holding 600, 300 free; another parish, with a population of 8,000, and with church-room only for 750,—300 free; where, by the building of a new Church, the accommodation will be doubled, 750 being added, 450 free; another parish of 36,000, with church-room only for 2,200,—300 only free; where, by the building of a new Church, 1,000 will have church-room provided, all free: in the Diocese of Chester, a parish of between 60,000 and 70,000, with church-room for less than 6,000, only 900 free; where, by a new Church, additional accommodation for 1,000 persons will be provided, 500 free; another parish in the same diocese of upwards of 46,000, with church accommodation only for 6,000,—2,000 free; where, by the enlargement of a Chapel, 330 additional sittings will be provided, all free: in the Diocese of Ripon, a parish of upwards of 29,000, with church-room for little more than 5,000,—1,500 free; where a Chapel is to be built, containing *500, 300 of them* free: in the Diocese of *St. David's, a parish of* 3,000, with church-room only for 350, all free, to which, by the building of a new Chapel, 230 additional sittings will be provided, 200 of them free. Many more cases might be cited of the like spiritual destitution; but these few the Committee have thought it well to extract from the tables which will be appended to the Report, as showing what pressing claims are continually coming before them, in the appropriation of the funds, unhappily so limited, which are placed at their disposal. The cases just referred to, among others, have been most carefully considered by the Committee, and the utmost assistance afforded which the Society's means would allow.

The recent enactment of the Legislature, by which will be effected the division of large parishes with a view to more effectual pastoral care and superintendence, has already occasioned a considerable call upon the Society's resources. In the three months of January, February, and March, of the present year, the Committee have made Grants to the amount of upwards of £2,000 towards the building of nine new Churches or Chapels, to be in whole, or in part, endowed from the funds placed at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In these cases the population is often large; in many instances distant two or three miles from any place of worship belonging to the Established Church. In one instance, in the Diocese of Chester, there is a population of upwards of 400 at a distance of three miles from the nearest church; the moral tone of the population of the district is described as being "at the lowest scale;" and where, as the Committee are informed, "a liberal Grant will encourage the local Committee to make further exertions for building Schools and Parsonage-houses," the site being given, and the funds chiefly obtained from parties who will not be personally benefited by the Church. In another place, in the same diocese, there is a district containing 1,200 "principally small cottagers, and literally without the means of attending Divine worship;" the applicant, the Clergyman of the parish, contributing £1,000; £500 for the proposed Church, and £500 for a Parsonage-house. In another case, in the Diocese of Lichfield, there is a township containing a population of 800, "distant two miles and a half from the nearest Church, the inhabitants poor and totally uneducated," where, in addition to £400 contributed towards the Church, a like sum of £400 has been raised towards building

a Parsonage-house and Schools. And these cases, it is to be expected, will be daily multiplying. The Committee have received intimation that many other applications, arising out of the late measure, will shortly be brought before them; to meet which, their present means are wholly insufficient.

The Committee feel that the measures thus in progress for bringing these outcasts, for so indeed they may be termed, within the reach of the Church's ministrations and pastoral care, warrant, and make necessary, a strong appeal at the present time, for greatly increased support to this Society. If we believe that the first step in the work of evangelizing these neglected districts has been taken in the best way, when a Clergyman has been placed among them, without waiting for a Church to be built, it must be *from the conviction* that where the ministrations of the pastor are supplied, the foundations of a house of God will ere long be laid. It cannot be that Churchmen, with due feeling for the decencies of religious worship, and sensible of the powerful influence of those sacred associations and impressions, which, under such circumstances, are especially important, will be content, that a body of Clergy thus called into existence shall be left to perform the public offices of the Church in licensed school-rooms, or other places, unsuitable to the holy purposes to which they are thus, occasionally, from necessity, converted. A great demand must arise for assistance in Church-building in such districts: and it will be recollected that until some provision be made from public sources, it is to this Society, with its Diocesan Associations, that the country must look for the supply of its necessities in this respect; the Parliamentary Grants placed at the disposal of her Majesty's Commissioners for Building New Churches in Populous Places being now nearly exhausted.

Another source from which must be anticipated a great increase of application to the Society, is in the effort now making, on so large a scale, by the National Society, with the aid of its Special Fund, towards establishing Schools in the Manufacturing and Mining Districts. As it is one consequence of the building of a new Church, that Schools speedily follow, so, on the other hand, the establishment of new Schools makes the want of Churches, in which the children of such Schools may attend divine worship, more strongly felt. And these wants, thus created, it may be observed, were foremost in the view of those who first drew the attention of the Government, now nearly thirty years ago, to the want of Church-room for the population, and whose efforts led to the establishment of this Society. In a memorial addressed to Lord Liverpool, in 1815, reference was particularly made to the Schools which had been erected by means of the National Society, established a few years earlier; and it was urged, "that the benefit of these Schools must be in a great measure lost, and the object of them remain unobtained, if places for public worship were not provided for the children therein educated, both during the period of their instruction, and after they shall have quitted the schools." The same argument applies now as powerfully as then; and it cannot be too strongly stated, that the great effort which the National Society is now making in the cause of the education of "the poor in the principles of the Established Church" will be but imperfect, or will be, partially at least, (it is to be feared,) turned to evil, unless it be followed up by a strong and united effort to provide the children thus placed under religious instruction with the means of attending the public services of the Church with full advantage.

The Committee must now advert to the state of the Society's finances. They have to report, in the first place, that the collections made under the authority of the Royal Letter, issued towards the close of the year 1842, have produced to the 31st of March last, from 8,840 returns, the sum of £30,818; and the Committee do not venture to hope that the sum above named will be materially increased; and the total sum to be expected will fall somewhat short of the average amount received from the same source in former years; that average being about £35,000.

The Committee have specially to acknowledge donations of £100 each from J. Brown, Esq.; from Chas. Hoare, Esq., the Society's late Treasurer, this being his eighth donation to the same amount; from the Rev. Dr. Spranger; and from the Hon. John Simpson; also the like sums from four anonymous donors; and one of £125 from another anonymous contributor. Legacies to the amount of £790 have been bequeathed to the Society by the Rev. D. M. Bourne, Miss Simcoe, H. Stocking, Esq., and William Vale, Esq. The Committee have also received remittances from the Diocesan and District Societies and Committees,

to the amount of £1,722. Though this sum falls somewhat short of the usual average, the Committee must again, in their present Report, call the attention of the Annual Court to the great assistance rendered to the Society by these Associations. It will be borne in mind that those of them which make remittances to this Society, remit but a certain portion of their funds, not more than one-fourth, commonly, of their annual subscriptions, and a still smaller proportion of their donations; the benefit conferred by them must not, therefore, be estimated simply by the amount of their contribution to the general treasury of this Society, though this is, indeed, most valuable, and calls for grateful acknowledgment.

It is with much satisfaction that the Committee observe some increase during the past and present years in the amount of Annual Subscriptions; and they cannot but hope that augmentation may be made, progressively, from this source to the funds of the Society, as well as by the donations, which, in the past and former years, contributed in so large and liberal measure from a limited number of individuals, have mainly enabled the Society to continue hitherto its labours in the work of Christian piety and charity committed to it.

The present amount of Grants up to the 31st of March, was £55,015. And the sum in the Society's hands, to meet this demand, was £62,931 11*s.* 3*d.*, leaving a disposable balance of only 7,916 11*s.* 3*d.* Of this sum it must be added, though the present Report, strictly speaking, belongs only to the year ending with the 31st of March, £7,065 has been pledged in Grants voted at the two Committees of last month and the present, reducing the above balance to £851 11*s.* 3*d.*

The Committee feel it absolutely impossible, though their treasury is thus nearly exhausted, to withhold the aid so earnestly sought from every quarter. They feel convinced that, when the case is known, as they trust it may soon be, and felt in all its urgency and importance, the liberal contributions of a Christian people will not be wanting to enable the Society to go on in its "work of faith and labour of love." Especially would they make their appeal to those who are deriving large incomes from those densely populated manufacturing and mining districts, the spiritual necessities of which *so painfully* pressed upon the consideration of the Society, and its sadly limited *means.*

As a specimen of these urgent cases, the Committee cannot refrain from adducing, before they close this Report, the instances of the two parishes of Manchester and Stockport, which have recently been brought before them. The parish of Manchester, containing a population of half a million souls, is stated to have within it seven entire townships without Churches, with an amount of population in each, varying from 1,200 to nearly 5,000, respectively, altogether upwards of 20,000, exclusively of the large town districts. In Stockport there are three townships, containing populations of 1,400, 3,300, and 5,300, respectively, in like manner destitute of Churches. And there are other similar cases. It must be acknowledged, with all thankfulness, that much indeed has been done, and this irrespectively of the mass of population in the great towns themselves. Upwards of 50 Churches have been built within the last ten years, only in the Diocese of Chester, providing for more than 220,000 souls, "all of whom were heretofore debarred the ordinances and ministrations of the Established Church." And in the ten years between 1831 and 1841, the provision of Church-room in Cheshire and Lancashire has "increased in greater proportion than the population, yet there is a fearful deficiency" still. Taking one in three, or thirty-three per cent., as the best amount to be provided of Church-accommodation, there is reported in twenty principal towns and parishes of Lancashire and Cheshire only, a deficiency of Church-room for an aggregate of upwards of 227,000. In a communication lately received from the Diocese of Chester, it is said, "We want *immediately* 25 new Churches in Cheshire, of which 13 are most urgent cases, averaging 4,000 souls to each. We require 132 for Lancashire, of which 120 are urgent. We calculate on about 50 of these coming under the Clergy Endowment Act; on 11 being built from local resources; perhaps 12 are hopeless."

In this condition of things, it must be the fervent hope and prayer of every one who has the welfare of his country at heart, that it may please Almighty God to move the hearts of his servants to a large measure of bountifulness, and that every member of our Church may be brought to feel the urgent obligation which lies upon him to lend his aid, according to the ability with which he is blessed, to this great and holy work.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

AN APPEAL TO THE STATUTES.

HAS Dr. Hampden the right of stopping Divinity Degrees? That is to say, is the consent of the Regius Professor of Divinity necessary for obtaining a Divinity Degree?

This is a simple question of fact, and must be decided by an appeal to the Statutes. The Regius Professor is what the Statutes of the University make him, and nothing more. No vague undefinable powers belong to him simply from his *title* of Regius Professor. The title of itself confers nothing: whatever powers may accompany it must depend upon academical law for their existence.

Do the Statutes of the University then give the Regius Professor this power? They do not. Any one may satisfy himself on this head by merely looking over the Statutes relating to the subject. From the Exercises in the Schools, in the first instance, up to the granting of the grace in Congregation, to the Presentation, and the Degree, they do not once mention or imply such a right, as belonging to the Regius Professor.

1. The Statute which regulates the performance of the Exercises for Divinity Degrees is as follows:—

Tit. VI. Sect. vi.

§ 2. *Exercitia pro Gradu Baccalaurei in Theologia præstanda.*

"Statutum est, quod is, qui ad Gradum Baccalaurei in S. Theologia promoveri cupit, priusquam Gratiam proponat, bis in disputationibus Theologicis pro Forma Opponentis principalis, (id est, primo vel secundo loco disputantis) munere perfunctus fuerit, et semel per duas horas in Schola Theologica pro Forma responderit.

"Quodque ante hujusmodi Disputationes, Quæstiones, una cum nominibus Opponentium et Respondentis, per septem dies integros significentur, programmate affixo valvis utriusque exterioris Portæ Scholarum, ac insuper muris Collegii Omnium Animarum, et Oriel, qua Australis et Occidentalis parietes Plateam versus in angulos coeunt."

This Statute, which was formally re-enacted in 1833, is the one upon which the Exercises for Divinity Degrees now rest. And this Statute, so far as the letter is concerned at any rate, does not give the powers, now claimed, to the Regius Professor—for one plain reason—that it does not once mention his name throughout. But let us allow it to be interpreted by an ancient one, (Tit. viii.) abrogated now, which speaks of the Regius Professor as "*moderator*," in the ordinary theological disputations, of which the disputationary exercises for Divinity Degrees are supposed by some to have been a branch. It then simply remains to see what the meaning of the word "moderator" is. Dr. Johnson, citing the old authorities, gives it,

"*One who presides in a disputation to restrain the contending parties from indecency, and confine them to the question.*

"'How does he seasonably commit the opponent with the respondent, like a long-practised *moderator*.' *More.*"

The part of "moderating" then only gives the Regius Professor certain regulating and managing functions with respect to the Disputations which are held for the Degree: it gives him no sort of power as to granting or withholding the Degree itself. The office of moderator in the Exercises is wholly distinct from that of Judge of the Degree, and therefore the Regius Professor has clearly no control over the Degree, so far as this stage of the proceedings is concerned.

2. After the performance of the Exercises comes the Supplication for the Grace in Congregation. And here, again, Congregation is the sole arbiter. The three parties which compose Congregation, viz. the Majority of Regents, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Proctors, grant the grace. And all that any other party, be he Regius Professor of Divinity, or any one else, can do, is to suspend the Degree three times; after which, he is obliged to give his reason for doing so, and the validity of this reason is decided on by Congregation.—Corpus Statutorum, p. 83.

3. With respect to the Presentation of the Divinity Candidate, there is no ground whatever for making the Regius Professor of Divinity the necessary Presentor. His name is not mentioned in the Statute regulations on this point. The Professorships of the other departments, too, are not invested with any such privilege; and why should it attach to the Divinity Professorship more than to the others?—Corpus Stat. p. 94.

4. The form of conferring the Degree is performed by the Vice-Chancellor solely.

Thus, from first to last, from the performance of the Exercises to the conferring of the Degree, the Statutes afford no jot of ground upon which a prohibitory power of the Regius Professor over Divinity Degrees can rest itself. And it would be as impossible to bring forward academical custom in support of such a power. For, as a matter of fact, Regius Professors of Divinity not only never have prohibited Degrees, but have never claimed the power of doing so. Dr. Hampden, if he asserts this claim, is the first asserter of it.

In this state of the case, it only remains, with reference to the Regius Professor's expression, "*non sufficit pro forma*" recently heard in the Schools, to say,—that if he meant it, as he seems to have done, to act as a prohibition on the Degree, it was a simply null, idle, and futile, unauthoritative, unstatutable assumption on his part; that as such it imposes no kind of legal obligation on the Vice-Chancellor to refuse the Degree; but throws him entirely, should he choose this alternative, upon the authority of his own single irresponsible *veto*.

May 1, 1844.

AMERICA.

"DEATH OF THE REV. ARTHUR CAREY.—It is with peculiarly sad emotions that we record the departure of this young divine.

"His constitution was naturally delicate, and he was dangerously ill a considerable part of the winter, when his physicians advised, as the only measure likely to prolong his days, that he should seek the milder air of the Island of Cuba. He breathed his last as the vessel in which he was embarked was entering the harbour of Havanna!"—*Gospel Messenger.*

The following is from the *New York Churchman*:—

"ARTHUR CAREY is no more for this world. He died, 'without a gasp, groan, or struggle,' on the 4th of April, within sight of Cuba, at the age of twenty-one years and ten months; and on the next morning (Good Friday) at six o'clock, about fifteen or twenty miles north-east of Moro Castle, at Havana,—the ensign hoisted at half-mast, and the crew all mustered on the quarter-deck,—his body was consigned to the deep, in the hope of a blessed resurrection, in that day when 'the earth and the sea shall give up their dead.'

"At a meeting of the Vestry of the 'Church of the Annunciation,' held on Monday evening, the 30th of April, 1844, all the members being present, the following Preamble and Resolutions, presented by the Secretary, were unanimously adopted.

"The Vestry of the Church of the Annunciation, in the city of New York, having received the painful intelligence of the death of Arthur Carey, late the Assistant Minister in their Church, and desirous to testify the deep sense of the bereavement which they have sustained, have therefore—

"*Resolved*, That this Vestry respectfully tender to the afflicted relatives of the deceased, and especially to his excellent father, whose melancholy duty it was to commit to the deep the earthly remains of a beloved and most dutiful son, their unfeigned sympathy and condolence, under this afflictive dispensation of Divine Providence. Earnestly and affectionately do we commend them in this their hour of sorrow, to 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,' and under its benign influence to that humble and confiding faith in 'the love of God' which *brings* the wounded and stricken heart the *comfort and strength of* 'the communion of the *Holy Ghost.*'

"*Resolved*, That although but recently connected with this Parish in the office of an Assistant Minister, the brief services of Mr. Carey deserve to be remembered by us with lasting gratitude. Young in years, yet profound in knowledge, and having evidently drank long and deep of the pure fountain of Holy Scripture under the guidance of the Church Catholic, and of the Anglican branch thereof in her best and purest days; in his style of preaching, simple, direct, and practical, seeking to inform and guide the judgment, and to purify the heart; in his disposition, docile and calm, forbearing and forgiving, yet, when duty required, firm and decided; in his deportment, exemplary and unobtrusive; in his habits, uniformly pious and devout, and possessing a simplicity, sincerity, and perfection of character which is rarely attained by any human being, he has inspired us with a profound respect for his character as a Clergyman and a Christian, and left behind him a memory which we shall never cease to cherish with sentiments of reverence and love.

"*Resolved*, That now that the mighty ocean has closed over the earthly remains of our beloved brother, and in the calm retrospect of the events connected with his ordination, we cannot withhold our expression of gratitude to the Bishop of this Diocese for that firmness to which, under God, we have been indebted for the services of him whose loss we now deplore. A more orthodox and pious Christian, a more intelligent and exemplary Churchman, we humbly think, has not existed among us: and while we presume not to sit in judgment on those who opposed his admission to the ministry, we cannot but bless God for his memory, and thank Him for having made us members of a Church which has had such men to serve at her altars as ARTHUR CAREY.

"On motion—*Resolved*, That an attested copy of the foregoing preamble and Resolutions be transmitted to John Carey, Esq. the father of the deceased; and to the *Churchman* for publication.

"On motion of Robert D. Weeks, Esq., seconded by Chief-Justice Jones, it was further—

"*Resolved*, That the Reverend Rector be and is hereby requested to furnish for publication, in pamphlet form, a copy of the sermon preached by him on Sunday morning last, on occasion of the death of the Rev. Arthur Carey, the late Assistant Minister in this Church.

"Attest, FLOYD SMITH, *Secretary.*"

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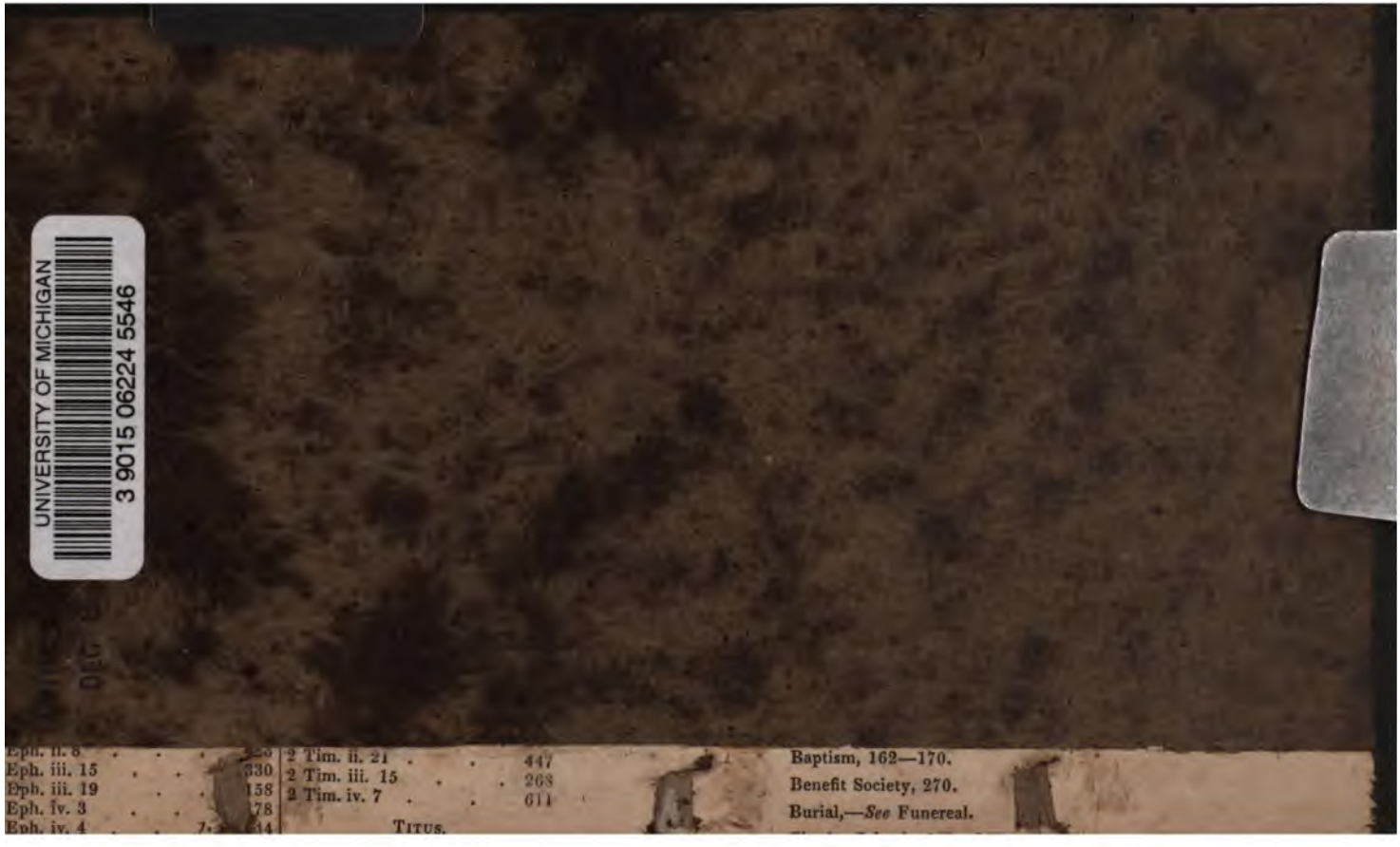
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